Letters. Vol. 1.

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Reverend Sr

Tho you ar lately com from Court, yet am I fully perswaded you affect not complementing. My bus'nes is Conscience-bus'nes which cares for no more good manners then will do the soul good. Beyond all foresight or the least hope of meeting with so happy an opportunity I took this my journey in which I am so happy as to Inne the next door to Mr Baxter. Many things hav occurrd my meditations which I earnestly desird resolution in: and altho I myself hav in some kind satisfyd myself about them or some of them; partly by Scripture and the writings of good men and the improvment of convers with Christians, yet hav I thought the particular resolution of some certain Men (whos ability I hav judgd to be great in such cases by their Writings) would contribute exceeding much to the ascertaining my conclusions and determination about them. Amongst the rest yourself was one of the chief I was desirous to consult: and therfor dare not but create a heart resolvd not to let pas this so happy an opportunity. I presume I am not ye first weak Christian who tho altogether unknown has after this or the like sort adventurd upon your patience. I chuse to do it by writing the rather partly I fear becaus of a melancholy disposition, partly also becaus les of presumption seems to be in that way and also becaus of my unaptnes to expres myself so as I would be satisfyd in thos things I would speak of and truly moreover becaus I humbly desire you would be pleasd (unles you apprehend inconvenience) after the same manner to giv me yr resolutions my memory being but shallow & not able to bear them away to my own satisfaction, which is the only thing I seek. Now Sr the things I especially desire to be satisfyd in (tho to my sorrow I speak it, I am poor creature, made up of doubts & scruples) ar thes following.

1 When any thing is requird of God as our expres duty whether we ar not to follow our own judgment about ye circumstances tho we hav no Scripture assuring us of them and ascertaining them to us: And thus following our own judgmt about the circumstances we may not comfortably expect acceptance in performing the duty expresly requird.

2 Whether all thos Actions ar not to us lawful which we know not to be unlawfull. or whether all thos things which ar not forbidden (as we know of) be not so far forth lawfull to us to do as we know not they ar forbidden.

3 Whether we ar not bound to imbrace all thos improvments which our own Natural or Acquired Abilitys make upon thos truths the Scriptures plainly lay down. e.g. Seing God bruised Christ for our sins, we infer That God then hates sin &c. or to instance in all ye Articles of the Creed which ar only dogmatically or doctrinally layd down, whether we ar not each ourselvs to improve them by inferences And what bounds we ar to observ? Whether every inference not contrary to sound Doctrin be not to be imbraced.

4 Whether I am to receiv & beleiv all thos suggestions my heart makes to me whilst holily exercised in prayer, meditation & conference, tho I hav no expres Scripture to attest them in my memory. If we draw nigh to God, he wil to us

5 Whether I am not to go to ye preaching of ye Word (especially when my choic is of thos preachers whos Commission is to me best evidenced) with resolution to receiv and entertain as Truths whatever they preach, unles I can disprov ~~the~~ it from Scripture: and this becaus of God's promis to be with All his people, especially his Messengers in the general & most especially becaus they stand in his counsel i.e. adhere to ye Scriptures as thir rule. It certainly is impossible ye ever ye Only wise & gracious God should exact of a finite Creature a double Act at one and the same time, as the doing of the thing & ye proving it lawfull, or ye beleiving a thing & ye proving it true. Now if I should go to ye hearing of preaching with a mind resolvd to beleiv nothing but what is exactly then provd, it would much nullify & render vain God's Institution & promis, and myself should edify little the like it is in every other thing.

6 When a man has to ye best of his skil examind and provd Christian principles what shal he do with injected scruples, whens to his remembrance they came not for answer whilst he was so examining & proving: he does not remember but they ar new & unanswerd? What should one do wth such scruples then especially when he is called to make use of thos principles. As suppos I wer to pray for Magistrates, or Ministers, something New may be suggested which makes me scruple whether they be expres Ordinances! So also I am to pray such a Truth may be effectually set home & worked into ye heart, but may be something is cast in which tends to render it questionable whether it be a truth or no. Thus may be I am Meditating Conferring or hearing of such & such things & hav suggestions as aforesd. Whether all such suggestions ar not to be kicked out wout more ado, seeing their unseasonablenes intimates they ar not from God; as also becaus the principle has formerly been scand & nothing was found yt could nullify its title & claim to truth; the end also & issue being most miserable; viz: makes the Word as truly ineffectuall as gros unbelief, prophanenes &c.

Whether the Authority of Magistrates ~~of~~ over the people, Parents their Chil-
dren, Husbands their wives differ in Degrees; whether one has more Authority
then ye other or [illegible] ar the Same: this seems necessary to be known Becaus
if they be same then what is said of one wil be applicable to ye other. we find
that Christ teaches ye Forsaking of Parents for his sake, but nothing (I think)
of Wives forsaking their husbands for his sake or ye Gosple's: but now if the
Authority of ye Parent & Husband be ye same for Degrees in their distinct kinds
then we [illegible] from ye instance in one may resolv concerning ye other.

2 What an Inferiour is to do as to ye use of ye Means of Grace, in case re-
strained or forbidden the Use of them by their Superiours: as suppos an Hea-
thenish Husband should forbid his Wife (suppos no Xtian as yet neither) to re-
sort to ye Word: whether yet notwithstanding should she go if she has a mind: for
tis not incredible but an Unbeleiver may yet hav a mind to go to ye Word.
or suppos a Papist husband should forbid his Papist Wife to frequent ye Pro-
testant assemblys & should restrain her to popish.
Or wer the Wife Protestant & should not be injoyned ye popish Assembly, but
only restraind ye Protestant.
Or suppos the Wife wer a True beleiver & syncerely converted, whether
if restrained by her husband of ye Edifying means (publick I mean) she be to sub
mit. Suppos also she be forbid the Publick Ministry, the Society of all good Xtians
and cant read herself; or mayn't be suffered to keep Good books.
Or suppos the Husband restrains his Wife (I instance but in this one Relation)
to hir own parish-Church & Minister, who is one of an Unchristian-Conversation and
teaches oft-times unsound Doctrin, corrupting judgment & manners.
Or uses to preach truth but makes usually ill application of it & fals
or In case he be only an Insipid, unedifying Minister, doing neither good nor
hurt designedly & with intention.
Suppos a Sabbath-days journey, that is, some no inconvenient distance ther
be a pious powerful & fruitful Minister
Whether in all thes cases or any it be sufficient restraint ye bare Injuncti
on of ye husband. whether God has ~~[illegible]~~ granted in his commission to ye
husband any Authority over the Wife in thes things.

3 In case the Wife was so Christianly provident as to gain from her hus
band (taking him in some good mood) a promis of Liberty to choos to her
own satisfaction, whether he can call in such a promis without her consent

4 Whether Wife or other Inferiour may faithfully expect God's extraordi
nary Edifying them in the cases aforesaid forbearing ye use of means upon
ye account of ye Husband's or Superiour's injunction.

5 Whether if a Wife be injoynd more Family-busnes & cares then ar con
sistent with keeping up her Communion with God; especially when unnecessari
ly thrown & enforced upon her, most probably out of design to batter her and wast
all gracious dispositions, she is to admit them.

6 Seeing ther is neither Male nor female in Christ whether it be ~~lawful~~ any usurping
of Authority over ye man to reprove him ~~husband~~ & admonish him for gros sins.

7 Whether ye Wife may pray in the Family ye husband being present, he not
forbidding.

8 If it be lawful for a wife to reprove whether she may forbear upon his
injoyning her silence and to let him hav his own way tho grosly evil.

9 Whether general precepts (such as loving God with all the heart) do not sufficiently
authorize us in doing all thos things we conceiv make for God's glory & ar
not forbidden.

10 Seeing Reprobation itself is no punishment (becaus no sin can be presupposed)
what certain rule is ther to know when Afflictions ar Punishments for
Sins, or ar from ye Absolute dispensation of God as Supreme

11 If we find we hav sind & that more then ordinarily & find ye after this sin
(it may be in ye commission or not long after) an affliction more then ordinary is
sent, whether we may not conclude (and that truly) it is for ye sin, meritori
ously for it.

12. What rules ther may be to know when we hav sind as to the inward Acts
Whether it be possible or if possible, yet necessary to know & be convinced of the
first Consents; when in such an Act I hav yielded to a More or preferring love to ye
Creature or Self.

Tho many more (which alas ar great hindrances) do oft-times occur, yet let
me not be any furder tedious, but rather humbly begg excuse for this my
importune adventure. I should most thankfully delay my travelling forward till
about 10 of ye Clock to morrow might I then receiv your pious resolution if
not of all yet as many as conveniently by that time you can. hav contrived
I see myself in reading them over (for this is ye first draught) they might hav been cast
into a more apt Method and thereby hav facilitated ye Answer: but to transcribe would
but shorten ye time. Your earnest prayer to ye great Case and
Conscience-Resolver I humbly begg of you for me who would count it his honour
to be of ye lowest member of Christ, much more

your humble Servt in ye Lord

Jonath. Jenner

Aug. 11th 1661.

For
the reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
At his House in
Kederminster
this

[illegible] I suppose you a very quick & unwearied [illegible]
you[r] ready proportioning yo^r expectations to yo^r [illegible]
considerable volume to be written by a man not [illegible]
businesse, betweene nine of ye clock (w^n I returned [illegible]
a journey yesterday ended, & preaching to day. I [illegible]
have yt in consistence with ye necessary care of my [illegible]
you, & yt you shall have as soone as it will [illegible]

Ad 2^m. There is no question but as to an objective speci[illegible]
[illegible] more ye degree: And consequently yt in degree [illegible]
in order to ye publike safety of the others & yt private rel[illegible]
publike, ye authority is so also: but in some actions peculiar to [illegible]
those relations have a power w^ch magistrates have not [illegible]
Christ requires ye forsaking of all natural distinction or exception [illegible]
ye hating of them as well as other relations [illegible] 26. But [illegible]
hating [illegible] comparatively or [illegible] may well consist with [illegible]
of ye relation without obeying them. Nor does [illegible]
to forsake your parents, so in some cases a departure may be [illegible]

Ad 2^m in all yr instances distinguish between obeying formally [illegible]
hath authority to dissolve an obligation to necessary duty [illegible]
& therefore I am not formally to obey man yt forbids [illegible]
& to w^ch he hath no power given him of God [illegible]
any but himselfe). But ye matter commanded may be [illegible] case
accidentally a duty, or not so [illegible] [illegible]
may by a preponderating accident [illegible]
no duty. & so in ordine ad finem I am to take ye course [illegible]
to be most to ye ends of my profession & life.

Ad 3^m. He cannot lawfully break his promise. But if he do it unlawfully [illegible]
to be subject to his government in lawful things, but in things unlawful he
hath no power of God. & in things accidentally unlawful [illegible]
to have an eye to ye preponderating accidents.

Ad 4^m. If w^n accidentally ye performance become no duty, [illegible] in ye forbearance
they may expect Gods blessing. But w^n ye performance remaineth [illegible]
it must a duty (w^ch they [illegible] and [illegible] must [illegible]) they must [illegible]
displeasure [illegible] man [illegible]

Ad 5^m. There is not so [illegible] stated exclusion of necessary duty, [illegible]
exclusion [illegible] a duty, besides possible [illegible]
of [illegible] husband [illegible]
to [illegible]
a duty to forbear it [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

5

[illegible] you, and if as y^u intimate, I cannot [illegible]

ffor
the reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
At his Hous in
Kederminster
this

Sr I suppose you a very quick & unwearyed [illegible], though I know you not, proportioning yor expectations to yor parts, in yt you expect a considerable volume to be written by a man not free from infirmityes or busyness, between nine of ye clock (wn I received yors) & bed time after a journey yesterday ended, & preaching to day. I have but one halfe houre yt in consistence with ye necessary care of my health I can bestow on you, & yt you shall have as far as it will goe.

Ad Q. 1m. There is no question but as to an objective specification they differ in kind, wch is more yn in degree: And consequently yt in degree a Magistrate hath more power in order to ye publike safety yn the others: & yt private relations being subordinate to publike, yt authority is so also: but in some actions peculiar to ye inferior relations, those relations have a power wch Magistrates have not. To yor instance, I answer, Christ teacheth ye forsaking of all without distinction or exception Luk 14.33. & ye hating of wives as well as other relations v. 26. But loving ym lesse yn him, or hating ym as competitors or enemies may well consist with doing ym all ye dutyes of ye relation without observing them. Nor doth yt doctrine teach children to forsake their parents; tho in some cases a departure may be made.

Ad Q. 2m. In all ye Instances: Distinguish between obeying formally & materially. No man hath authority to dissolve an obligation to necessary duty wch God layeth on us. & therfore I am not formally to obey man yt forbids me wt God commands me, & to wch he hath no power given him of God (for God giveth not power against himselfe). But ye matter commanded may be done in case it was but accidentally a duty, or not so pro hic et nunc, & ye commands of a superior may lay a preponderating accident in ye ballance, & make it pro hic et nunc no duty; & so in ordine ad finem I am to take ye course yt rationally is like to be most to ye ends of my profession & life.

Ad 3Q. He cannot lawfully break his promise. But if he doe it unlawfully, shee is still to be subject to his Governmt in lawfull things: but in things unlawfull simply he hath no power agst God. & in things accidentally unlawfull, shee is in ordine ad finem to have an eye to ye preponderating accidents.

Ad Q. 4m. Wn accidentally ye performance becomes no duty, yn in ye forbearance they may expect Gods blessing. But wn ye performance remaineth pro hic et nunc a duty (wch ye End & Accidents must shew), shee must expect Gods displeasure if shee obey man agst God.

Ad Q. 5m. Shee is not to obey in a stated exclusion of necessary dutyes, or to ye temporary exclusion of yt wch is pro hic et nunc a duty: but its possible yt her multitude of busyness, or ye obeying of an husband may have so good a tendency, as to dispense with yt wch else would be a duty of piety, [illegible] it a duty to forbear it. So yt this case must have a prudent person in ye individual case acquainted with [illegible] all ye circumstances, or else no just judgment can passe upon it. Many a one interrupts [illegible] of secret prayer & meditation, in wch they think all their Communion with God as actually thought on doth consist, & yet doe it for yt time necessarily to some greater good & may expect more Communion with God yt way, & more blessing from him, though lesse thought on. I may say of prayer then [illegible] be a [illegible] in a good cause [illegible] ye Lords day, & prayer & preaching in necessity: [illegible] instances of his disciples [illegible] David [illegible] [illegible] will [illegible]

[illegible] you, and if as I intimate I cannot publish it convenien[illegible] not Sacrifice. //

Ad Q. 6. With such reprehension as is beseeming an inferiour yet so vexe him, shee
may & must reprove: but not with a more magisteriall reproofe. //

Ad Q. 7. The Husband may make ye wife his deputy in some cases to do it in
his stead: And when he is absent, & none fitter, shee must do it as for himself. //

Ad Q. 8. Formaliter shee oweth him no obedience agt God, & therfore must
reprove though he forbid: But no duty being at all times a duty, shee must
prudently gather ye season from ye end & adjuncts: & may wholly forbeare
when shee is certaine yt ye Ends require it, as well as his command. //

Ad Q. 9. If really ye thing do make for Gods Glory, ye Command of doing all to his
Glory not only warranteth but obligeth you: But if it do not, its otherwise. //

Ad Q. 10. All Afflictions are punishmts for sin; but not all punishmts in speciall
for any speciall sin (wch was Jobs case), but are hic et nunc inflicted
for probation or other ends. But in Generall all is antecedently inflicted
for ye Comon sin of man on man; though limited & measured by ye wisdome
of ye Redeemer into whose hands all things are comitted Joh. 5.22.

~~Ad Q. 11~~ Reprobation is no transient act, & toucheth not ye object, & therfore
can be no punishment.

Ad Q. 11. We may conclude yt ye sin deserveth it, & must be excited to repent of
ye sin therupon; but canot on yt ground only conclude yt ye punishing us for
ye sin was Gods chiefe end. And so I say whenever ye sin was comitted. //

Ad Q. 12. Inward Acts being of themselves as plainly forbidden as outward, it
may be discerned wn we have comitted them: No doubt we should observe
our Inclinations & Consent, & Abatemt of Resistance: though not with such
scrupulous anxiety, as if we had no remedy, or as tends more to discompose
& confound us, than to reduce our Soules to holy order. //

~~Ad Q. 13~~ When I had gone to ye end I found I had in hast begun on
ye second page, & therfore must crave yor pardon, & goe back
to yor beginning — ~~I call ye first~~

Ad Q. ~~1~~ (1) If ye circumstances be comanded in Scripture, or Nature, we must use them
in obedience as dutyes: If forbidden (either way) we must fly them as sin: If
neither, we must be indifferent to them as no object of morall acts ordina. //

Ad Q. 2. If God forbid an Action, & you know not yt he forbids it, yor ignorance
being culpable (as in originall or actuall sin) canot totally excuse you from sin.

Ad Q. 3. No doubt but man is to use his Reason to discerne Gods will by any evidence;
& to gather Truth from truth: An inference truly gathered as matter of truth or
duty, is to be received as such: But an unsound inference is not to be embraced. No
man ever bid it. It is not agt sound doctrine. //

Ad 4. The running thoughts & apprehensions of many may be irrationall & false
in time of duty as well as at other times: & yt heart say a thousand things
of God neither said or approved. //

Ad 5. When they shew you Scripture Evidence, they bind (or oblige) you to a Divine
faith: wn they give you but their words or authority, you are to receive
it by a humane faith, wch supposeth a possibility of erring; as every
scholar heareth his master. And here ye faith is to be according to ye

ity of ye speaker, wch it depends not altogether on his office: An able man is to be believed before a weaker: & a man well studyed in yt point before one yt never studyed it: & one yt Consulteth wth ye Church, before one singular. ~~Doc 6~~ 6. And you may have cause of suspicion somthing wch may oblige you to further tryall & enquiries, when you cannot say yt thing is false.//

7. For scruples weighty & never before answered, coming in wn you have leisure to try them, should have ~~a super~~ serious tryall (yet so as you lose not wt you before received): But if they come in wn you are in ye midst of duty, or have no time to try them, you must practise on yor tryed principles, & try these scruples afterward at leisure. But if they are light, or frequently injected by disturbed fancie or passion, after sufficient satisfaction, they are to be cast out as unworthy of yor further consideration.

Sir in this hast I have briefly run over all yor Questions, & send them you on condition 1o yt you pardon my necessitated brevity, & any false writing you find, seeing I cannot now once read it over. 2o yt you send me back this copy when you have transcribed it.

I rest, yor unworthy fellow servant Ri: Baxter

Aug. 11. neere ten a clock at night.

For Mr Jonathan
Jenner

Abundance of Questions

Mr Jenner Qs rejected n: ①

3.

Reverend and deare brothr

I have receaved yrs dated the 25 of feb. on fryday last, and doe heartily thanke yu for yr papers and that yu would take an oportunity (in ye midst of yr many weaknesses and imploymts) for this busynesse wherein wt yu have writte ~~[illegible]~~ is very wellcome to Mr Grove too who is very thankfull to yu and was longe and earnestly desirous of it. I expect my brothr Bartlett here to morrow and shall then deliver him yr paper. I would heartily wish ~~if~~ ye Lord (who hath by little lesse then miracle hitherto kept yu out of ye grave) would spin out yr dayes yet a little longer, that yu might perfect yr modell of divinity (most practicall as yu say) for I am perswaded that truths knit togathr doe much befriend ~~[illegible]~~ one anothr wth evidence. yet I am perswaded yu have staid somewt wth ye longest receavinge animadversions till yu have indangered ye not doinge of wt yu might usefully have done about yr aphorismes. had yu done it earlyer yu would have prevented perhaps many grosse slandrs wch Mr C. hath laden yu wthall. I am very heartily sorry for wt yu write of yr new infirmityes wch I am perswaded yu ~~[illegible]~~ doe bringe upon yr selfe by yr overlaboriousnesse. The Lord will ~~[illegible]~~ adde to yr comfort as hee addes to yr sorrowes, and I looke upon yr laborious weaknesse as a farre more comfortable blessinge then our idle health. when I heard of yr weaknesse before I receaved yr lettr I was afraid least yr confession would have bin left undone, wch many good men doe much desire & doe extremely disgust the untoward carriage of yr adversary. His wife and children are impoverished by his printinge of the bookes and are now sendinge to friends to helpe them away wth them wherein they will find somewt to doe. I did more wonder at Mr Carrylls epistle then at his whole booke. Mr Hotchkiss lives quite at ye othr end of ye county from mee, so that I have not any acquaintance wth him but wt I have had at one or two of our meetinges. hee hath generally ye reputation of a godly man but hath bin counted one yt did not in all thinges keepe ye orthodox company whethr justly or unjustly I know not, and have not in so much hast ye time to get fullr information. I would not have men begin a controversy that are not of more then ordinary abilityes to goe through wth it. yu know if a man doe in these times say any thinge yt hath not bin said hee shall be sure of contradicters and I believe yt epistle would ye sooner helpe him to adversaryes as ye temper of some persons is. The Lord direct yu wt to doe. I doe believe yu may take comfort in yr endeavoure for reformation and unity ~~[illegible]~~ the Lord will provoke more and more to prosecute yt designe. the 12 of Aprill is ye generall association in Dorsetshire. I have not seene ye Kentish accord yu write of. Mr Dury hath written to some wth us lettrs [illegible] of ye like import wth those yu mention wch will bee comunicated at our next generall meetinge in ye beginninge of May. I have one desire to yu wch I hope yu will bee intreated to gratify mee in, and that is that yu would pen downe (if yu have not) ye remarkable providences of yr life, wherein yu have Junius and Pareus gone before you; and if as yu intimate yu cannot publish it conveniently while yu

yet let it be found amongst yr papers when yu are dead & then I am sure yr publication can doe yu noe hurt and may bringe God much glory and othrs much good. The Lord bee wth yu Deare brothr and make yu heartily thankfull for all ye use hee hath made of yu and yet make yu more a blessinge to yr generation. One Mr Cerringe a godly minister neare Lime in Dorsetshire and brothr in law to honest Mr Woodbridge of Newbury receaved out of very deepe wounds of spirit by yr booke of peace and Sr Nath: Bernardiston a very godly Knight in Suffolke receaved much good by yr rest as Mr Fairclough a reverend ministr in ye county hath printed in his sermon at his funerall wch is not comon to be had. who would not bee beaten & abused as ye apostles yt could but drive soules in

[illegible] blesst yu while some have cursst yu and will doe it still. The Lord bea

I pray yu let Mr Sarjeant have my than

papr till I can make him a bettr requ

Lovinge

an opinion [illegible] ye probability [illegible]

4

Reverend and deare brother

I received yors dated ye 21 of Nov: on Dec: 1 and doe heartily thanke yu that yu would put yor selfe to ye trouble of so large a letter for my satisfaction. I looke upon it as worthy to bee put downe amongst ye many other sweete providences of yor life that God ingaged yu in that writinge wherein I and many more have received more light in that great busynesse than wee could come at before; and therefore yu have no cause to repent of yor labour. Although I am perswaded yu could not but thinke yt ye very words of that direction would startle persons wth whom ye doctrine of perseverance hath bin so generally received. The great and maine doubt of Xtians havinge formerly only bin about ye beinge of grace not suspectinge ye continuance of it, so it were there in truth. Although some pretenders to grace make a gracelesse use of this doctrine, yet so doe they of many more. Truly I did to some shew wt yu tell mee out of yor booke & did labor to remove their mistake. I am exceedinge sorry for ye ill nature of some mens frowardnesse and that yu have not more manhood than to thinke of forbearinge writinge because of their revilinges. Dearest Sir I beseech yu let mee lay some things before yor consideration that yu may not thus injure only yor friends and gratify them yt raile at you. 1 applause is a farre more dangerous temptation than reproach if yor heart bee like mine and I am sure yu say ye temptations of prosperity are ye most dangerous. 2 had yu kept ye rode and not in some things dissented from other good men, you would have had I am very confident more good words than yu would well have borne. 3 It was never knowne that any man was quietly & undisturbedly much active for God. 4 yu have gained incomparably more friends than enemys, & ye mocks of ye adversarys have no such temptation as other Gods people nor successe. 5 I know not ye man livinge whose labors for ye time have bin so welcomly received, as yrs have generally bin, so yt I know not how yu could expect so great incouragement. 6 I feare Sathan makes use of the clamors of these men to destroy yor gratitude to God for ye use hee hath made of you. 7 Sathan sees this to be ye service of God in ye largest capacity yu can serve him in, & feeles his kingdome not a little weakned by yor labours, and therefore doth set some on worke for yor discouragement. 8 yu tell mee of some guilt of mine in provocation of yu to writinge. truly I am like to dy impenitent for yt fault, & would rather increase my guilt than excuse it. yu say yu are not now so much moved wth these clamors as formerly wth an angry word; but should their ill breath have yt influence upon yu as to make yu cease writinge I should thinke yu mistake yor selfe. I doe beseech yu to neglect them, & let not those yt dearely love yu and doe heartily blesse God for yor renewed labours (who are not a few) fare ye worse for these mens crossenesse. There is one use I desire yu would make of their petulance that yu would differ more fairely & civilly from some reverend and good men yt dissent from yu, & not be so quicke wth them as sometimes you are. It is well wee have a God to please that wee know how to please, and therefore need not be moved wth mens froward censures (as yu say well) I pray yu make use of this yor doctrine. How many deare servants of God suffer other manner of sufferings and yet I confesse words will out & deepe too if patience doe not turne their edge.

I must next aske yor forgivenesse for ye words I charged yu wthall, & must excuse my rash & inconsiderate puttinge of them downe, wch I did apprehendinge them yt in ye words, wch did reach so farre; but now I find I wronged you.

I hold it an opinion of ye probability [illegible] next to a [illegible]
by a strong opinion; for I told you I did ye point of [illegible]
[illegible] not these [illegible] tho not with a full certainty for tho ye [illegible]

I hope yu will give me yr absolution and I shall learne more warynesse in such matters for ye future. Yr high eulogy of Amiraldus as ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ oculatissimus, gave some occasion to some to thinke yt yu set him too high. I am exceedinge glad for wt yu write of yr establishmt agst Arminianisme, allthough yu take not Dr Twisses way. Whereas yu thinke mee too rigid agst them, I confesse wt I writte to yu of my observation of them hath set my heart at some distance from them, and as ye unhappy practises of ye Anabaptists hath bin none of their ~~[illegible]~~ weakest confutations, so of the othr also. Wherever God by his providence hath hetherto cast mee, I could never see any thinge yt had ye likenesse of religion in any of them unlesse a mans charity were wthout eyes. If I know my selfe I am not censorious; and had I found such as I perceive yu have, It is like I might have had more favourable thoughts of their way. I have spoke wth them yt have lived amonge ye Lutherans & were none of ye strickest and they did represent ye state of religion to be exceedinge sad amongst them. I thinke errors are most modest and harmelesse at first and ye more inveterate, ye more mischievous. I would for unity sake goe as farre as I can discerne God would have mee, and doe heartily abhorre all division that is not necessitated. That wch made mee so confident agst morall swasion was my owne experience; of wch I shall give yu account. I did for many yeares by reason of some principles I had under a strict education, know ye way of God, and knew my wayes if pursued would end in my eternall damnation. I could for many yeares while I lived pphanely in ye University have wished my selfe a stocke or stone or anythinge yt might never see a day of judgmt, I sind agst full conviction and very stronge and frequent counter-reasonings agst my evill wayes, and very full assent of judgmt to ye righteous wayes of God. When I came fro ye University beinge placed where some good people were I held a faire correspondence wth them, partly to please my friends & ptly out of strength of conviction yt they were in ye right, They sometimes drew me in to fastinge & prayr & some times I would shuffle & excuse. At last it pleased God that one of them prayed that did many times scarce speake sense, and yet I thought ye man did so feelingly & ~~[illegible]~~ affectionately expresse wt he said, that It strucke mee wth this thought, wt sweetnesse of Gods spirit doe wee that have farre great ~~[illegible]~~ gifts loose for ye pleasures of sin, wch these poore men carry away, and upon this rose the greatest change of my heart & life yt ever I felt. Now I had formerly resisted argumts farre more cogent and was for whole yeares followed wth them beyond any hesitancy so that that perswaded mee that there is somewt beyond swasion. I know God doth convert them he doth convert rationally, and a man doth leave sin to runn to Ct hee knowes not why nor wherefore; but I doe yet apprehend there is somewt more goes to ye rectification of mee wch I confesse is not easy to say wt it is, nor wt ye new heart & new spirit is wch God doth put wthin us. there is more ~~[illegible]~~ of corruption in us besides ye darkenesse of or minds & so a need of somewt more than light; wee question not wt God can doe by swasion but only wt he doth doe, whethr yt way only. Deare-Deare Sr I am resolutely bent to observe ye counsell of bottominge on Ct and ye great fundamtalls & will through ye grace of God unite wth men of holynesse & righteousnesse & pmote ye worke of or deare Ld for who wee can never doe & suffer enough. The God of mercy and tendr compassions put yu undr his everlastinge armes, and support yu undr all yr worke & sufferinges. the Ld make all his wayes mercy and truth to yu. I am (as I am very much oblig'd to bee)

Yr truly lovinge brothr
and fellowservt
Peter Ince

Dunhd Dec. 8.

~~Sir~~ If yu would put forth ye deceits of ye heart wch I remember when we were wth yu, wee understood yu had gone throughe, and yt of pride, than wch I know not a fitter subject for ye age wee live in. I suppose yu would not bee so exposed to those evil clamors of men yt these controversalls occasion. I doe believe yu will be forced to reprint yr aphorismes not only to [illegible] but to vindicate them from some course wayes that Crandon & some othrs put upon them. The Ld direct yu that yu may not throwe away yr little strength nor spend it upon wt is lesse usefull but upon those things yt ye soules of Gods deare people may get most good by. Mr Grove is thankfull for yr remembrance of him & desires to bee heartily remembred to yu and so doth Mr Strickland. I am loth to adde to yr worke yet if yu could spare us ye best grounds yu have for family prayr wee should bee very thankfull to you.

Postscr. Since I writt my lettr I understand fro my brothr Bartlet yt you intend only a briefe answere to Mr Crandons bulky booke wch I am heartily glad of, for I am perswaded yt yt is most it will deserve, and you have bettr imploymt for yor strength & time of wch you have reason to be more frugall then othr men. I believe slightinge will sooner quiet such men then replyinge. Good Sr let not Polemicall writings take up too much of yor paper but write wt may mend ~~[illegible]~~ mens hearts & lives wch are grievously out of order, & I am perswaded God will exceedingly prosper you. were yor strength as ye strength of some other men, I should not seke to call you off so much fro controversyes ~~by~~ wch ye times doe (I confesse) more then ordinarily call. ~~[illegible]~~ The Lord guide you by his counsell till he bringe you to his glory.

wee have proposed agst or next meetinge in yt quarter I am in to give an account wt testimony wee had have ourselves before wee tooke upon us ye ministry, or since that wee were called of God to it, and wt experiences wee have met with eithr of discouragemts & incouragmts in or management of it. wee have not yet met to draw up mattrs for debate at or next generall meetinge. They bee upon ye like worke in Dorsetshire & Somersetshire. The Lord put forward his worke and cause ye temple to be built in troublous times.

For his reverend and
much=respected brother
Mr Richard Baxter
minister of Ch
there.

at Kidderminster.

yu could spare us yr best grounds yt helpe for family prayr wee should bee very thankfull to you.

LETTERS.

fol. 10. of Baxter Letters in volume shown. shown.

Reverend and deare Sr

I did receave yr Lettr and accordinge to yr desire did
propose yr accord to some good ministers amongst us who
by Gods providence not longe aftr yr Lettr came to my hand
sent to mee to meete wth them and consult about such a mattr.
I found that wee could not reach so high at ye first but wt
wee have attained to yu will find by ye inclosed wch was subscribed
by above 30 of us thursday the 20 of October the last weeke
imediately aftr a fast at Salisbury Doctor Chambers & Mr Strickland (who
was not longe since wth yu) performinge ye worke of ye day.
I hope ye Ld hath laid ye foundation of some good amongst
us, but I see wee must drive gently or else wee shall loose
some honest company who wee would willingly have alonge
wth us. wee have chosen 10 amongst us to consider and draw
up wt is to be done in reference to ye more holy and com=
fortable discharge of or worke, the Ld direct us. I shall (if
I be willinge) give yu an account from time to time of wt occurres
worth yr knowledge. In yr last booke about peace of Consc:
yu have write severall thinges very usefull to ye end yu
drive at, but many good men were very much troubled at
yr opinion yt it is so staggeringe about perseverance and
yr distinction of men regenerate & rooted regenerate ones wch
very words are Dr Davenants in ye close of his last booke
to whom some doe suspect yu give up yr selfe too much as
to Amirald. They be both very able schollrs but I believe
the generality of good men amongst us who have very farre
outgone them in experience & insight into ye worke of God
upon ye soules of men are more to be credited then they.
yr former favorable words about morall swasion and indul=
gent expressions about Arminianisme make some good men
feare least by degrees yu should grow more inclinable that way then will be for
the good of yr selfe or othrs ~~[illegible]~~ favoured by [illegible]
[illegible]. Truly I doe believe as Comeisius yt their opinions are opposite amunu
fidelium sensui and know somthinge by my owne heart thatt all ye morall swasion in
the world would doe me no good. I cannot discerne wt need there was in yr booke
for yu to declare yr selfe so, nor wt tendency it hath there to helpe on yt yu are
Truly I never saw one mans soule prosper undr those opinions but on ye
othr side, saw it when I lived in Oxford to be ye way of ye proud, & applause
some apostate puritans yt fell to it went worse & worse & Wetherell of Exe
colledge who was ye zealousest preacher of them when one askt him on his death bed
whethr they should printe his sermons, answered no, for he had sought ye glory of
in none of them all as Mr Strickland who was fellow of yt house wth him informes
Methinkes their ~~[illegible]~~ Acta synodalia, apologia Rem: Vorstius & such writinges savour
of grace; but have a kind of writinge yt betrayes a want of holynesse
It grieves me that there should be any thinge in yr bookes that might hinder
successe wch through ye goodnesse of God might be got by them. The best men I
sure have bin ye zealousest opposers of these ~~men~~ opinions, and the deadlyest enemyes to re
ligion ye receavers and maintainers of them as yu cannot but know. Deare Sr yu see
my freedome wch (the God yt searcheth my heart knowes) proceed from unfeigned love
and respect I beare yu for whom I doe blesse God. I pray yu in mattrs of practise if ever
God shall employ yr pen let these controversyes be let alone, yt doe but hurt ye
worke & nothinge furthr it, as not a few that heartily wish yu well in these parts judge
Deare Deare Sr the God of truth direct yu into all truth ~~[illegible]~~ make yu more
& more a blessinge to yr generation. I am
Mr Grove desires to be remembred to yu.
Dunh. Oct. 25.

Yr faithfull friend
and unworthy fellowservant
P. Ince.

X

10

as an opinion of ye probability [illegible] next to a certainty

For his reverend and
much respected friend
Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of Gd
at
Kidderminster
These

Novemb: 21. 1653

Deare Brother

Yors of Octo. 25 I rec. Nov. 19. I had before a copy of yt agreemt. I much rejoyce in it, &
hope you will hold fast unity & proceed to reformation. Had I any interest in my Brethren
in any ptes in Engl. might I but successfully improve it for Unity & reformation I
shall be content yt it may be utterly wthout successe as to ye propagating of any differing
opinions of my owne: & wn ever I importune you or any man living thereto you
shall reject all wthout any offence. For ye booke you mencion, I thinke God forced me
to it: for I never thought of it a minute before ye misery of a friend drew out of
me a promise of it: nor did I thinke of publishing it till I was far thro it. I confesse
I have admired at ye misunderstandings of a multitude (not of ignorant but)
knowing godly men! who have put on my words a sense so contrary to ye plaine
importance yt wn I went in ye 2d edition to have altered ye darke termes yt occa-
sioned their stumbling truly I know not wt to alter nor how possibly to speake
plainer & so was faine to lett it goe as it was. Certainely men through the
force of jealousy do (as men in ye darke wth the force of conceit) thinke I meane
whatsoever uncharitablenes hath caused ym to suspect me of. But this use I shall make
of it, if I live God willing, I willbe more modest & sparing in thrusting out my
undigested labors to ye world: I had warning enough before but you have some
guilt among others by ye provocation. only some quarrelsome writings now in ye
presse are past recalling (& I must still obey ye overruling Majesty.) For ye poynt
you mention, & whether I had cause to speake as I did, I have given you an
account in my Apologie in ye 2d Edition (certaine I am I spoke ye truth & ye worst
yt can be said is it was an offensive truth. wch me thinkes should partly be long
of ye offended, tho: I am so far from excusing myselfe (yt it is a truth) yt ye very
nature of my speech was but a confession of my infirmity & fault now can truly
say yt I erre. for I tell ym my strong opinion is for perseverance. I hope yts no error
if I hold not ye truth by such a full certainty as others must I therefore be an
Arminian? have ye congregations yt feare God non as ignorant as I, yt yet are
no Arminians! but how should I helpe it? my intellect is not at ye command of my
will. nor of ye will of my friends! only evidence forceth it, & I hope ye spirit of truth
doth guide it, in ye maine I blesse God yt hath framed my mind to beare suspitions
& accusations of error otherwise yn formerly I could do! while we close in Xt &
hold him fast by faith, in love & obedience, I scarse mind these pettish exceptions.
My friends about me chide me for disregarding ym but I must needs say; yt
since ye Lord kindled in my soule an unspeakable desire after ye Unity peace &
love of his people, I have in some measure learned to love a Xtn meerly as a Xtn
& to heare all ye chidings of dissenters but as ye unavoydable effects of or childish
infirmities. whether it come from a good cause or a bad, or (likeliest) both, I say
not but to be voluminously reproched by Mr Crandon, Mr Eires, Mr Kend: Haggar
Fisher, Kayes &c do lesse trouble me yn an angry word hath done! only I am solicitous
yt I no more offend ye church of God. And truly since ye writing of my first undi-
gested booke my conscience doth not accuse me of utter neglect of caution therein.
For as I have utterly suppressed since yt offensive booke agt ye importunity of [illegible]
Letters, so it hath cost me ~~thes~~ 3 or 4 years labor mainly, to write private replys
to ye animadversions of many brethren both to satisfy my selfe before I publish
any more & to remove their offence. And truly to a man in my languishing
state looking still for death, so much time is no contemptible commodity: I
would not have sold a 4th pt of it for many a poore pound nor is it a very easy
labor to me to sit writing most nights till 1 a clocke to ye ruine of my little
health, & all to satisfy ye offended! & yet all will not do! Blessed be ye Lord God
yt is not so implacable to his poore servants & blessed is ye state of a sincere
soule, yt hath chosen a possible worke (ye pleasing of God thro: Xt as standing to
his judgmt.) & not ye impossible taske of men-pleasing. For even ye godly are
here so contrary minded yt some pties must needs be displeased. But I
had almost neglected yr particular objections. As for my distinguishing betweene
regenerate & rooted regenerate ones, I never did it, nor did it ever come into my
thoughts & I marvaile it should be supposed yt I wrote yt wch I never wrote!
I speake not of you chiefly, but of many other, ye cause of whose oversight I scarce
can imagine. indeed I ever distinguish betweene (believers) & [rooted believers] bec. Xt
taught me so to do expressly, making rootednes ye difference betweene temporary belie-
vers & ye standing; wch text I urged for perseverance as unanswerable by ye Armini-
ans tho: they bring it for their cause. And I distinguish betweene [Xtians] & rooted
Xtians) &c. I suppose some yt are no Arminians will call some men [Xtians] yt shall
not be saved. are these such dangerous distinctions? & indeed you mistake in thinking
me [staggering] about perseverance. I confesse I am resolved to yeeld to Gods sure
teachings as another. and I never may I be so ungratefull to my blessed
guide (yt hath so strangely many a time illuminated mine intellect & shewed me
yt in a moment yt many yeares studies before could not discover) as to relinquish
him or forsake his conduct or say depart from me I will not ye knowledge of any
displeasing offensive truth! but yet I must tell you, I am more faulty in
being too tenacious of my opinions (I thinke) yn in being too mutable. I see
divers truths as represented to me in divers degrees of evidence. some yt have
cogent evidence, I am certaine of. some yt have strong evidence, but not so
strong I am lesse certaine of. some yt have far more probability, yn improbability
I hold as an opinion. if ye probability be very great next to a certainty I
hold it by a strong opinion: so I told you I did ye poynt of perseverance. Now
I not these staggeringly, tho: not with a full certainty. for tho ye evidence be
lesse (or apprehended as lesse by me) yet yt degree wch I see I thinke I shall
take. & [illegible] if I must be thought to stagger, whatever I say not [illegible]

certainly I stagger in a 100 truths as well as this. But I do not perceive in myselfe any inclinations to change my mind in this or ym. for I search as far as I can before I determine: & wn I find evidence tho: wth some opposing difficulties & some obscurity, & by long labor find all insolvable, I fix my thoughts as peremptorily yt [this doctrine is evident in a lower degree] as I do of some other yt [they are evident in a higher]. 3o mens jealousyes of my [giving up my selfe] to Davenant or Amyraldus, are as causles as of any man I know living for as I professe yt I never (to my remembrance) received one opinion from either of ym so I am as unapt to give up my understanding to any man & to get upon trust, as most men yt ever yet I was acquainted wth; & do suspect rather yt my fault lies yt way; & yt I am guilty of overvaluing Davenant & Amyraldus (& more Cameron & Baronius) for their agreeing wth my judgmt, yn of captivating mine to theirs. yet me thinks it is ye meere love of truth yt makes me value both ye doctrine & ye men. 4 as for mens jealousyes of my turning Arminian I say 1o wn Unity, Catholicke unity is forsaken & men addict ymselves to sides, ye moderate have seldome had fairer censures; 2 if God shew me truth, no prejudice shall hinder me, I hope, from receiving it. 3 yet let me professe, to you my friend, yt I am more firmly established agst Arminianisme yn ever I was in my life: & much more since I left Twisses way & went ye way of ye Synod of Dort, yn I was before (& wt will Arminianisme be next if ye Dort Canons be Arminianisme now? & if it be not I am none) truly deare brother I was never before able to deale wth an Arminian. wtever I yn thought of myselfe or others thought of me: tho: yet my abilities are small yet much advantaged by my principles for such a worke. And indeed I feele not mys. tempted much to Arminianisme, so yt I am strongly confident (tho: not certaine) yt no man need to suspect me in yt. I have many a time observed as well as you how ill grace hath thriven with those opinions. but above all me thinkes, my prayers confute it. I cannot pray well wth ye Arminian doctrine: for sure if I thought free will did so much & grace so little I should pray with little life. but yet I doubt not but in Germany, Sweden Denmarke are millions of godly men of those opinions; & I know many in Engl. And doubtles one reason why they were so bad in Engl. was, yt ye godly being first entered into another schoole, & so running one way, (much by ye force of example & affection, & much by divine grace) ye other were temporizers yt tooke up ye opinions for worldly respects. And had they bin sound & wholsome truthes, they would not have [illegible] being so received. Tis generally acknowledged yt as in France & Belgia ye orthodox are too loose so yt Arminians at first carryed it much by more then ordinary piety. I write this not as an Arminian; but as a Xtn (as being loath to grant yt ye saving truthes of Xtianity cannot by Gods grace reforme men's hearts & lives & make ym truly & eminently holy tho: joyned wth ye errors of Arminianisme. [illegible] feare by your being lest you should sin as much by having too vilifying, uncharitable thoughts of ye godly yt way, as they do, by their opinions; seeing Theologia est scientia affectiva et practica, & opinions are most dangerous yt most corrupt ye affections & practice: & ye Unity & love of Saints is a greater pt of ~~their~~ true religion yn of late yeares we in Engl. have seemed to be sensible of. but againe I say to you for mys. if ever you heare yt I turne Arminian, say, I was utterly a stranger to my owne mind. but truly I thinke it a worke well worth the labor of ye best men living, to explaine some poynts so as may tend to reconcilement, yt at least ye quarrells about words may be layd aside & ye difference seeme not to lie where it doth not. And if all ye friends I have on earth would hate me for it, yet I would diligently follow yt worke, if I were able, & but likely to succeed. if principles on both sides are no better explained yn yet they be (for ought I have seene) there will be Arminians & Antiarminians while there are men & Xtians & in considerable ptis to maintaine hated emulations & contentions in ye chh: but were ye apprehensions of my mind sufficiently explicated to ye world (from doing wch offended brethren have this 3 or 4 yeares tyed my hands) (absit jactantia) I should hope yt both pties would so much cause 1o to close in some things 2o utterly to lay by others as things beyond ye reach of man. for my pt I am better satisfyed, & so better setled yn ever before. for predestination I goe higher yn the synod of Dort, & for Redemption much as they & for perseverance full as high & so of ye rest. but ye great poynt [speciall differencing grace, omnipotently & infallibly procuring its effects] I hold as fast as my life & more. as for yt poynt of morall swasion, yt you mention, I know God uses externall swasion & whether he so manage not objects as thereby he may be said internally to perswade I know not well; but I thinke he doth. but whether this be all, or he physically do more, let him tell yt knowes, for I do not, nor will I lie & make mys. wiser yn I am to be thought Orthodoxe. Nay more I am perswaded no man living knows it nor can give ye affirmative or ye neg. ye experience wch you say you have agst [illegible] but your meere conceit. you may find omnipotent prevalent effectuall grace

LETTERS.
Fol. 12. of Baxter Letters in volume shown. shown.

but you cannot feele wch way it workes. Can you well tell ye difference betweene
an internall worke of ye Spirit by way of swasion & by way of nature:
hath not Xt sd Joh 3. yt every one yt is borne of ye Spirit is as one yt heareth ye
wind but knoweth not whence &c 1.2. ye way of its motion: I have oft mar
vailed at mens strangenes to their ~~owne~~ comon ignorance in an utterly
unsearchable thing, & more at their boldnes yt dare say yt God allmighty is
not able by a way of morall operation to change ye heart of a sinner. if
I cannot be accounted Orthodoxe till my ignorance in this be cured
farewell yt reputation of Orthodoxnes in this life. // Deare brother I spe
not these words as to yours. but as to those objectors whose words you men
tion; & should I not be thankfull for your faithfull dealing I were not
worthy of a friend. this of yours hath added to yt great favour of your
visit whereby I am obliged to more yn you must ever expect from me. my
love & service remembred to Mr Grove who obliged me by ye like undeserved
kindnes. Deare brother bottome upon Xt & ye great fundamentalls: unite in
those with men of holines & righteousnes! Preserve yt union affectionately
& unweariedly: & keep your eye upon yt glory where we shalbe one. this is the
daily expectation & ye former ye daily endeavor of yr thankfull brother

Ri: Baxter

To mr Ince

(2)

Examind

My Lord

Being by Episcopall Ordination Vowed to the Sacred Ministry, & bound to observe it, when by painfull diseases & debility I waited for my Change, I durst not spend my last daies in idlenes; & knew not how better to serve the Church than by writing a Paraphrase on the New Testamt, purposely fitted to the use of the mo ignorant, & the reconciling of Doctrinall differences about texts variously expounde Farre was it from my designe to reproach the Church or draw men from it, having th pleaded for Diocesans as successours of the Apostles over many Churches, though I confute the overthrowing opinion which setteth them over but One Church, deny the parishes to be Churches. But some persons, it is like offended at other passag in the booke, have thought fitt to say, that I scandalize the Church of England; and a Information being exhibited in the Kings Bench, & a tryall before a Comon Jury, on my owning the booke, they forthwith found me Guilty without hearing my Defence And I have cause to expect a severe Judgment the beginning of the next Terme And all this on a charge that my unquestionable words, were Meant by me, to scandalize the Church, which I utterly deny. If God will have me end a painfull weary Life by such a suffering, I hope I shall finish my Course with joy. But my conscience commandeth me to value the Churches strength & honour before my life, And I ought not to be silent under the scandall of suffering as an enemy to it, nor would I have my sufferings increase mens prejudice against it: I have lived in its Communion, & conformed to as much as the Act of Uniformity obliged one in my condition: I have drawn multitudes into the Church, & written to justifie the Church & Ministry agt Seperation, when the Paraphrase was in the Presse, Even my displeasing writings (whose dangers & faults I justifie not) have bin my earnest pleadings for the healing of a divided people, & the strengthening of the Church by Love, & Concord on possible termes. I owe satisfaction to you that are my Diocesane, & therfore presume to send you a copy of the Information against me, & my Answer to the particular Accusations, humbly intreating you to spare so much time from your weighty busynes, as to peruse them, or order them to be perused for your satisfaction. I would faine send with them one Sheet [in Vindication of my accused Life & Loyalty, & of Positive proofes that I meant not to accuse the Church of England, & of the danger of exposing the clergie to charges of Thoughts & Meanings as prejudice shall conjecture] but for feare of displeasing you by Length. For Expositions of Scripture to be thus tryed ~~[illegible]~~ by such Jury's as oft as they are but called seditious, is not the old way of managing Church differences, & of what consequence you will easily judge If your Lordship be satisfyed that I am no enemy to the Church, & that my punishment will not be for its interest, I hope you will vouchsafe to present my Petition to his Maty, that my appeale to the Church may suspend the sentence, till my Diocesane or who his Maty shall appoint, may heare me, & report their sence of the cause. By which your Ldship will I doubt not many waies serve the welfare of the Church, as well as oblige

Your languishing humble servant

X

(4) 8

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Reverend Sr,
Though I have no personall knowledge of, nor ~~[illegible]~~
acquaintance with you, yet have had many yeares
converse with yor profitable & painfull labors in yor books,
wch are abundantly extant to the benefitt of Gods church
amongst us. many of wch I have perused wth great
satisfaction, & benefit, for wch I blesse God, & thank you
heartily, & desire the assistance, and blessed spirit of God
to continue with you, for your continued help, and furtherance
in his work, for his glory, & his peoples good. but lately
lighting upon a book in a stationers shop, wch in the title
page, your name was prefixt, cald a discourse of ye 2
covenants, having had many thoughts about yt subject
of late, I gladly looked on it, yet found it in deed nothing
else but an anonymous piece, & only your Epistle to it.
the truth is, In reading I was much dissatisfyed, & many more
are dissatisfyed wth ye book as well as myself (as yeelding
too much to mans righteousnesse in the matter of justification)
wch I have found by discourse with severall divines in
conferring wth them, & indeed I am as I was at first, as much dissa-
tisfyed with many things in the Epistle to ye reader wch
you wrote. p. 5 you write thus, for wee may boldly say yt
ye sons of Cain, Cham, Nimrod &c. had more originall sin yn
~~what~~ they had from Adam. & you say p. 4. yt you are past
doubt of it, & I must ingenuously confesse, yt I (& many
others) do altogether doubt of it, & Mat. 23. 35. wch you say
expounds yt matter, makes nothing to ~~[illegible]~~ the clearing of ~~[illegible]~~
understanding about the matter, & having had some serious
thoughts about it, I did a little within myself discusse
ye matter & accordingly have drawn up some things wch
I would present to you in a plain brotherly way, for I confesse
I know myself farr inferiour not to yourself only, but to
thousands of Gods eminent worthyes in his service in the
ministry, in quicknesse of apprehension, great reading,
nimblenesse & curiousnesse of writing, eminency of grace &c.

14
X

& therefore do professe, yt I do not propose those things in way of contest wth a man of such eminent worth for parts and godly as yor selfe: but do humbly desire yt you would please candidly to view them, & at yor leisure to give a few lines to me for further satisfaction, & I scorn to be of yt frame, as many I see too forward to shew themselves of, to publish & print any thing by way of exception, in such manner of dislike as tends to nothing else, but to cast dust in ye face of those, of whom they should rather learn humility and selfdeniall. I am quite also dissatisfyed ~~else~~ about Cains making himselfe of the seed of the serpent & tho I know & beleive yt Originall sin did not make him so, yet I do not see yt any actuall sin a man comitts can make himselfe of yt seed. I should think yt if actuall sin against superadded grace makes a man one of ye seed of ye serpent, yn our actuall acceptance of grace makes a man one of the seed of the woman, now I cannot think ye latter, therefore not the former, I know the one doth evidence the other but do not cause it to be so, & who knows not ye difference between ye cause & evidence of a thing: I take ye seed of ye woman, & of the serpent to be ye elect & reprobate, & that this, and yt man is of ye seed of the one, & of ~~of~~ the other, is according to G. purpose (& or spirituall & eternall estates are all according to Gods purpose and appointment 1 Thes. 5. 9) concerning us, from all eternity. I shall for present trouble you no further, beseeching you as a brother to overlook & rectify any mistake or misapprehension. I take leave for present, having had a purpose to see you, & discourse a little about these matters, but for present disappointed The Lord blesse you, & further yor endeavours in good service. Sr I am

London. Lawrence lane.
July. 18. 74.

Yor unworthy brother &
fellow labourer
Samuell Winney

If you please to send me a line or two pray
convey to mr Thomas Cockerill bookseller at the
Atlas in Cornhill.

Q. whether the seed of any, (yea though the worst of persons) ever had heretofore, or now have more Originall sin, than what they had from Adam?

Resp. for the clearing, & right understanding of the truth, its requisite that we consider

1 That the Question is not, whether be any such thing as Originall sin?

2 Nor, whether Originall sin be derived from Adam?

but 1 what Originall sin is?

2 And whether we do not derive it all equally, as to the measure and degree, from Adam? or, whether the seed of all men, best as well as worst (& vice versa) do derive from the immediate parent, more Originall sin than they had from Adam?

2 whether the truth, to be affirmed, & held in answer to this Question, ought not to be thus laid down? viz.

That no men, born of whatsoever parents, in any age of the world, ever had, or have, any more Originall sin, one than another, or than they all had from Adam? but they have it all, best and worst, the seed of the one, as of the other, all alike from Adam?

Divines do distinguish to us Originall sin in to 2 branches

1 Peccatum Originale Originans, which was the first sin of the first parents, Adam & Eve, the guilt of which (according to the tenour of the Covenant of works, being made with Adam & all his posterity) was imputed, not onely to himself, but to his posterity, all, and every one alike. the guilt and charg of that first transgression admits not of magis & minus, as to the object on which it is charged, that is descendent, and derived from his loins. so that there is a like imputation of that sin to all, and all the world is equally guilty in that regard before God, nor is any person, nor yet the seed of any person, that was, is, or shall be born of him, that can be more guilty one than another thereof.

Rom. 5. 18.

2 Peccatū Originale Originatū. and this is the effect of the former, Consisting of 2 parts.

1 The want of Originall righteousnes, this is privative, and this is equally the case of all, they are deprived of holinesse and the image of God. Rom. 3. 23. for all have sinned and all are short of the glory of God. so Rom. 3. 10. none righteous, no not one, all dead in trespasses &c Eph. 2. 1. alienated from the life of God Eph. 4. 18. if Adam be wholly deprived of Gods image and all grace, so must every one be that comes from him and that alike and equally, bec. wee come all equally of him. Every-one must have the same qualifications of nature, as he had if his was totally Corrupt so must theirs be, they must be as he was, else would it raise a suspition and a doubt whether all came alike from him and equally did partake with him of the same nature and every way so qualifyed, if not stript of all those holy endowments of grace and righteousnes as hee himselfe by the first sin was: wee all comming from him that was totally deprived of Originall righteousnesse must be so too.

2 the Corruption of the whole nature, this is positive, (sano sensu) Now all, & every one, as they come into the world, are equally and alike corrupted, and polluted by that sin and Corruption, which we all derived from Adam.

Severall Arguments drawn from the Scripture

1 The Scripture speaking of Originall sin, and Corruption, it speakes indefinitely, and universally of all, or any of the sons of men: without ~~without~~ any restriction, or Exemption of any. Rom. 5. 19. many (that is all compare v. 12) were made sinners, not Cain onely or those that come of him, but ~~Abel~~ Abel, and all that come of him. not Saul onely, and all his posterity, but David too and all of him. both waies, not onely under the guilt of sin legally, by virtue of Gods imputation of the first sin to them all,

but also under the power, and pollution of sin naturally. the whole world (none excepted) lyes in wickednes, 1 Joh. 5.19. the heart that is every heart, or every mans heart, not of this, ~~or~~ that man onely, but every man is deceitfull, and desperately wicked. Jer. 17.9. so the wise man speakes, Eccles. 8.11. the heart of the sons of men (i.e.) all the sons of men, is fully set in them to do evill: that fulnesse may respects either the subject receiving, all the sons of men, and every one of them, or sin yt is received, full of every sin, and corruption whatsoever. Now where the Scripture makes no limitation or exception, we ought not.

2 It plainely appeares by the titles that are given to Originall sin, throughout the Scripture. It is called the old man: man, to shew that it is to every man, as he is man, from the first man: it spreads it self like leaven, through the whole lump of mankind. as well as because it is the all of every man: whosoever is a man, and as far as he is a man is partaker of it, no part of a man onely is a man, the eye is not the man, the hand, or foot is not the man, the soul onely, nor ye body onely is the man, but all those parts, all those integrall and essentiall parts together constitute ye man, in like manner one sin, this, that, the other is not ye old man, but all all sin together so call'd. much to ye same purpose is it call'd a body, not onely as to ye manner of its conveyance, but as to the subject recipient of it, every one that hath a body from Adam, by ordinary by ordinary-generation, & that the totum peccati, not singulare peccatum quodcunque doth constitute this body of sin ordinarily.

3 It appeares plainely further, if wee consider that way of conveyance of Originall corruption to all men, and that is by naturall generation and conception. and if it bee so, it must follow, that all men must alike have it, and that it is so appeares plain. Ps. 51.5. I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive mee: as a

man receiveth the whole humane nature from man by naturall generation, so the whole corruption of nature.

2 Every man conveys what he received, now the first man that was born, and every man born of Adam, received all corruption from him: and so they conveyed the same to their children, & they to their children, and so lineally to this day, and to the end of the world, the parent to the child, and the child to his child. &c throughout all generations. what they received from him ~~as~~ descending from him, they conveyed to others descending from them. to all and every one still still as they came by descent from them. so that a man must have as much, and can have no more from his immediate parent, than he had from his parent, and he again from his, and so backward in the line till we come again to Adam. and if Adam had all, and conveyed all, then all must be equally sharers in it, and if not, let that that was missing be discovered, and what, & how the hindrance was be manifested. so it must of necessity follow, if the whole nature be corrupted, and the whole nature communicated, then all alike equally partake of it.

4 If all of every man be corrupted, then are all alike corrupted; but the former is true, ergo. man can but be wholly corrupted, and if every man be so, then every man must be corrupted, one as much as another, forasmuch as every man is totally corrupted, & this followes on the same ground as before, because Adam was totally corrupted, and by naturall generation conveyed it to us. Rom. 5. 12. 17. Adam was all men in the world in seed & root and if they are not equally corrupted, then was he not fully, for they have all alike nature, and corruption from him. both being and pollution; he had the whole nature of mankind universally (qd) in him, and to say, that we do not receive from Adam all sin, is to say that Adam had not all in himself. for surely if he had all, that he hath conveyed it to every person. as the least, & every sprig of a tree has the whole

nature of the root, sournes, sweetnes, the whole nature and all the qualities of the tree, and root are in the least branch thereof, and to say wee are not all equally sinfull, is to say wee are not all fully sinfull, now there is no difference in this regard as not in others, man full. Eccles. 8: sup. filled with all unrighteousnes. Rom. 1. & therefore to deny either of these, is to deny that wee were all equally in Adams loins.

Now since all are alike guilty of the first sin Adam committed, and alike corrupted from him. if the Scripture make no exception, nor limitation. if the titles of Originall Corruption, shew it to be equally shared to all alike. if Originall Corruption be conveyed, & can be conveyed no other way, than by naturall conception, and if all of every man be corrupted, then no persons themselves, nor yet their seed, can partake of Originall sin, one more than another.

Besides the evidence of Scripture, I may make use of one Argument more, drawn from the experience of all the saints of God, in all ages of the world, who have found and still do find, that the corruption of their nature is working in them to the worst of sins. how do the best of men find the motions of every sin, and the temptation of their own lust to every sin, that was committed, that ever was heard of, yea to them that they never heard of at all! such strong, hideous, unruly temptations, motions, and violent stirrings of corruptions, against God, christ, scripture, grace, heaven, yea nature itself, such unnaturall, bruitish, hellish, inhumane lusts, that it is beyond all expression, & conception almost, but by those that have had them and experience of them. It is true wee read of them that have been such mirrours of civility that they have been admired by all. as it is said of Bonaventure in hoc homine non peccauit Adam. but it was rather others conceit of them, than so really and indeed. Luther laments himselfe, that he found all sins in himselfe except Covetousness: but was that sin therefore not in him? how directly would such a conceit contradict that saying of Christ, Mark 7. 21. 22. from the heart of man (indefinitely not of this or that, but every one that is a meer man, and therefore out of Luthers heart, being a man (though an excellent man) as well as other men) proceedeth covetousness, as well as other, and all sin. but that Angell of God Mr Bradford laments, who (as it is said of him) would never look on any ones lewd life with one eye, but he would presently return within his own breast with the other eye, and say, [In this my vile breast remains that sin, which without Gods speciall grace, I should have committed so well as he]. besides, what the Apostle affirms of this. Rom. 7. 8. with 18. 24. vs. πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν. all manner of concupiscence, or every lust. ut alibi passim.

In the next place wee may observe the absurdities that will follow from the contrary doctrine (viz.) that some persons or the seed of some persons whereof Cain Cham Nimrod Ishmael Esau Saul Ahab. &c. had more Originall sin than what they had from Adam, and these will serve to evince the truth, that we now endeavour to assert

1 Then may wee say, that all were not alike in Adam. (this was touched on before, but a little more considered) nor did he sustain the persons of all, one so much as another. if so, to be sure then, what he did all did, and what contagion he received all men received from him in the same degree with himselfe, and therefore all alike. now this is a generall rule among all sound divines, that Adam stood as a publick person, and we were all in his loins. (Assemb. Catech.) and that of August. is most true, Omnes eramus unus ille homo. and therefore equally partakers with him of the guilt

of the first sin, and of the Corruption of his whole nature. if the blessednes and holines would have been on all men, had he stood in that state of uprightnes God made him in: so is the curse, and Corruption unto all and upon all alike, because wee all fell in him. wee may not fear to say, that Adam did not stand as the publick representative of all mankind, if any of mankind, did lesse than others share in the Corruption of his nature.

2 Nor are all alike, and in the same degree liable to death, and damnation, if not alike in Adams sin sharers, as wee come into the world. Now this a grounded Maxim, yt all are heirs of hell, & death alike by nature, as wee are born. all the Children of death, and then shall contradict the Apostle, and wish him to correct what he hath left upon record. Rom. 5. 12. yt death passed on all men, because all have sinned: nor would they bee alike liable to wrath, and children of wrath, as the same Apostle tells us. Eph. 2. 2. 3. if not all alike guilty, & corrupted.

3 Nor yet all alike dead in trespasses and sins Eph. 2. 1. now all privations are equall, therefore call darknes itself, and all the Ephesians alike so. Eph. 5. 8. & so consequently, all have not the like hurt by nature, as others have according to this tenet.

4 It will follow further, that all do not alike need Christ, nor yet the spirit, nor yet the grace of God, if all do not ly in the like Evill, nor under the like malady, then do they not alike need the remedy: and these three are the only remedyes, that God hath given to us for our distresse, and misery, Christ to purchase, and give life, the spirit to make us new Creatures, grace to change the heart and life, (which indeed is but a fruit and effect of the spirit) this seemes to imply, that some persons do not need so much

washing, cleansing, purging & purifying grace. in sume, some need not to be justified, and sanctified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Spirit of our God, as others do.

5 Yea then wee may as well say, that all have not all actuall sin neither, for wherein they fail in the one, viz. the participation of Originall sin, they fail in the other; viz. actuall sin also, wee can be said no more to be inclined to actuall sin, than wee are partakers of Originall sin: now if any root of bitternes fail of being in our hearts implanted, & conveyed; then do wee also fail, to bring forth ye fruit of it in our actions, throughout our lives. then may wee say, some are not such adulterers, theives, covetous, blasphemers in their practice, bec. the root of it is wanting in their natures. the root of such sin's failed of being transfused from Adam to them: either it comes not from the fountain, or it was lost in the channell, for there's no such thing appeares, or is to be found in them, whereas experience evidenceth the quite contrary.

6 Nay, which is as bad as any thing else, some may say, they make themselves differ from others, & so as was hinted before, the restraining, and renewing grace of God is clouded, and eclipsed, and cant be magnified as it ought to be, & wee are required to do. Contrary to what ye Apostle saith, 1 Cor. 4. 7. and Grevinchovius's Ego meipsum discerno, seemes of right to take place, whereas the Apostle saith (and none durst to say other) by the grace of God I am what I am: 1 Cor. 15. 10. & wee may say as well, and it will follow from the former, by the grace of God I am not, what I am not; that all be not Adonijah's to their father, Reubens to their mother, Cains to their Brother, Amnons to their Sister, &c but by this doctrine, wee may invert

the Apostles words, yet I, but not the grace of God. my nature is not so bad as anothers, therefore not my life neither.

7 wee may collect more yet, then all have not alike need to watch their own hearts, if they have not so much Originall sin as others. nor yet suspect themselves to be liable to the same grosse sins as others, if the heart be not so bad, as it is not if this doctrine hold true. yet did the disciples this, when Jesus Christ told them, that one of them should betray him. they answered every one, master is it I? they might have said, as many self confident, self-conceited persons do, I will warrant, I will not do it. they might have ~~have~~ thought & spoken, as Hazael spake to the prophet, Is thy servant a dog, yt I should do this great thing? 2 Kings. 8. 13. if all the evill doth not come out of the heart of man, every man, then that duty need not so urgently to be prest on all, as the Holy Ghost by the wise man doth/. prov. 4. 23. if the hearts of some be not so desperately wicked, what need then such a do to be sober, & circumspect and vigilant? yea they are not so liable to the devices and advantages of Satan neither, for what he doth, he doth by the lusts of our own hearts, and the Corruption of our own natures.

8 It follows, may wee not say, that some have more power to good than others have, because not so weakned by the Corruption of nature, having not received so much from Adam as others have. & so freewill, and naturall power to good may easily be introduced, at least in a degree, & hence confirmed, yt we are able of our selves to, at least we are not so disabled altogether from ye doing of that wch is good, & so we fall into the errour of Pelagians and Arminians that say that nature is not quite dead, but asleep, and wee need onely the rousing up of naturall abilities that be in us.

9 this will lay the whole stresse of our damnation on actuall sin only, not Originall: so that a man, at least some men are not so lyable to damnation as they come into the world as some others are, this so makes actuall sin as bad, if not worse than Originall, & some persons not so liable to dye as others; contrary to the fore named text Rom. 5.12.

10 this seemes to imply, that some receive more sin from the immediate parent, than from Adam; whereas what have wee from them, but what they received first from him: as before.

11 this will imply, yt some are not such enemies to God as others, nor so contrary to him, for if some are not so sinfull by nature as others, then have they not so much contrariety to Gods nature in their nature as others, sinfull acts are but transgressions of Gods law, but Originall sin is the contrariety of our nature to his nature.

12, Lastly, if the seed of some have more Originall sin, than they had from Adam, then others seed have lesse, and since there is instance only of the seed of the reprobate, that have more, then ye Elects seed must have lesse, & if as hath been said, all actuall sins come from Originall, it appeares by the vilenes of the actuall sins of the seed of the Elect, they have as bad natures as the worst of the reprobates seed: which the Elect had from their progenitours, & they from Adam: or else let any other Originall spring be discovered, from whence they should derive it.

To my worthy & much valued brother
Mr Henry Oasland.

(5)

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X

Dear Brother 1) I thanks you for yors, wch I know is from
love & agreeable to yor judgmt. I also saw a letter of yours
to Mr Ellis in wch you say, No man hath so lost himselfe
How many more you have so wrote to I know not: Nor to
what use you talke of me to others. The words move
pitty in me, yt a Minister of Christ should say any man
hath lost himselfe, when he loseth nothing but mens
approbation: As if we must all seeke ye hypocrites reward.
For what you say [I must not excuse] in generall, I have
long knowne my ignorance to be great, & therefore I am
like enough to play ye foole when I do not know it; &
because you make yt Law I will not excuse it, viz, [That in
yt age & grave when ye same sin of separating principles,
wch corrupted Olivers Army, wch overturned all Governmts wch
have silenced 1800 ministers, & brought us into all this con-
fusion, & cast ye greatest dishonor on Religion yt ever
was done in England, yt hath bred Ranters, Quakers,
Seekers, Infidels, when these same principles I say have
ye strongest Temptations to increase, & do in City
& Countrey Multiply an hundredfold, I should then
excuse an antient divine for repeating ye old non
Conformists words agt separation, so far as to say
yt he was a man of experience who had lived to
see ye fruites of it. & yt I did not write in ye same epistle
some distinctions to vindicate you from calumnie, though
every English man except you, I suppose knoweth yt they
were not likely to be licensed, & though I have done it
copiously elsewhere & oft, & though separation is an old

2)

Known subject of a multitude of Nonconformists Volumes, who have told ye world what it was they wrote of & so have I) This is ye Narrative of ye Crime, of wch I will make no excuse. // As for ye booke you speake of in ye presse I have sent you one, & ye rest of my brethren, & I think I shewed it you when you were with me, & I must now rather crave your Confutation of it, when you have read it all, & tell you freely, yt I read all your argumts written agt it before you saw or heard a word of it (except when you were with me wth wonder & sorrow. Strange; yt a Minister, yt one yt knoweth me, yt one yt so lately, when I had newly written yt same booke, was wth me, should powre out such impertinent stuffe, & talke at such a rate, as in a dreame, of matters yt no more concerne me than himselfe; Nay in his Letter professeth his owne judgmt for all yt I write for, & yet calls for watch & ward agt it, as if I were setting ye church on fire. I need no more evidence of ye vanity of applause, ye hypocrites reward, than to observe yt ye same Brother yt is one month overapplauding me, ye next maketh such an outcry agt me as a lost man, even behind my back to others, & yt upon such an occasion as this! I must needs passe by all ye impertinent substance of your letter, about my taske to justify ye church of England, & I hope with ye same Love & freedome tell you my opinion of ye rest, but not under ye same law, yt you must excuse it, but only offer to your further consideration, if you can possibly bring your selfe to an unpassionate & impartiall calmeness. 1° Whether it be not dolofull selfishness, pride & carnality to desire & yt so vehemently, yt one of ye two theives yt have reviled Christ should goe unblamed, one of ye two heynous sins wch have ruined us, & wronged Christ in ye face of ye world, should not be touched or gainsayed, only because yt malignant men will thence take occasion to call you *separatists*. O wofull tenderness of *selfe* & of a *party*! Are you fit to suffer death for christ yt ~~had run into ye guilt of sin & such a sin~~ yt had rather Christ suffer, & ye soules of many thousand professors run into ye guilt of sin & such a sin, yn you & I, should beare a word of unjust reproach. O tender eares! but a tender conscience were better. What if ye malignants call you *Pharisees*, & *Perjured*, & *Rebellious* as they do. It is unexcusable ever after yt for any one to write agt Rebellion, Perjury or Pharisees, for feare least some be encouraged to grate upon your tender eares wth ye same accusations? so if Christ be called a glutton, or drunkard & sabboth=breaker, a freind to Publicans & sinners? it is unexcusable yt will then write agt gluttony, drunkenness or sabboth=breaking or deboist company, unless ye licenser will alwaies passe with it, a particular vindication of christ.

2°. Do not you by this meanes virtually patronize all sin & villainy in ye world, wch any will

4) but accuse you of: while you thinke it might not therefore be openly opposed // 3° Q. Is it not a Carnall coardfull thing for a preacher of ye Gospell to make a greater matter of profeſſors ſufferings than their ſins: & to feare ſo greatly a word of reproach agt ym, & ſo little their guilt: As if another mans ſin would hurt ym more yn their owne? // Q 4°. Is it not a dreadfull obduratenes ſo quickly to forget or (wch is worſe) to be reconciled to thoſe very ſins this yeare, wch but ten yeares ago in our ſight did all ye things formentioned? (It was not Anabaptiſtry, Independency, or any opinion as ſuch, but ye proud dividing ſpirit of Perſecution on one ſide, & ſeparation for every opinions ſake on ye other hand, yt was ye floodgate of all our hereſies, breaches, guilt & ruines.) That God ſhould tell yt land by permitting ye ſtupendious effects of theſe two ſins, how haynous & pernicious they are, who would not by bare hereſay know them; and yt after 20 yeares experience of ſuch multiplyed guilt & miſery, preachers ſhould not endure ye nameing of ye ſin, leſt they forſooth ſhould be reproached by it? // Q 5°. Is it not a great addition to this fearefull obduration, when in ye very time yt God hath ſo greivouſly judged us by plagues, flames, ſilencing, impriſonmts, preachers ſhall not onely remaine impenitent, but declare for ye impenitency of ye land, & cheriſh profeſſours in impeni-

tency even while they are under so sharpe a rod, & says O tell you not of their sin? // Q 6° Is it not a sad prognosticke of our continued sufferings, if not our utter ruine, when Impenitency is thus preached up in ye day of our affliction. // 7° Q. Are they not physicians of no value, & hinderers of ye churches cure, yt know not in a time of such greivous judgment yt ye true method of cure is to remove ye sin, & yt want of true Repentance in our failures is ye stop of our deliverance: & yt should hide from mens eyes ye sins yt they must repent of. // Q. 8° Are not ye prayers of such how earnest soever, such lost labor & hypocrisy as God complaineth of Isa. 58. when they cry to man, O touch not our sins lest we be dishonored & cry to God, O deliver us from our enemies // Q 9° Is it not carnall faction, to thinke yt we yt are guiltles of those sins must not offend ye Guilty by speaking ym, least we should weaken our party, by their offense! As if a combination in sin (wch is mans way) were better for our deliverance than Repentance (wch is Gods way) Q 10° Is it not a double crime for preachers yt should call men to Repentance to do this, than for private men? To cry peace & sow pillows, when God is scourging us into confessione // Q 11° Have not ye 20 years Guilt of ye Professors of England in this point of Division bin as open, notorious, haynous, & of as dreadfull consequence as most ever was in ye world! And is it not ye remembrance of it, yt maketh us & our profession odious to Rulers, Strangers &c And hath there yet been any such confession made by

ye Guilty party in print or ſpeech, as may be pro-
portionable to vindicate ye honour of God, & ſave ye
ſoules of ſinners from ye ſcandall. Who be they
yt made yt Confeſſion, & where is it to be found?
Or when & where was any Generall Repentance
expreſſed? // Q 12° When our Lord hath ſo expreſly
told us, yt a houſe & Kingdome divided cannot ſtand,
doth it beſeeme a Miniſter of Chriſt to ſilence yoſe
yt would decry Diviſion, & all for feare of hearing
a hard word agt yemſelves? // Q 13° Is he a ſkillfull
Paſtor yt can find no fitter meanes agt Calumny
& for his own honour yn ye ſilencing of ſin? // Q 14°
Is he a ſkillfull Miniſter of Chriſt, & knoweth
ye ſeaſon of his duty, who either knoweth not yt
Temptations to unjuſt ſeparations were never
greater & ye ſin never more abounded & increa-
ſed, or yt judgeth it unſeaſonable to admoniſh
men of ye ſin in ye time of greateſt guilt & dan-
ger? or yt foreſeeth not what it threateth if we
were all ſet at liberty? // Q 15° Have you not ſaid as
much as I write for, when you ſay, [Heare I do, & joine
in ye Prayers I do, & can joine in ye ſacramt rather
than live without it.] And when juſt ſo much as
this, is growne ſo odious in ye land yt thouſands live
in ye ſin of odious cenſures agt yem yt ſo think
& do, is it not a combination in ſin, to ſilence yoſe
owne judgmt to your followers, leſt you loſe your

selfe wth ym: If you silence it not, why should not ye
same thing lose you wth ym as well as others. // Q 16. Whe
you next professe Dr Br & those yt daily attend
a minister are guilty of ye sins wch he is guilty of upon such
ye account of his entring upon & his standing in ye Ministry?
do you not confesse yt in hearing such yor selfe you
willfully condemne yor selfe, & professe yt you undertake
ye guilt of their sins: Unless you can dreame yt often hear-
ing & not your seldome hearing maketh men guilty.
Q 17o Do you not proclaim all to be sinfull fooles yt will
attend your ministry? For sure you dreame not yt
ye entring & standing is without sin. // Q 18o Do you not
charge all ye people of England, Nonconformists & all ye
rest, Hildersham, Brightman, Dod &c wth being guilty
of subscribing, Conforming, swearing canonicall obe-
dience, (if not simony) because they daily attended ye
Ministry of such Conformists. // Q 19o: Is not this ye
Brownists separation: If not higher, than ever
Johnson or any separatist maintained: // Q 20. Have
you ever soberly studyed ye old Nonconformists
writings agt this separation; Hildershams, Pagets, Brad-
shaws, Jacobs (ye Independt) Balls Brightman, &c!
& are you able to confute ym? // Q.21. Is it not an
unsavoury thing to put all off wth saying ye case is
altered, & not tell wherein, as to ye point of se-
paration, when they deale wth ye same objections
wch our people now make, & many more. Minist-

8)

riall Conformity we know is much altered, but not ye peoples. // Q. 22. Do you not accuse Jesus Christ openly & his followers, for being ordinarily in ye Synagogues, & Comanding ye hearing of ye Pharisees, & attendance on ye preisthood in ye Temple &c when he & they were guilty of all ye sinfull entrance & standing of ye Preists &c And if we have a sinfull Saviour, who shall cleanse us from our sins? // Abundance such matter your Letter affords: I adde but three // 23. I pray you marke whether your words imply not yt you are ruled by ye people, & are as much a servant to yor hearers as ye Curates are to ye Bps: When you talke how you melt your hearers, & how men are lost yt lose their favour, & talke how Dr Owen in mens esteeme (whose esteeme I promote as much as most do), & when you subject ye ministry of Christ so much to ye peoples honour, yt they may not be ill spoken of, & such like; I confess I have a carefull feare of you lest you are a servant of men & live too much upon ye peoples breath (O poor reward!) Not yt I thinke yt this is yor all or chiefe, but too much of your felicity. I confesse, as a standerby, I discern not any greater signes of servility & Prelate=pleasing in most Conformists, than I do of servility & ~~[illegible]~~ people=pleasing in you, by your own expressions. // And I will venture a little further, (though I doubt how you will take this much) It is worthy of your zealous care, lest some of ye own people yt you thinke your converts, be but

(9)
thereby converted into a deceitfull state of sin: I am sure ye
Love of God & man is yt wch true Conversion worketh: And I
am sure yt many under pretense of zeale for truth, are but
possest with a sudden indignation agt those yt Conform, or yt
we suffer by, or yt worship God by ye Comon prayer &c. And if ye
same sermon represent christ as lovely, & differing christians
as loathsome & unlovely, so far as ye hearers affections are
fired by it to ye hatred of those whom they should love, they are
perverted & not Converted. And if they melt into teares at a
sermon yt stirs ym up to hate other men (yea those we
suffer by), teares wth hatred will prove but a pernicious
Conversion. You Convert men no further than you kin-
dle love in them. (not to all alike, but to saints
as saints, to professed christians as such, & to men
as men). I give you this, but as a caution how you preach
& how you judge of ye moving of mens affections. It is
very easy to move ym to wrath, but not to Love, nor
to make ym zealous of good works. Many a sermon
wch seemeth to Convert men, preacheth ym into a
hatred of their brethren, and so into more sin than they had before.
If you say, Persecutors be not brethren & neighbours, I answer,
1° not one Conformable Minister of Many are Persecutors:
2° I desire you to read ye Parliamts Resolves of July 10 1649
for sequestration, & then say so again if you can. || 24° In case
any extremity come, will you preach yt men should suffer
death, rather than communicate wth ye present Ministers & Parishes
of Bewdly & Kederminster in prayer & sacramts: You here

imply ye Contrary, & say you would do it your selfe, & so will be no Martyr for your Cause: And if you many years utterly avoid such Comunion, & in a time of danger yeild to it, will not all your melting hearers censure you, as an Apostate turn coate, & will you not be as much lost as you say I am? what ever you hold of Lawfullnes in a Case of necessity, if you never actually joine wth such a church, you will be comonly thought, when you do it, to do it in base feare & Complyance. Haue you more applause yn I haue had? Haue you more melting auditors? You must sell your soul to man-pleasing, or els prepare to be at last forsaken by all those whose passions you now serue, & whom you follow in wrong waies, when you should lead them in right waies. By paths & passions & strong leaning a side by studying ye disgrace of others, may do some present job for a necessity, but it ends in shame. And only plain truth, & principles of Catholike Christian Unity, Loue & welldoing, will hold out to ye last: And to apply it to you & me, my reputation wch by this at present I voluntarily cast away, shall liue to posterity in sober daies, when they yt go ye dividing way shall leaue a loathsome name behind ym (unlesse repentance be some reparation) when ye churches experience hath taught ye world whether Union or Division be ye building worke? But alas, must we haue more experience yet // 25° Lastly, if either I be as injurious to ye church as you thinke me, or you as by your Letter you seeme to me to speake? whether such as we be not worthy to be silenced? And whether it be so haynous a Crime to silence us as we make ye people beleiue? Even when you yt differ from me, shew yt you would silence me, if it were in your power, as to bookes & preaching when I differ from yor judgmt (And yet in my presence would neuer tell me of any differences, nor never seeke to Convince me of an Error.) I intreate you make a good use of this freedome of Speech from

Yor faithfull brother

Ri: Baxter

Totteridge June. 29.
1670.

10.

10

Worthy Sir

Your fame like the pfume of some ptious oyntment, havinge spread it selfe over all this kingdome, and beyond it, hath come unto me, in my great solitude and privacy: whereby I have beene excited to seeke abroad that I might procure your writinges; and havinge procured some of them, I have with great eagernesse pused them; and havinge pused them, I have found soe much learninge, solidity of judgment, such candour, ingenuity, modesty, humility and piety in them, as made me condole my owne condition (for I love them all though I cannot as I desyre attayne them) which hath made me unworthy of your acquaintance: and the remotenesse and privacy of the place wherein I live, togeather with other impediments, which doe altogether hinder my givinge a visite unto you, and conversinge with you. Notwithstandinge by your writinges there appeares to me soe much of god in you, that your goodnesse hath encouraged me to addresse this letter unto you: (for bonu est sui diffusivu, goodnesse (you know) is communicative. and the better a thinge is, the more communicative. wherefore god who is optimu is maxime sui diffusivu, the best good is most communicative.) Especially a passage which I found in your confession of your faith p: 185. where you say, men that have received the truth are bound by the law of nature to communicate it orderly to others: hath emboldned me to obtrude these unpolisht these rude lines upon you.

Sir, in that most excellent booke of yours for infant-baptisme against Mr Tombes, you make (if I mistake not) the parents faith to be the generall and only prequisite of the childs baptisme. noe such sort of justifyinge faith admitts to baptisme, say you, p: 327 this you make the condition of baptisme and remission. p: 328 this the condition of childrens holinesse, and of their beinge really in covenant. p: 92 this makes them disciples and members of the invisible church: this makes children true subjects of baptisme, though christs precept makes baptizinge a duty. p: 387. and yet you ingeniously confesse that children may be baptized whose parents never received the christian faith if they bee in the hand of christians wholy to dispose of them at their pleasure: as the Jewes ought to circumcise the children of gentiles purchased by them. p: 101. 102. now I desyre to be informed by you (for my writinge unto you is to be instructed by you, not to quarrell with you, or any thinge you have written) how then the faith of the parent can be the generall and only condition of of infant baptisme: or upon what account those infants are, and may be baptized whose parents are notoriously wicked or infidells: and what generall ground there is, by which a man may know what infant is baptizable, or may bee baptised what not: if the faith of those who are in stead of the parents, and have the disposinge of the infant; or if the faith of the undertakers, or if the publicke faith of the church, (as I have heard some speake) be the reason why such an infant is baptizable: then this rayses an new scruple: whether that faith of the church, or of those that dedicate that infant to the service of god, beinge in them a true savinge faith indeed, and not in pfession only, whether doth that give the child title and right to those relative benefits you speake of. p: 386. 387. 359. sc: justification, adoption and salvation: soe that if all such infants should dy in their infancy they should certaynely bee saved. the reason of my doubt is, because the promise (as to me it appeares) reaches to, or comprehends only true beleevers and their children: and therefore bringes not those children which are presented to be baptised by the church, or by those who have the disposinge of them, within the promise or covenant grant, they havinge not the condition required, are not within the covenant indeed, and soe not baptizable in foro dei, nor in probability and appearance, an

[illegible]

Excluded on their unbeleife, 2° yet rest at least havinge no promise of sal-

vation [illegible]

and soe neither, accordinge to you, noe faith but true faith givinge admittance to
baptisme, to be baptized in foro ecclesie, by the ministers of the church. as for the
children of true beleevers, I doe not deny, but the promise or covenant grant,
justifyinge and pardoninge all those that performe the condition, may justifie and pardon
infants upon their parents faith, which seemes to be the condition required of them. p:35.
but here hence it followes by necessary consequence, that ~~not~~ not elect infants may be
justifyed, and that some justifyed infants, when they come to have the use of reason, may
fall from this relative grace of justification and be damned. for we see that all the
children of true beleevers are not saved. which may be granted say you, without any
3 advantage to the Arminians in the doctrine of perseverance of actuall or habituall
beleevers. p:387. but then help me I pray you with an argument against the Arminians
that hold, that all infants in generall are delivered from the guilt of originall sin by
Christ. for the argument from the certainty of perseverance is hereby avoyded; in
that it may be meant of inherent and qualitative not relative grace. Learned
Kendall, your lofty antagonist, who had better (to use his owne phrase) consulted his
owne honour if he had never picked you out to oppose; thought in this case to presse
Mr. Goodwin with this argument. If every one hath need of regeneration before
he can enter into ~~death~~ the kingdome of heaven, then was every man before that
regeneration liable unto death, and by consequence guilty of Adams sin. this argument
is soe farre from pressinge Mr. Goodwin that it comes short of touchinge him. for
besides that accordinge to you, a man may be justifyed and yet not regenerate; and soe
upon the ~~matter~~ same ground before, its not impossible, as Mr. Kendall affirmes,
that all men should be borne in an estate of justification: nor that true neither; that both
justification and regeneration are in the same instant of time, though not of nature.
p:55. all this Mr. Goodwin would grant, for if they were not guilty of Adams sin
at least in order of nature before justification or regeneration, then Christ could not
deliver them from the guilt thereof. and whereas he sayes, (which was here implyed alsoe)
p:55. children beinge free from actuall sin, and beinge justifyed from the guilt of Adams
(for justification is from guilt) are not lyable to death. I wonder that soe weake an assertion
should proceed from soe learned a divine. and of the like sort is that followinge in the
same page; nor is the case the same with children and such as have arrived to yeares of
discretion; men of yeares are regenerate in part, children that are regenerate, are not
soe. especially when as he himselfe doth acknowledge that children may be regenerate and
justifyed, and yet may, I and some doe, as John Baptist did, live to committ actuall sin,
which must needs flow from their originall sin. and to these I may adde that assertion;
Its impossible children should be conceived and borne in originall sin, and be justifyed at
the same time: and his reason annexed thereto, &c: for that they cannot be justifyed without
regeneration, nor regeneration will take away the sin, as justification the guilt. nor in
a regenerate child will the sin remaine, saith he, but falsly. and then he talkes of
regenerate children dyinge. whereby he contradicts what in the same page he had sayd
before. soe that contrary to my expectation I finde nothinge in this eminent man,
that will afford me any assistance against this false assertion. and accordinge to your
principles, which seeme to me very probable at least, I cannot bethinke my selfe what
to say, but this; it would be happy for children if they were all put to death in their infancy;
for thereby they would for certaine (accordinge to their principles) be immediately sent to
heaven. but then they would returne the same answere to you (accordinge to your principles)
concerninge all the children of true beleevers.

Sir, I confesse I desire not, neither doe I know how I can desire, quanquam O!

such a favour at your hands, as your helpe to expedite me from those intanglements: but I assuredly know that you have learnt a better lesson of your great master than to afford nothinge to any but what they deserve. Truely my ambition is to be your disciple. qui divertisti brachia contra torrentem; who have striven against the torrent of errours which beareth downe this present age: and that not in vaine, (as the phrase is comonly used) but with good successe, havinge with most solid and demonstrative arguments from reason, cleare evidence of scripture, true and sound antiquity confuted the Anabaptists, papists in many thinges, Arminians in some, Antinomians, Quakers, Infidells in all. for the cleare proofe of scripture is a generall confutation of Atheists and infidells. I with thankfullnesse acknowledge that I have beene much inlightned by your writinges in many thinges; and confirmed in some: as namely in the pointe of justification: in which I was always (if in this I ever knew my owne minde) of your judgment. and truly I wonder that herein you should finde any opposition from grave, learned and godly divines. you havinge farre more logically and clearely explicated the same, than I yet ever have seene it explicated by any. and on this point, what to make of Mr Kendall, and others which forsake this way, I know not. they so fumble up and downe in the darke, and know not where to lay hold; that either they want logicke to explicate themselves, or I to understand them.

Quo pede cepisti sic bene semper eas: goe on and the lord prosper you.

The first step to separation and anabaptisme (as you have rightly observed in your answere to a younge Quaker, and we by sad experience doe dayly finde) is the despisinge and reproachinge of church government, the vilifyinge of the ministers and their callinge by bringinge them all into contempt, and renderinge them odious to the people; and possessinge the people that church government, ministers and their callinge are all antichristian: unto which the people are very incinable to listen, that thereby they may save tithes, and gaine libertie. for noe arguments are so strong and prevalent ~~w~~ with the vulgar as those taken ab utili et damno. hence they will take any advantages to out their ministers, and have none at all: as diverse places neere us doe witnesse: or put in some illiterate tradesman, mechanicke, or husband man not in orders, and give him some smale pittance out of the glebe, as is our case where I live. And to this purpose have I beene twice assaulted with words, which since I have seene in your Christian-Concord p: 83. 84 though their application was besides your intention. If the pastors or discerners take a man to be fit who is an ungodly man, or insufficient, their ordination is ipso facto null, as beinge against gods will: and their appointment bindeth not ~~the~~ people, but they are bound to cast him off. this they spake in your words. and who is insufficient say I: reply was made, he that preacheth not twice a day: and he that was unable either in respect of weaknesse of minde or of body to exercise twice a day. and who ungodly: why he that lived in any notorious sin. and what were those notorious sins: why amongst the rest covetousnesse was one: and in the conclusion, for a minister to demand or goe to law for his dues, that minister was a covetous man. and so by this meanes they will make most ministers unfit: either unable or ungodly, and so their ordination and institution null. and then againe in your words they say, they are bound to cast them off, though all the overseers or authoritie in the world command them to receive and keepe them. and then what followes? they goe on againe in your words; if the qualification and fitnesse of the person be eminent, they are bound to see gods choyce, and to accept that man of themselves without ordination. so that these illiterate and ignorant, and for the most part meere carnall and worldly men shall be judges and controulers, and that against their learned overseers and governours. and who

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[illegible] others, are [illegible] 1° those yt had ye Gospell [illegible]
excluded on their unbeleife, 2° ye rest at least havinge no promise of salvation [illegible]

then shall be fill: And this some I am sure (for its verifyed here where I live) those which are great talkers and little takers. you see Sir the tendency of these thinges. I heartily wish that limits and bounds were well and clearly set out here, and strongly fenced either by reason, or scripture, or rather by both. Truely I knew not which might more conduce to the peace and unity of the church, and the stoppinge of separatisme: which is the doore to all errours, sects, heresys, blasphemyes and in the end to infidelity. Give me leave to minde you of a quandam resolution in your most rationall booke for infant baptisme p: 228. I hope to see its performance; your words are these, let it be taken how it will, I purpose if God will so longe draw out my life (and I heartily pray he may) to acquaint the world with my thoughts concerninge the true way of Christs discipline. Gratu opus sanctis, an acceptable worke to all gods people: most seasonable and profitable for these times present, and usefull for the future. The very apple of contention amongst us, and the cheife originall of all our bloodshed, the fountayne of all our divisions, hath not beene concerninge any article of our fayth, all which remaine still unquestioned amongst us, but concerninge Christs discipline: concerninge which we are at a greater losse now by farre than when the warres first began. and by woefull experience, as in the body politike, soe likewise in the body ecclesiastike, we finde that old sayinge true, tyranny is better than anarchie. for want of which discipline, divisions are still fomented and dayly multiplyed amongst us: and we are like, unlesse an unengaged, impartiall, learned, judicious divine, may it be your selfe, shall solidly and demonstratively cleare it up unto us; or for want of such a worke, our governours shall take the reynes of church government wholy into their owne hands, we shall entayle them on our posterity unto all succeedinge generations. But I forget my selfe and to whome I write.

Sir if you please to satisfy my desire, I shall be bound (as indeed I am however) to blesse God for you, and you for your paines. however I beseech you to pardon my prolixity, boldnesse and infirmityes. If the weaknesse of your body, and your more serious weighty and heavenly imployments will not give you leave to returne an answere unto me in writtinge, yet I pray forget not to returne me to God in your prayers. who am

Sir

Harridge
April 23
1656.

Bicking

Your unworthy but sincerely
affected, though unknowne, friend
and servant in the lord Thomas
Vaux.

Sir if you please to doe me the favour to returne
an answere direct it to Mr Underhill at the
Anchor and Bible in Pauls church-yard and it
will be conveyed unto me.
London /

LETTERS.

fol. 30. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Yor Courteous Prayses discover you a stranger to me. Did you know me as well as I
know myselfe you would change yor language. Yor Example beinge a warninge to me
to avoid ye like error, & I beinge utterly a stranger to yor person & name you must
pardon me if I be too guilty of ye contrary extreame, by a silencinge of those prayses
wch may be yor due, how undue soever they be to me. Men are apt to measure others
by themselves: good men are apt to thinke & speake well. //
I must crave yor acceptance of a very briefe returne to yrs: & I am confident if As to yor Questions
you saw ye straitnes of my time & urgent avocations, you would readily pardon my
brevity, & not impute it to any neglect of you. To yor first Question about ye title
of Infants to Baptisme, I judge 1o in foro Dei only savinge faith is ye Condition
(of ye title) in foro Ecclesiastico ye profession of yt faith & of no other. 2o It is
ye faith of Parents in a Legall sense so called yt is ye childs Condition. The Law will
call him ye Parent who hath ye same Right to ye child & charge of it as ye naturall
Parent hath. A Susceptor is not a Legall Parent but an Adopter or full owner is.
The Israelites case proves this. If ye naturall Parent quit his Right & charge
& another undertake it, he ceaseth to be ye Parent & ye other takes ye place. The Co-
venant of Grace is free & requireth nothinge on or pt but consent, yt we may
be first estated in its benefitts. Infants canot consent by themselves: Legally they
must consent by yem yt have ye dispose of yem. The sanctifyed quâ tales devote
themselves & all yt they have to God, & this is accordinge to his will. Their Children
are their owne: & if they devote their owne to God by his comand, God will not
refuse to accept what is so devoted to him. All Infants so are baptizable whose
Legall Parents or true owners professe to devote yem to God by Xt in ye relation of
his Disciples. // To ye 2d Question. I have much considered of it, whether all
ye Infants of true beleivers are in a Justifyed state or not, & so may fall from
it (as ye Synod of Dort seemed to thinke, & Davenant, Ward, Amyraldus, Austin,
Prosper, Fulgentius &c thought) & I have dealt with some learned men about it,
but yet am not fully satisfyed my selfe. Whether you will only take ye Parents
faith to be such a probable signe of ye childs justificacon, as ye Profession of ye Adult
is of their owne (& on those termes admitt yem to Baptisme) or whether it be a
certaine signe, I have not yet arrived at ye certainty as may encourage me
to be very confident, & to tell you wch way I incline, is to no purpose. I sup-
pose you have read Davenants Epistle & Mr Gatakers animadversions on it.
Our Parents faith is a title-Condition, only pro statu infantili. If we owne not
ye Covenant when adult, we may cease to be justifyed by a meere cessation
of yt wch was never intended for a further effect, without any act of Apostasy.
To yor 3d Question about Xts justifyinge all Infants, I answer 1o It sufficeth
me yt ye Affirmers of it, have no proofe of it, on whom ye provinge of it is in-
cumbent. To prove yt Xt dyed for all, is no proofe yt they are actually pdoned.
2o But I am much more satisfyed when I find in Scripture yt pdon is offered
but conditionally to ye world, wch perswadeth me yt it is not ye absolute immediate ef-
fect of Xts death. What need God make a Conditionall promise of yt to men which
they have allready or may have without yt Condition? 3o Yea Scripture
expressly excludeth unbeleivers from Remission & telleth us yt ye wrath of God
abideth on yem. And in those cases ye Scripture doth not distinguish of sin,
& say (yor originall sin is pdoned whether you will or not, but yor actu-
all sin shall be pdoned only on Conditions). No such passage in ye word:
but ye comon pdon of all past sin is given on Condition of faith, & denyed
to unbeleivers. And we must not distinguish where ye Law speakes uni-
versally without distinction. This much satisfyeth me, 1o yt there must be
some Condition pformed before Xts death do give to any man an actuall
pardon, his death beinge only ye meritorious procative thereto: 2o yt be-
leivers (& perhaps all their seed in Infancy) have ye Condition of this pdon:
3o yt all others are without hope. 1o those yt had ye Gospell beinge expressly
excluded on their unbeleife, 2o ye rest at least havinge no promise of salvation & so no positive hope, & whether all excluded by a positive threat-

let them enquire yt please, & are fitted better yn I for a discovery. As for Dr
Kendalls arguings, it concernes me not to vindicate ym; It may suffice yt I tell
you my owne grounds. // To yor 4th Question. A man is in a ticklish case yt stands
in ye midst betweene two such adversaryes, whereof one unchurcheth ye Refor-
med Churches yt have not Episcopall Ordination, & ye other would have no Ordi-
nation at all. I truly told you there my Judgment, yt I thinke Ordination neces-
sary Ordinis gratiâ, necessitate praecepti et medii where it may be had; but not
necessary simpliciter to ye office; & so laid downe ye rules you mention for ye
explication of my sense. If men will abuse true expressions to maintaine errors
& wickednes, I dare not so forsake my ground: yt is not ye way to escape such
abuse. To yor subordinate Questions I shall briefly answere. Q. Who is insufficien
Ans. He yt notoriously wants ye qualification wch is necessary ad esse officii (for
some such there is) is so insufficient as yt ye people must desert him: But if
yt want be dubious, or he want only ye necessaryes ad bene esse, they must seek
a regular way for their reliefe. Q. Who ungodly? Ans. They are notoriously
ungodly who are guilty of such sin as is a notorious evidence yt ye person takes not
God for his God, Xt for his Saviour, ye Holy Ghost for his Sanctifyer: such evidences
are not notorious in one of a multitude. So in such cases ye people are not their
owne Judges: unless in necessity when there is no Authorized Judge. But I have
no hope to speake yt wch men will not abuse. I do not thinke it simply unlawfull
for a man to marry his owne sister, for Adams sons did it lawfully: & such a
necessity might justifye it agayne. But if any will do it without yt necessity &
yt plead those words of mine for their incest, they will but abuse ye truth & m
As to yor motion. There are many yeares agoe some sheetes of mine in
hands of divers Brethren. M. S. wherein I have spoke my Judgment briefly
of Church Polity; & ye booke you mention those words from doth it in pt.
yet more I intend if God will. // I know not by what title to bespeake
you in ye superscription of these lines: For you tell me not so much as whe-
ther you be a minister or a private man. By yor solitude & some passa-
ges else you might intimate ye latter; but your great Judgment there manif
ted perswadeth me of ye former; & I should be willing to know ye caus
of yor vacancy, if it be so. Sr agayne I crave yor pardon of my neces-
sitated brevity, & ye imperfections yt unavoidably attend it, & crave yor acceptance of ye will-
ingnes & poore endeavors of

Yor very unworthy Brother

June 24th 1656

Ri: Baxter.

LETTERS.

fol. 31. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

My Lord

Since I have read the Account of the Conspiracy (the truth of wch I never doubted of since I first heard ye Evidence) I am more sensible yt it is my duty to do my best to confute ye unjust suspicions & accusations, yt I am a promoter of sedition & such mischievous designs. fforwch and it is not evident yt I want (~~though~~ I justifie not my faults) but meanes of Notification. The false accusations of fame & libells are believed by many yt know me not, nor will read my just vindication. Hearing yt you have allready condescended to speake for me, I humbly beseech you to receive these writings: & if you have not leisure to read the whole, at least to peruse the same (omitting the long citations); and as you find ~~the~~ cause to tell the Lord Chiefe Justice & my Diocesane the Bp of London yor judgment of my case. The true Breviate of it is this: I had never hated sedition, rebellion & warre, the true part so much as I do, if I had not seen ye effects of it, & of the separating disease yt formerly promoted it. This I declared more openly than others of past times 15 yeares before the Kings restoration. XX To prevent the Division, wch cause such mischievous effects I laboured with all my zeale & might in 1660 & 1661 by the Ks call & commission to have procured at least such small abatements without wch I was sure yt ejections, silencings, imprisonments & ye consequent exasperations & sad divisions, could not be prevented: seeing men yt are sworne will seeke. And the K. must have more subjects, than those yt can patiently be made one, or those yt know all indifferent things required to be indifferent, & all dark promising & professing words to be ~~un~~lawfull. XXX When I could not attaine wt I endeavoured, I earnestly bent my mind & labour by example word & writing, to draw men to a submission to the Government & a thankfull & peaceable communion with the Church, as having yet sound doctrine, & better preaching & worship than allmost any Churches in the world; & to disswade all from uncommuning, [illegible] & separations; for wch by ye separating party I have by word & many writings been reproached. Love & Concord was my study: when I could not have them as extensive as I desired, I laboured to obtaine as much of them as I could, by drawing all men to peaceable communion with the Church. He yt will never live peaceably till he have all yt is desireable, must forsake the earth. My request to you to communicate your sence of my case to the Lord Chiefe Justice & my Diocesane (to whom I presume not to expect accesse & audience) is not any more to deprecate punishment. The constancy of paine & the sentence of death will come put me past the feare of man: And if God will turne a Jayle for my faithfull serving him, & yt at my age, into a [illegible] by imprisonment for my [illegible] serving him actively any more, wt greater mercy could I expect on earth, at 70 yeares of age, when I am past. But 1o I am bound to disowne ye slaunder of drawing men into schisme & sedition, when the cure of them hath been ye study of my life. 2o I would not have men tempted to censure the Church by thinking they are implacable enemies to such as I, & must live by such sacrifices, & so to increase [illegible] alienation who (abroad & at home) overvalue me & my writings. 3o And I would not be a president to subject all the clergies books & ~~writings~~ sermons, & consequently their lives & liberties, to the arbitrary power of any illiterate Jury that hath but ignorance or prejudice enough to misunderstand them (by whom perhaps they need to be catechized). Sr I have done my duty; I leave the rest to you & my other superiours, remaining how weake soever Your fellow servant who hath no Master above God, & no hope above his Love & reward

Ri: Baxter

June 23 1685.

13 13

Rev Sr Your Kindness in sending me yor booke
encourageth me to send you my sense of it: I
judge it an excellent discourse, yea ye best yt ever
I saw, for ye true reasons & honor of Marriage,
& for ye Law case against the usurpations of the
Ecclesiasticall Courts (though much more may be said as
to ye latter by ym yt know yt Canons are but agreemts
for Concord). We all owe you thanks for yor strong
reasons agt licentious lust: ffor many fooles are
vainly perswaded yt fornication is a small fault when
the child is well kept by ye father, & say it harmes no
body, & is but an act of Love!
But some will suspect yt you looke higher than mr
Emerton: And though you extraordinarily disparage
bastardy, yet if mere secret contract & clandestine
marriage, yea the probabilities of it must prevaile
as farre as you say —— I'le say no more //
I've but two animadversions yt I have to offer you //
1o You no whit determine mr Emertons case, unlesse
you had knowne at wt age shee was married.
Reason & ye Civil Law say yt Parents & guardians
can oblige a child to their advantage (as to pay 20l
rent for land worth 100l) but not to their hurt. And so
if Parents marry a child before a consenting age it is but
a Conditionall marriage; Si consentiat adulta; &
conditionalis nihil ponit in esse. You make ye age to be
12 yeares old for ye woman & 14 for ye man: I have
no skill in ye Lawes of ye land: If ye Law say just so
it will goe farre, as to ye decision in foro externo:
But you truly found marriage on foundations
deeper than mans Lawes. And if a man be not at
age for an estate before 21 why should a weake
woman be capable at 12 to undoe her selfe for ever,
Naturalists have said yt at 12 a woman & at 14
a man hath pubertatem. But though in some coun-
treys & in strong natures yt be so, it is not ordinary,
but 14 for ye woman & 16 for a man is ye earlyest. 33

And why should 13 & 14 be determin'd of any more
than 10 & 12 but yt it was supposed at yt age they
were capable of consent, & ergo of Lawfull [illegible] I
conclude yt they are not capable of absolute obliging
Consent till they are capable of matrimoniall [illegible] formally
And yt is your [illegible] only for them refounded. And yt
age what [illegible] was, I know not: you should have told
1° And if impotencie make a nullity, you nullifie the marriage
marriage of all yt are frigid by age, who being
only for morall & oeconomick consequences: But
if they confesse frigidity, doth ye law alter Estates by it?
That my only quarrell wth you is for denying that 2d
Christian religion containeth no institutions yt can
properly be called Lawes, Lawes of ye Sacraments. Contrarily
1° Christ is ye King of ye Church & all power is given him & its said
The Law shall go out of Zion &c we have our Lawgiver &c
Lu. 19. 27 Those mine enemies yt would not I should rule over
them &c 2° The Law of faith & Liberty are mentioned as his; besides
ye Law of Nature, wch is now part of Christs Law.
The New Covenant is also a New Law, on wch life or death
dependeth: He yt beleiveth shall be saved, & he yt beleiveth
not shall be damned Mar. 16. 16 By this we shall be judged.
Lex est norma officij et judicij: Therefore if Christ will
3° judge all by this Law, he ruleth them by it. 4° Every new
article of faith is ye matter of a new Law: we are bound
by Christs Law to believe yt Jesus is ye Christ, conceived by ye Holy
Ghost, borne of ye virgin Mary, suffered, crucified, dyed, buryed,
rose again, ascended, will judge us, &c. 5° Christ com-
missioned his Apostles to teach ye baptized to observe all his
commands, & promised ye spirit to lead them into all truth & to
bring all to their remembrance: so yt what they established by
this Commission, Christ did it by ye Holy Ghost & by them.
6° By this way Christ hath by Law established ye office of ye
sacred Ministry, described their work & forbid them abuse
of it, promising to be with them to ye end of ye world. The Epistles
to Timothy & Titus contain many Lawes to such a use.
7° Christ hath instituted ye Lords day & Church assemblies
& worship & discipline &c And hath given us many spirituall
precepts (besides meere nature) for a holy life & brotherly
love: where there is no Law there is no transgression: But

it is a transgression to violate many precepts of Christ, wch
goe beyond ye Law of Nature. 3o Besides if you truly say yt
ye Law of nature is alterable, And Redemption hath made
new naturall duties, e.g. to Repent in hope of pardon by
Christ, to beg pardon & daily mercyes through him &c. ||
I know no Divine Law now but Christs, wch is 1o the Law
of Redeemed nature 2o of supernaturall revelation || Sr
my great esteeme of yor books tempted me to cast these
small hints before you: And for this last I may presume
yt my studyes give me the advantage of you (& Mr
Selden too) as you have incomparably the advantage
of me in Law cases. Pardon this freedome to

An honourer of yor great worke
Ri: Baxter

(8)

Sr

Or agreemt at ye times was yt you should neither adde to, or diminish from wt was done, but con-
tute yr Answere to ye Argumt wth all brevity as belonged to a meere & strict Respondent: wch how well it is
performed in this Ans. in folio, wherein you adde an Ans. to a former Argt, & deny wt you seemd to grant, Judge you:
I see indeed you have me in a strait, & wch way to take I know not: for if I throwe away this pap as toyish and
frivolous, it will go currant, you have conquered: And if not, I perceive by this you meane to oppose me, wth tediousnes &
words, & yt the hearers will take yt instead of reason; so you make up in Number wt you want in weight.
You spend ye time 1o in exceptions agt my Argumentation, wherein you have either found or made 4 faults. 1o That I prove a wrong
proposition. 2o & yt a tedious & confused one, 3o ~~[illegible]~~ & yt but by a seeming Syllogisme, 4o wch can be proved but by an Enthymeme.
For ye 1st: I thought of a hypotheticall proposition to deny ye Consequence, & to deny ye major had bin all one; as it is to deny
ye Antecedent or ye Minor! If you meane when you say nego majorem, of both Antece & Consqt, yn in so saying you deny
both Major & Minor. I thinke yt I had only ye Consequence to prove, for Negata contradictionis pars doret esse
sit Antecedens non tamen esse consequens: And lay ye Consequence, wth ye proposition wch you say I have endeavoured to
prove, I see not wt ye difference: specially to you who had before granted ye Minor (for though you had tak-
en some exception at it, yet you had scored it out againe). I had to prove this, yt its a good Conseq. If one
of of ye high Priests Calling were not lawfull, (or as I explaind it to you at ye word in ye being of it) & ye others so
& so corrupt, & their doctrine erroneous in ye most fundamentalls, Then their Error in Calling & doctrine is greater yn ors:
Now ye Minor following being not denyed, doth not my following Argumt prove ye Conseq. good: That if or Calling be
not unlawfull & Corrupt as theirs was & or doctrine not so &c: Then not so bad as theirs. I leave this Arguing
to be tryed by better Disputants yn you or I. 2o If you iudge my proposition tedious, do you not know yt though
all other Argts may be disposed in axiomate simplici yet so canot Plena comparationes vel Distributiones.
3o Would you be beleeved when you call yt latt a seeming Syllogisme, & yet shew no fallacy nor error in ye forme of it.
4o But I never heard before yt an axiome may be proved (whether it be simple or compound) by an Enthymeme
or imperfect Syllogisme, wch canot by a perfect: While you would faine intangle & obscure ye Question
by seeming a Criticke in Logicke, I feare you will quite lose yr Reputation therein.

The Reasons of yr denying ye former proposition I did not aske, but intended to have proved it: But now
I am out, I am resolved ~~after you~~ ramble after you a while, to see wch way you will goe.
1o The office of ye Sagan or 2d high priest was not from God: Shew where he appointed it. 2o An an-
nuall, & electing entrance, 3o & yt by ye Romans, & 4o bought with money, as Caiaphas did, was not of God: If we
had these 4 errors in or entrance you would wth more colour plead it a Nullity. Here I suppose you distinguish
betwixt ye 1o ye office & ye title thereto; of ye former you deny us in this; ye latter in yr 2d reason. Now I
prove ye contrary. 1o The office of preaching ye word of God & baptizinge is of God; but such is ors, ergo of God. 2o The
office of preaching & Administring both Sacramts & watching over ye flocke of God, is from God: But
such is many of ors; ergo of God. Whereas you say we are none of those mentioned Eph. 4.11. I Ans.
1o They are not 5 severall functions, but so many sorts of men excelling in gifts & priviledges
either all or most in ye same function see ye 8. & 12 booke as an Apostle: for they yt may do ye same workes are of ye same
office, but an Evangelist may do ye same workes, ergo &c The tying of some to ~~another~~ place, is
~~[illegible]~~ not essentiall to ye function; or if it were yet it canot be proved yt any of these
5 sorts were such: I find yt episcopi & presbyteri are settled in particular Churches, but
yt its essentiall to their maine function I find not; or to wch of these 5 sorts you will re-
fer ym to by Scripture authority, I know not. So yt if you aske wt is or function, I say
wt was Apollos office who watered where Paul planted, or Silas &c & yt is ors: we are pas-
tors, teachers, & (in regard of ye worke though not ye honor wch I hope yt name might import yn)
Evangelists too. In a word we are such as give or selves to ye ministry of ye word & prayer, Act. 6.4.
or we are such as watch over & feed ye flocke of God; call us wt you please.
2o Now for or comparison wth ym in title to ye office. 1o I ans. None were capable of ye 2d high Priests office
but there is none such in ye word. 2o There were more things requisite to make ym capable yn
to be sons of Aaron, wch they wanted: as a right to ye place, wch they could not have while an-
others right continued, & while they bought it, & were chosen by ye Romans & were not due succes-
sors. 1o That we are no members of a true Church, nor baptized, it will be long before you prove.
2o wt particular Church were ye Apostles of, Paul, Barnabas, Sylas, Apollos, &c: Prove yt ever
the 12 Apostles were baptized. Did not Xt himselfe teach before he was baptized? Luk. 2.
46.49. & 3.22.23. Compared. Many set up a model of Churches & offices in their owne braines, and
then reduce all they read in scripture thereto. || 3o You take it for granted yt all errors agt the
Gospell are greater than ye greatest agt ye Law, wch I deny, & you must prove, else yr reason
hath no force: To misse it in some circumstances of Gospell duties, is not a greater sin
yn it was to ye Jews to Blaspheme God, to kill father &c ergo this rule will not hold wthout li-
mitation. 2o The Ceremoniall Law was a more obscure doctrine of Jesus Xt, [illegible] agt him
3o They cryed downe ye Gospell too, & made ye Law wch did leade to Xt, a pretence agt him, &
denyed him to be ye true Messias. And now I freely submit this comparison to any impartiall
iudgmt: & accordingly let this Argumt stand or fall.

Especially this being taken well, yt till you have proved it, yor accusing us of Corrupting the Gospell, must be taken for a slander. //

Now if we must needs goe backe againe, let us see wt truth there is in yor Exceptions agt ye Minor of ye former Argt. 1o wt you meane by SUCH high Priests I canot tell, you having no where described ym: But yt there were two high Priests at ye same time is apparent in Luk:3.2. // 2o I affirmed their office was ~~not~~ at ye institution not Annuall but ffor life; you prove it was forfeitable, 2o I said it was not Elective, much lesse by ye Romans, but Successive; you answeare, not so but yt one of Phinehas sons might be chosen: As if the Crowne were therefore not successive where one of ye Kings sons must be chosen! But if God intailed it on him & his seed, judge whether it be to be called Elective or Successive: Beside there must be some blemish or ye like cause, before ye imediate heire be put by; except imediatly by God himselfe: I thinke wn you have considered it, you might well have left these exceptions, as they were, crost out. /

ffor yor 2d Argt wt it proved I have shewed allready. And for the 1st Opposition I have proved ye untruth in ye accusation & not in it. 2o I prove yt Pharisee Corrupted ye Law in the most ffundamentall pt: 1o They yt deny ye scope & end deny ye most fundamentall pt. But so did ye Phar. ffor Xt is ye end of ye Law. 2o They yt deny ye spirituall pt, deny ye most fundamentall pt: But so did they. As Xt shewe in ye Precepte agt Murder, Adultery &c 3o They yt make ye Law voyd, corrupt it in fundamentall. But so did they. 4o They yt deny ye saving righteousnesse wch it pointed forth, deny ye most fundamentall pt. But so did they. mat 5.20 / 5o They who by their doctrine shutt up ye Kingdome of God agt men, corrupt the [illegible] But so did they. He must have bin

ffor yor Reasons, 1o Both Pharisee & Sadducee did it, though darke in their owne way. [illegible] ye mine yt see ye contrary in ye Scriptures quoted either wth or wthout a Syllogisme. Wch if I can [illegible] will yt prove yt ye some yt went beyond ye Sadducee denying or Corrupting ye doctrine of ye Godhead, Sadducee could not be said to corrupt it in ye most fundamentalle? And as touching ye hearing of ye Sadducee, though I need not defend it, yet 1o I believe you know yt Ecclesiasticall history, & Jewish writers affirme yt ye High Priests were ordinarily Sadducee. 2o yt heard ym disputing for their errors & is not yt ~~[illegible]~~ as bad as to heare ym teaching ye truth? yor 2d Reason is answered before. //

Yet more untruths! 1o I challenge you upon yor Gospell, to shew me the direct words of Scripture forbidding or calling. The contrary I have proved before. 2o The 2d is proved true before. 3o yor 3d must remaine as a slander till you prove it: Is it fair dealing to accuse thus in generalls? should you not have shewed by wt tenents we mixe Law & Gospell? wt is the false axiome we hold? Doth not any error consist in particulars? I have considered Gal. 3.24.25. as you desire, and canot but reprehend yor slander of our denying the truth of it, in effect or almost in expresse words. If the thing you would thus covertly insinuate, be, yt you judge ye whole Morall Law abolished, I am ready to prove you a damnable Corrupter both of Law & Gospell.

And so I leave this to the impartiall judgment of any reader, Whether if you exercised as much charity towards us, as you doe to ye Priests & Pharisees yt were ye killers of Xt, you would have proceeded as here you have done. //

July 4o 1641o

To Mr Benjamin Coxe

(6)

rend Sr / 15

I thank you very heartily for yr Letter And shall expect
yr return to this also, & then (though I should be exceeding
glad to receive a Letter from you at any time) I shall not
make any further Request unto you / You gave me not
any punctuall Answear to my Question: Whether you doe not
Judge it Sinfull to stay at home (though to read Good Bookes
&c) on the Lords Day, rather then come to Church, when
nothing is to be heard there but the Common Prayer. You say
you are more against spending the Lords Day in idleness, or
in any thing that is worse then the Common Prayer, then in
the hearing that alone. I thank God I was never so Mad
as to make a Question of this: I have nothing to say to it, but that
I dislike those words worse then the Common Prayer, which
seem to insinuate that It is not Good. I am not guilty of
slighting Preaching (as 'tis taken in contradistinction to ~~[illegible]~~ Reading)
as you seem to conceit: And if it shall please the Great, & Good
GOD to preserve me some time longer from such Dangerous
Distempers, as I have frequently fallen into (still within this
year) since I had a most Dismall Fit of an Apoplexie,
I shall (by GOD's Assistance) undertake to Preach twice
every Lords Day. / As to what you say of yr selfe that you
have prov'd that you have not in my Judgement &c I shall
only Reply thus: That sure I am the Great, & Good GOD,
INFINITE Wisedome-Power-Love does Ordinarily
restrain millions of Soules from the Practice of their Errone-
ous Opinions: And therefore I should not believe you (having that
Good Opinion of you I exprest in my last) though you should tell
me
thousand times over that In yr Use of the Means of Grace
Proportion yr Expectations of Grace, of being Built
up in yr Holy Faith X, to the Measure, or
[illegible] the Apprehensions of the
[illegible] not with one learned man yt said somewhat towards [illegible]

the INFINITE Bounty of the Giver of every Good
Perfect Gift, Extended towards vs In JESVS CHRIST
OVR LORD. I Affirme that to Suit, or Proporti
our Expectations of Grace in the Use of All Means
whervnto we are Called, to the Apprehensions of the
INFINITE Bounty &c is a Property of Saving
Faith. I presume you clearly perceive that the Doctri
implied in that saying of mine (I must say, I cannot
apprehend &c) which you dissent from, is fully implie
in this Assertion, which I Beseech you By the
Meekness, & Gentleness of OVR LORD JESVS
CHRIST, & By All the Aspirations your
Soule has ever had to The Father of Lights, that
you would either Expressly Grant, or continue yr
Opposition against it, if you conceive I doe not
perfectly refell the Principall Argument you
produce against it, viz. GOD who appointeth
severall Means doth vsually worke according to
them And when he withdraweth them, it is a
Judgement, which it were not, if he had promised
as much Grace without them, as with them.
I grant that GOD who appointeth severall Means
doth vsually worke according to them But I vtterly
deny that when he withdraweth any Particular Mean
it is a Judgement to Him who is in the Act of Syncer
ove to the Blessed JESVS, for He is At All Times
& In All Places Under the Gracious Influence
the INFINITY OF LIGHT, & LOVE,
ding Him, How (By Submission to the

the DIVINE WILL withdrawing any Particular Means of Grace And By the Renewing his Resolutions to make a right Vse of All such Means, as GOD shall at any time Call Him vnto, &c) He may Receive of The Fullness of CHRIST in as great Measures, as He could have done in the Vse of the Means withdrawn from Him. / The LORD Give vs both Understand-ing / in All things. I am

Sr

August 20th 68

Your Affectionate Servt

Edm: Elis

Vicar at East-Allington

I entreat you to direct yr next letter To be left with the Post-Master in Dartmouth, & that you would not pay the Post, that may occasion the letter to be miscarried or rather thrown aside: for that reason I have made bold to put you to the charge of paying ye Postage of mine / I desire to know whether all that is said against the Common Prayer in a booke entitled An Accompt of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both Perswasions &c be agreeable to yr Judgement

[illegible] met with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a change [illegible]

These /
For the Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter
To be left with Mr Francis Titon
a Stationer at the Three
Daggers in Fleetstreet
in
2 3 London

(10)

52

Sr

you may remember ye last time save one yt I was wth you I was bold
to trouble you with some Antidisciplinarian Qus. The continuance, yea
increase of my doubts urgeth me; & yor favourable invitation yt to a further
conference encourageth me, to importune you for a fuller resolution in
writing. I am loath to dissent from ye established way, loather, from so
many whom I so much love and honor; but most loath from ye truth of Xt.
I am sensible of ye inconvenience of my request in regard of yor many and
great imployments, yet know so well yor candor and willingnes to doe good
yt ~~[illegible]~~ the satisfying of me may consequentially be the satisfying of many
whose satisfaction may be of more publique concernment then mine owne.
~~Sr~~ I beseech you thinke not I come wth any perverse wrangling intention,
but with unfeigned desyre to know the truth: The printed Papers of Mr
Coleman Mr Hussey, Mr Galespy &c ~~and~~ on this subiect, goe not ye way to
satisfye me. Though we may call no man Mr in coordination wth Xt, yet in
subordination to him I know no man, whose disciple I had rather be then
your owne

The greatest controversye (for ought I perceive) betweene ye Presbyterians
and independents is of the subiect of Church Power, whether it be Elders
or people: my question is whether ye Power in controversye do Jure divino
belong to eyther. I question not the Magistraticall or civill power; but yt we
call Ecclesiasticke or the power of the keyes: viz ~~Quest~~ whether it be meerly
declarative, or also Judiciall determining. By meerly declarative I meane that which
is called Doctrinall: to manifest ye mind of God by explication and application
of Scripture and so to bind and loose only as the Embassadors of Xt
proclaiming his binding Precepts and Threatnings and his Absolving
Promises. This power after a sort belongs to every Xtian. to Ministers more
especially ex officio: to a Presbytery yet more and to a Synode or
Councell most of all. that is to despise ye authority of Xt manifested
by a private man is a great sin; but manifested by an officer of Xt sent by
Commission yet greater; and declared by a Synode of officers greater yn
both. This power is (not to pronounce ex cathedra this is the meaning of
Xt but) to manifest it from his word; and so it binds not at all, where
it misseth the meaning of Xt or barely pronounceth it without competent
discovery and proofe. By a Judiciall determining power I meane the passing of sentence
by a Judge which must determine ye controversye (not by proving it Gods
meaning but) peremptorilie ex authoritate Judicis; so that what he speakes
must stand as law to me whether so indeed or not. so that it binds

Though he misse ye minde of Xt 2o or if not, yet though he only pronounce it ~
on tribunali: so yt ye Question is not of binding ye consen~~ting~~ting party (who ackno
ledge ye sentence of Xt in yo sentence); but ye Dissenting: and where the whole
Congregation and Eldership accord, there is no use for this Judiciall power and
no controversye. I am the larger in explaining my words lest you should answ
yn and not my sense. My Doubt now is [Whether ye Maior part either of
Presbytery or People having such a Judiciall power over ~~of~~ the Minor dissenting part].
The reasons of my doubt are these following 1 from the obiect of this power
or that which it bindes which being the soule or conscience, is out of your reach.
It cannot by man be constrained and so not bound, further yn you convince it of a
Divine law. # But see I remember you answered me lest yt it is no end of
this ~~[illegible]~~ power to bind conscience. I ... yn bindes it: not the body immediatly: that is
the Magistrates power: so of goodes and state; if the whole man; yn it must be
ye soule primarily, and body secondarily. If you say as some, your power is over neither
soule nor body, but my relation of a Church member. I Answer: relation being
but an ens rationis cannot be properly ye obiect of binding or loosing 2o you cannot
take away my relation without overthrowing its foundation, which you cannot do, but
by binding the Judgments of other men, to withdraw their consent to my relation
and here after to take me for no member. /

2o For it seemes to pervert ye order of God in Nature; in making one mans
Judgment ye guide of another mans Judgmt & actions for ye Magistrate
must cast out, and the people depart from (not him whom yn selves but) whom others
Judge a heretike. /

3o For it seemes to invert or contradict ye foresayd order, by byndeing me to go
(not only wth out but) agt my owne Judgm:

4o For it seemes to encroach uppon the prerogative of Xt in his Kingly and
Propheticall office, so to pronounce Divine Law and Deity, as yt wee
must beleeve this, and submit to that, uppon there bare word.

5o In ~~case~~ of the Judges errour, are we not bound to erre as yt ye Word of God

6o It seemes to establish ye Popes grounds for a vicar generallship under
~~Xt. Divines on that subiect deny any such~~
Xt: though they take it from him, yet they give it some other; when
our Divines on that subiect deny any such power; and doe Judice contra
make Scripture ye only Judge and no man ye Judge of it, to another

7o It will raise ye controversye againe Who is ye supreame Judge, from whom
there is no appeale: whether ye Pope, a Generall Councill, a Nationall
Synod &c.

8o It seemes to introduce the doctrine of implicite fayth.

9o And to discourage from searching after truth when wee must take wt men pronounceth

10o where a mans conscience regards not your sentence it seemes vaine; and
especially ye Dissenting party, yt perceives not Xts sentence in yors makes
no conscience of it, no more then we of a Popes Bull, or Excommunication

Paul regarded not mans Judgmt: 1 Cor. 4. 3.

11° To set up and practise such Authority, a man hath need of cleere Scripture for his warrant: but it seemes hard to find a cleere Scripture giveing such a Power to the Maior part of Elders or People, over the Minor dissenting part. I confess were it matter of dispute only to me and practise to others I could more easily be satisfyed. but when I thinke of practising such a Power ——

12 I confess the Answer you formerly gave me, Sir [Elliot ye end of this power is not to bind Conscience, and yt after the sentence every man is bound to follow his owne Judgmt and Conscience neverthelesse] doth satisfye to most of those former Reasons (that ye Judgment of some others for that Governmt, is no[illegible] as yes in this: But they answere me yt as ye executioner is to execute ye Judges sentence, though he know not the law, or Judge it against law; so must Magistrates and People ye sentence of ye Presbytery, but both remaine doubtfull to me.

Nor can I then conceive to what purpose this Judiciall Power is, or what it doth more yn a declaration: which I intreat you above all to cleere to me. seeing (for ought I can perceive) you do hereby withdraw all power and efficacy fro ye sentence.

The Scripture you produced Mat. 18 [If he heare not ye Church, let him be to thee &c.] speakes to ye contentment of ye party, who was offended, & had reproved ye offender, & so not to ye Qn.

Nor am I confident of ye validity of my owne Artes: ye rather bec. I suspect, they strike also at ye Magistrates Judiciall power. But I am ready to thinke, yt ye Magistrates owne comande binds only to externalls; & yt not at all my conse: but in such case I satisfye by bearing ye penalty. but you can inflict no penalty, yt act conse. bind not at all. Besides me thinke there should be, betweene ye Magistrates Authority & ye Ministers, a specifique difference [With you it shall not be so, saith Xt] ~~[illegible]~~,

Especially, you acknowledged [yt their Judiciall Binding, is only Clave non errante] & so only when they speake ye minde of Xt. & if so, is it not more to the honr of Xt, yt it should be his authority in ye Word of Scripture yt should primarily & expressly bind, & theirs only by way of aggravation, 2darily & implicitly, ex dignitate nuntii; yn yt theirs should bind primario ex authoritate Judicis. Besides this [Clave non errante] implyes, I thinke, yt it must be so in my Judgmt, or els it is Clave errante to me, & so binde me not.

Hos nodos solvendos ope tua suppeditare, Amice colendiss. ne dedigneris. Et quicquid rescribas, sine venia a te concessa, ne proprio Corde unqua notius [illegible]. Scripsi inter negotia & agitationes Banbury Martij

Tui Amantiss. R[illegible]

17

(12)

Reverd Sr

Haveing had noe conveniency of seeing or heareing of yow for some tyme, I was the more coveteous to improove this conveyance yt yow might heare from mee, and to give yow assurance yt yow are freqt in my thoughts & hearte as an occasion of rejoiceing before the Lord; especially considering the indefatigablenes of yor Labrs & ye greatnes of yor travell for the peace & unity of the Churches of Christ As God has given yow the vantage grounde of most of yor brethren to see the woefull effects & sad consequences of divisions & breaches in ye Church especially among the ministers & guides thereof, soe has he mervelously inclined the spirits of many (& I believe through ye cogency of yor Argumts) to an agreemt in knowne dutys & common principles in order to the union; in soe much yt from ye late combinations & associations in many counties of this nation we may hopefully expect, yett a good day, & that these wholsom passages of Gods providence are but preparatory to the further growth of ye peace and tranquillity of the Church

But alas for ye day wherin mention is made of the broken and divided state of the church of Scotland, the sunn of its peace is gon many degrees backwards God has suffered them to be broken in theire civill pollicy & now some ~~in~~ among them would snapp in sunder the bonds of theire ecclesiasticall pollicy, & wth greatest vigor prosecute the overthrow of all yt is regular among them, & that which yett is most to be admired att these kinde of Levellers give out

they are presbyterians & have noe thoughts to swerve from presbyteriall principles in the meane tyme those application heere to such & such onely who would neuer befriend any class or tribe of men but such as pass the bounds of indepen even Anabaptists & Fifth Monarchists among these they finde such countenance that they canot but gratifie them [illegible]

41

with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a

Major Beakes Letter for credence to Mr Sharpe then Agent for the Kirk but now Arch Bishop of Saint Andrews.

This tyme I forgett to whom I write, certainely had they things bin transacted in ye darke yor sagacity would haue found them out but they haue bin published on ye hous topp. yea Gath & Askelon say a ha! soe we would haue it   The late progress & the present posture of this affaire will be stated to yow by the reverend Mr Sharpe the bearer hereof he was delegated by the Ch. of Scotland to manage busines heere, where he has continued aboue a yeare, his charge bespeakes his worth & piety, & his praise is through all the Churches, the care whereof he has bore in the midst of great opposition & God has hitherto giuen him success & prospered the worke in his hand yor name Sr has ingaged him to this journey & you will soone be convinced, the high esteeme he had of yow was ye onely motive to [illegible], noe doubt yow haue hearde of him (if not by this tyme I question but youle owne him without credentialls & yet I belieue yow will haue a charrecter of him from better hands.   I cannot soe much as aske yow pardon for the liberty I haue taken to trouble yow, I know you loue & value things that come from ye heart I hope these are such.   that yow may long liue to be in the temple is the earnest prayer of

Yor hearty friende & serv

Whitehall 16 oct 1657

Rob. Beake

I am for ye tyme at London if I can serve yow in any thing I pray command me.

LETTERS.
fol. 42. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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I humbly conceive that one great occasion of the many mistakes concerning the deep mysteries of the Gosple is a too low apprehension men have concerning them as ~~the~~ if Gosple mysteries had not been so profound but that they might be most easily illustrated by one metaphor, Resemblance &c whereas in truth the worke of Faln mans salvation by our Lord Jes: is so transcendently glorious & high, all the Divine Attributes appearing in their greatest lustre (may we so termly expresse it) that tis wholly impossible for finite mortals to comprehend it fully, when ex revealed in the greatest plainnesse. ~~But that some men might know somew~~ God ~~there~~ ~~fore~~ infinitely condescending to declare those deep mysteries in such ways and methods as ~~best~~ we were most capable of receiving ~~yt~~ [illegible] diversely sometime one way then another by ~~[illegible]~~ comparisons & Resemblances. Eg. The mystical Union between Christ & Believers is represented sometime by that of man & wife, by that of Head & members of the same natural body, ~~[illegible]~~ Of a Vine ~~compared unto a political Union of King & subjects~~ & its Branches &c yet & it is also compared to the Political Union yt is between a Political head & its political members. The H. G. (as a learned man said) representing the Union yt is between Christ & believers, by such a Variety of Resemblances, in things agreeing onely in the common ~~[illegible]~~ -all notion of Union on various grounds, doth sufficiently manifest that it is not of, nor can be reduced unto any one kind of ym and I may add, That by one of these Resemblances as it is not sufficient to represent as much as may be made known of this Union, so, such is our weakenes that we are uncapable of receiving as much as may be ~~[illegible]~~ entertained unlesse the Lord graciously condescended to represent those deep things by a variety of Re=semblances. In like manner the great things done as necessary to the saving faln man are represented to be done by the Lord Christ, some time, as he is a Mediator and againe as he is a Surety, a second Adam. The Lord Christ of a mediator, engaged in this great worke, but engaging in favour of Faln-man who had transgressed God's most Holy good & Just Law, God as one most just & Righteous [illegible] for satisfaction to his Law. No favour can be shown without it. There must be a satisfying sacrifice or Infinite Justice ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible] of our divine [illegible]~~ will condemne the sinner & prevent all overtures of Grace. The Lord Je. therefore, who had undertaken this office ~~[illegible]~~ doth voluntarily ~~undertake~~ engage to satisfy infinite Justice, ~~and~~ so becomes a Surety. But ~~[illegible]~~ the Notion of a Surety & mediator do not quadrare & therefore if he be the one he cannot be the other. This, I humbly conceive, is the way of arguing yt hath occasioned the many mistakes that some have fallen under, for certainely to suppose, that whatever is said of a Surety in law sense strictly, ~~[illegible]~~ but in strictnesse there will be some inconsistencies between a Surety & Mediator must be asserted of Christ as tho, he had not been me-diator is ~~[illegible]~~. In like manner to assert Christ to be

[illegible] met with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a change [illegible]
ing, C. I have lately read [illegible] books, I look't into some of [illegible]

Major Beeths Letter for ordence to Mr Sharpe then Agent for the Kirk but now Arch Byshop of Saint Andrews.

~~in the strictest sence a mediator~~ a ~~me~~diator ~~[illegible]~~ in such a strict sence as is exclusive of ~~the~~ his being a Surety in any sence, encourageth the Antinomian to conclude, that as they have some truth on their side, even so their opponents have none amongst them. Yr 19th proposition therefore is of admirable use to prevent the cavils ~~either~~ both of the Ignorant, on one side ~~or~~ prejudiced on the other ~~[illegible]~~.

In this 19th prop. you say Christ Perfectly fulfilled all hee undertooke, and this ~~as~~ the second Adam, not a Naturall Root But a Voluntary sponsor, not our substitute nor sent but by us, but Chosen by the Father and sent by him to do al his will for mans Redemption.

But for prevention of such errors as arise from the mistaken sence of Christs Suretyship you have wth the greatest caution and clearnesse expressed the Scripturall sence for

1. Nothing more certaine than that Christ is not a Surety of our sending, for according to the gracious will of the Father he voluntarily came. Heb. 10: 5-6

2. Tho the Lord Christ became so voluntarily our Surety, & though it be said, Esa. 53. 6. The Lord hath laid on him the Iniquitie of us all v. 11. for he shal beare their iniquities and 2 Cor: was made sin for us, yet, we must not understand it so as if the Lord Christ became hereby subjectively, inherently and thereon personally a sinner, or guilty of any sin of his own. For 1o. It is impossible that there should be any physicall transla-tion of our sin on him, sin is an accident et non datur migratio accidentium. & 2o. If it could have been, the Lord Christ ~~[illegible]~~ would have been incapacitated for this worke ~~[illegible]~~, for it Heb. 7. 26-27. But X ~~he had any sins of his own to offer for~~ The Just for the Unjust offer up himselfe wthout spot. Heb. 11. 14.

However here I would humbly Quaere. That since we must distinguish 1 between the preceptive part of the Law & the Retributive part ~~thereof~~ 2dly between these & the execution of the Law, ~~[illegible]~~ consider 1. There is sin sensu ~~a~~ transgression of the Preceptive part of the Law wch is Sin formally considered, none being formally or subjectively sinners but they yt transgress the preceptive part, & 2ndo There is an Obnoxiousnesse unto Punishmt from the Sanction of the Law, wch is the Reatus culpae, only is nothing but Dignitas poenae propter culpam, the same wth reatus poenae. it being sins Respect to punishment from the Sanction of the Law, & then 3o The Punishment itselfe wch at the execution of the Law is inflicted on the guilty person, wch Punishmt being vindicta noxae, the Revenge due to sin, hath an essential respect unto Guilt ever presupposing its Guilt, where it is justly Inflicted. Poena est malum naturale propter malum morale. wherfore then since Jesus Christ who was in himselfe most perfectly holy and cannot by any one wthout the greatest injustice be esteemed or accounted a personal sinner, subjectively a sinner yet suffering for sin, the Punishment of our sins being inflicted on him in a way consistent with the strictest Justice, it being chiefly to satisfie Divine Justice, Whether we may not safely & truely conclude, That the guilt of sin was Imputed unto Jes: Christ for tho Punishment & Guilt cannot be separated, yet Guilt & sin may be ~~[illegible]~~ for the

2ly pardon wch is the dissolving the obligation to punishmt ~~or remo-~~
vid the guilt, is possible; yea and to many actually done. Whether
one that is not formally a sinne, may not by imputation
become guilty & really a sufferer of the Punishment? May
we not safely say, That Christ was alienae culpae reus (i.e.) he
was obnoxious unto Punishmt in the Justice of God for
our sins, As he actually suffered for the Unjust. So ante-
-cedently to these sufferings he was obnoxious unto ~~these suf-~~
~~ferings~~ them. After the Lord Jes: had undertooke to satisfy Infinite
Justice for mans sin, he was lyable to undergoe the punishmt
yea ~~and~~ then god lay on him the Iniquities of us all, and made
him sin for us, yea a Curse for us, that we might be redee-
med from the Curse of the Law. Gal. 3.13. By the Curse of the
Law I understand the Punishmt wth a lyablenesse thereunto
threatned by the Law (i.e.) Jes: Christ having engaged to satisfy
Infinite Justice, and this as a voluntary sponsor became
immediately ~~obl~~ obnoxious to al those sufferings he under-
went for mans sin.

But then 2o. The Lord Christ who undertooke the accom-
-plishing falen mans salvation in a way consistent wth the stric-
-test Justice perfectly fulfilled all he undertooke as
a Second Adam. ~~[illegible]~~ satisfaction ~~being~~
~~[illegible]~~ being in strictest Justice bec: satisfaction
~~[illegible]~~ is still asserted. But ~~then~~
If the Son of god would save man in a way consistent
wth ~~the~~ strictest Justice, ~~[illegible]~~ It was necessary
1o That he should assume the Humane nature, yea
that humane nature, that was the same wth falen mans
Heb: 2.14 &c. that so he might suffer in the same Na-
-ture that sinned, and why but bec: the sin condemning
sin was a sin of Adam, of mankind as it was the sin
sin yt brings mankind into a state of Damnation.
A sin of our nature, tho of Adams Person, and therefore
Strict Justice is satisfied in that the sufferings are in our
nature, yea in that they are infinite sufferings wch Jes: Christ god-man un-
derwent in our nature wch acc: also the judgment was by One to condemnat-
ion. the Free-gift is of many offences to justification. Rom: 5.16.
2o The humane (tho not sinfull) nature of falne man
being assumed & ~~suffred~~ in the sufferings being undergone
in it, al believers are thereby exempted from the Eter-
-nall Curse. 3o It was also further necessary, That a sinlesse obedi-
-ence should be rendred to the Law of innocency in the
same humane nature, to exempt believers from the necessity
of rendring a sinlesse perfect personall obedience
in a way ~~consistent wth the Divine Justice~~ consistent wth infinite Justice, as a condition of life.
4o Al this being done by the Lord Jes: as a second Adam,
a Voluntary Sponsor, & was ~~[illegible]~~ as a publiq Person, & tho
not a naturall, yet a Spirituall Root, 'Tis said that the
first Adam was a figure of him that was to come.
1. There is a First & a Second Adam, A Naturall & a spiri-

ed met with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a thing upon
ind. C I have lately read Sr Hen: Vane's booke, & look't into some of Boh

~~terrally Adam~~ an Earthly & an Heavenly Adam. 1 Cor. 15. 45.

2. There is a great likenesse, similitude and agreement betw these two Adams. and I have met in a late Author that Theodoret ~~expressly~~ it Theod. Dial. 3. vide, quomodo quae Christi sunt cum his quae sunt cum morbo medicina, cum peccato Justitia, cum exsecratione bene-
1. The first Adam is the natural root of al mankind come into the world Naturally, The Natural father of a Natural off-spring. Jes. Christ the 2d Adam is a spiritual root of all Christ kind f. come into the world of grace spiritually. the spiritual father of a spiritual offsp. He is the Everlasting father & hath many children God hath given him. Esa: Heb:

mi conferuntur ... dictio, cum condemnationi remissio, cum transgressioni obedientia, cum morte vita, cum miseris Regnum, Christus cum Adam, Homo cum homine.

2. As in the Natural Adam All (i.e.) al his natural offspr. by his sin die, so in the spiritual Adam al his spiritual children by his obedience are made al 1 Cor. 15. 22. compa'd wt Rom. 5. 19.

3 As al the children of Natural Adam are made sinners not Onely by the communication of a vicious depraved & corrupted nature unto them but also by the Imputation of his actuall sin unto them In like manner the children of Christ the spiritual Adam, who are borne spirit of spirit, have ~~not~~ onely ~~have~~ grace infused into their souls whereby they are in tantum made Righteous in hereafter, but also by the Imputation of Christ's righteousnes are made Righteous. Not that there is any transmission or transfusion of the Personal Righteousnes of Jes: Christ into them, that are to be justifyed, that they should become Perfectly & Inherently Righteous thereby it being most evident that the Subjective Righteousnes of Christ cannot passe from him to us, ~~more~~ no more than Adams personal sin ~~can~~ can passe from him to his posterity, wch cannot be by a transmission of ~~nat~~ sin. tho the corruption of Adams nature is transmitted, yet not the actual sin of his Person that can onely be convey'd to posterity by Imputation of its guilt.

much of wt I have insisted on ~~being~~ is very agreeable to wt I find ~~Aug~~ serm. de decapl. Nativ: Christi towards the end as I find.

Per primi hominis culpam, cœpit Diabolus homini Dominari
Per Secundi hominis gratiam, cœpit ab homine superari Pr
Super Primum superbus, sub Secundo captivus: Per
nos captivos tenuit, per istum nos liberatos amisit.
Primus Adam, nobis Author extitit Culpæ.
Novissimus Adam nobis Author extitit Gratiæ.
Ille de limo plasmatus, terrenos produxit, iste de
Cœlo creatus, cælestes effecit
Per illum perdidimus Gratiam priorem.
Per istum recepimus ampliorem.
Ille quippe nobis intulit Peccati maculam, cum qua n

Major Bedes Letter for credence to Mr Sharpe then Agent for the Kirk but now Arch Byshop of Saint Andrews.

-eremur ad supplicium: iste nobis contulit Justificationis gratiam, ut renasceremur ad regnum &c

There is also an expression in Prosper his Respon: ad object. Gallor. c. 9. wch doth tempt me to thinke that The Imputation of Christs Righteousnesse unto believers was a Doctrine owned in ~~the~~ his time. Non est salvatus cruce Christi qui non est crucifixus in Christo &c But how can any be crucifyed in Christ in any other sense than by Imputation, q.d. Even as the natural offspring of natural Adam sinned in Adam, so the spirituall offspring of spirituall adam were crucifyed in him. Not that we are to hold, that god judgeth or esteemeth, that
18 wee did & suffer'd in our own persons, wt Christ did & suffer'd, but onely, that Christ did it & suffer'd it in our stead, whereupon God makes a Grant & Donation of the Righteousnes of Christ unto believers, upon their beleiving, unto their Justification before him. The believers being mystically United unto Christ & becoming members of his Body, the Righteousnes of Christ is imputed unto them & this Union ~~being~~ is the Foundation of the Imputation, as the same Prosper doth suggest in the following words. Non est autem crucifixus in Christo, qui non est membrum corporis Christi: qui non per aquam et spiritum sanctum Induit Christum &c

All this seemes easily & safely to flow from the notion of Christs being a second Adam & voluntary sponsor, perfectly fulfilling all he undertooke as such an one. viz. As a second Adam, as a voluntary sponsor. and that the radical error of those that pleade for christs being a second Adam in an unsound sense is their denying the Law of Christ to bee a Law, asserting that our faith & repentance is enjoyned us by no other Law than that of Innocencie, wch being so, it unavoidably followes that if Christ rendred the perfect obedience in our ~~[illegible]~~ Stead to this Law, he believed & repented for ~~[illegible]~~ us also, wch doth most undoubtedly evince ~~the~~ wt ye worst of Antinomians contend for, viz. the needlesnes & unusefulnesse of Faith & Repentance &c for this is already done by us in another. But the sentiments I have entertain'd of these things are

1. That Jes: Christ made a full satisfaction to infinite Justice by the sufferings he underwent ~~[illegible]~~

2 That he ~~[illegible]~~ rendered a sinlesse obedience unto the Law of Innocency ~~[illegible]~~. it being a part of that worke enjoyned him by that Law or Covenant made to him as Mediator

3 That the Lord Christ undertaking to do this, he did it as a second Adam, as a voluntary sponsor, (i.e.) He did it for others, and instead of others, for if Christ had not done it, it was impossible that falne man could be salvâ justitiâ saved. But then

4 That Jes: Christ is not only Priest & prophet, but a King who Rules by a Law of grace, unto wch Law our obedience is required, and unto wch our conformity, so far as it is a conformity is a Righteousnes, it is in tantum a Righteousnes, by wch believers are said to be Inherently righteous.

5. That the Lord Jes: Christ did not render any obedience to this his own Law thereby to exempt us from the obedience, (i.e.) from Believing

-ing not with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a change

and, &c I have lately read Sr Hen: Vane's books, & look't into some of

Major Beaths Letter for ordinance to Mr Sharp then Agent for the Kirk but now Arch Bishop of Saint Andrews.

Repenting &c as is ~~in yt~~ wel expressd in yr 35 propos.

6. That there is no other Righteousnes, but our personall Righteousnesse, or obedience to this gospel Law, yt can justifie us from the false charge of being finall unbelieving impenitent sinners. But

7. The Righteousnesse, we must plead in order to the being freed from the Curse of the Law, & in order to the obtaining a right unto Eternal life, is ~~the~~ not a Righteousnesse yt is subjectively ~~or~~ inherently our own, it is the ~~Righteousnes~~ perfect meritorious Righteousnes of our Lord Jes: Christ, wch is made over unto Believers, and is ~~being~~ the meritorious cause ~~both~~ of their right both to impunity & Glory. The Lord Jes: christ suffering & obeying the Law of Innocency, as a second Adam, thereby free's al his spiritual children from Eternall misery, purchasing for them a Right unto Glory. By the Obedience or Righteousnes of one many are made Righteous. Rom: 5. 19.

In the next place I do most humbly crave leave to offer some things concerning yr answere unto Q. 41. "The affirmers quite mistake moses & Paul in thinking yt it is the Law of Innocency, wch moses describes &c — 2. Christ is there said to be the end of the Law as to its shaddows &c" I answere

There are severall expressions in Paul ~~wch~~ looke as if Paul did speake of another Righteousnesse ~~than~~ beside that wch is ceremoniall. 1o The Apostle speaks of the Law as that by wch is the knowledge of sin Rom: 3. 20. wch is the Law yt said yu shalt not covet &c Rom. 7. 7. wch is called a Law written in the hearts of the Gentiles Rom. 2. 14. 15 wch cannot be true of the ceremoniall Law. Agn 2o The Apostle speaks of a Law wch was not made void by Faith, or by the gospel but established Rom: 3. 31. whereas there is nothing more certaine than that the ceremoniall Law is made voyd by the gospel Heb. 8. 5. compared wth 9. 13. moreover 3o it is called a Righteousnes yt Christ came to fulfill and not destroy, as Generally Interpreters say in Rom. 10: 4. Christ is the end of the Law, Finis perfectionis, not Finis destructivus, as if it had imported the same wth yt in Math. 5. 17. I came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill, whereas the Lord Christ came to, and accordingly did abolish the ceremoniall Law Ephes. 2. 14. 15. 4ly in this very place the apostle seemes to allude unto that in Deut 29 ~~21~~ where moses mentions a Covenant distinct from yt in Horeb, ~~wch he~~ q.d. Moses in Horeb describd unto you the Righteousnes of the Law, and this but to the end such as went about to establish a righteousnesse of their own might be brought to see the necessity of a mediator & of his righteousnesse. Deut 5. 24. 25. 26. 27. ~~compared wth~~ Deut. 18. 14. 15 That so the Law might be a schoolmaster to bring ym to Christ, and accordingly after as they cry out for a mediator, the Lord manifests his gracious determination, commending ym v. 28 [they have wel said al that they have spoken] and promising ym the mediator, the Lord Jesus
Deut. 18. who was after this represented by those types and shaddows that were observd according to those commandmts, statutes & Judgments wch were given ym according to the promise made ym v. 31 under which types & shaddows was the righteousnesse of faith represent. wch plainely evinceth to me that the Righteousnesse of the Law mentiond in Rom: 10: 5. does not only respect the ceremoniall but the Law of Innocency, wch most certainly Moses did Descr

BAXTER
LETTERS.

fol. 45. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Resp: 3 Arg: I do humbly crave leave to propose a scruple concerning y[r]
resolve on the 17: controversy.

You say wth the generality of our moderne divines that Justifying Faith is an Act both of the Underst: & will, it being as you else where hint a Consent to take Christ for an Husband &c But if we speake distinctly to the severall Graces of Faith, Love, hope &c as they are taken in a strict sence as they differ the one from the other, how can this bee? Faith hath been Judged by Divines to be the First grace in divine nature, & Love hath been ~~judged~~ considered as the worke of Faith, ~~Faith wch worketh by love~~. Consent to embrace Christ as a husband is the Act of Conjugal Love, wch is the worke of Faith. we love Christ bec: we firmely (or as Le Blanc wth an efficatious Influentiall assent) we believe Christ to be most lovely & most fit for us in such a relation ~~[illegible]~~ we therfore love him conjugally i.e. supremely, & bec: we thus Love him, we consent to embrace him. Tis true there is much of the Excellency & goodnesse of Christ revealed in the Scripture, wch excellency & goodnes is the proper object of the will, but then as the proposition revealing this is True, it is a fit object of our Faith (i.e.) a fit object for the assenting act of the understanding to be conversant about, ~~even~~ so wch ~~is believe~~ Assenting is believing, even so as the Goodnesse is the object of the will, it is the object of our love, Amor ē primum velle, we believe it is true, we love it is good, and answerably as the Assent of the Underst: so is the consent of the will. saving Faith then being an efficacious, an Influentiall & throughly practicall assent it works love, conjugall love & by love consent, Love & consent are true marks being constant & inseparable fruites ~~[illegible]~~ or effects of saving Faith but not saving Faith itselfe as saving Faith strictly consid[ere]d is distinguished from Love. The like may be said of Trust, wch is but ~~a [illegible]~~ Hope in a rais'd degree & as distinct from Faith as Hope in a lower measure. Not but that if I were to describe saving Faith more largely I would take into my description, all those works, & constant antecedents & consequents of Faith.

As to the 18th contr: whether or no as the Habit of Faith hath severall Acts some Exercis'd on one object others on another it may not be proper to say, that these severall acts of Faith must be exercis'd about their severall objects answerable to the State in wch the believer is e.g. The exercise of Faith on Divine Omnipotency when the believer is in a low estate being most proper & suitable as in the case of Jehos: 2 Chron: 20 in what estate of Ignorance to exercise faith on Jes: Christ as he is the gt prophet of God whose office it is to enlighten the darke mind by his spirit & as the soul lyeth under ~~guilt~~ the sence of guilt, to exercise Faith in ye blood of Christ, the fulnesse & freenesse of that offer wch is made to the soul under the sence of guilt, whether it be not most suitable ~~for~~ a wounded conscience under the sence of its misery to exercise Faith in the blood of Christ. whether it may not be safe to advise a humbled, broken heart to act faith in Christs blood, Not but that it is necessary that the whole or Covenant of Grace, ye Consent be believed to make Faith the true Christian Faith in essence, wch Christian Faith has the promise of Justification.

... this were not to propose

... met with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a thing ...
... I have lately read Sr Hen: Vanes booke & look't into some of ...

Repenting [illegible] [illegible] expressd in [illegible]

Because I find it very common for Persons yt pre
to learning as wel as piety to reproach the s
timents you professe to entertaine concerning the
deep mysteries, even when they practically refuse
liberally to consider them and give you their a
madversions I have ventured to trouble you wth the
unmethodicall Papers, wherein my principall de
signe is to importune you to be at the trouble o
giving yr thoughts ~~concerning~~ about wt I have said con
cerning Christs being a second Adam, whether or
no any thing has been dropt that is ~~so~~ unsa
for I am very sensible, that such as have treate
on this subject by the unwarinesse or unsoundnes
their expressions, ~~they~~ have done this Doctrine a
great Injury. The 1st reason yt mov'd me to insi
so much on it is the Apostle Pauls representing the
great Doctrine of mans apostacy & rise by two Ada
as tho there were but two persons in the world, That
Natural Adam & al his posterity made up but One Pers
& ye Spiritual Adam & his Posterity did but constitu
another. wch seemes to give as much countenance to the
putation of Christs Righteousnesse, as unto the Imp
of Adams sin. Rom: 5. 19. Againe bec: I find that
many who represent unto us the Doctrine of Justifica
Imp: of X. R. do it diversly, some obscurely, others unwarily & fe
of late so Judiciously as might be expected, I ha
collected the sence of one who in my weake appreh
sions has handled that Doctrine more Judiciously an
safely than any other I have read, that takes tha
way of explicating it, that so, wthout ye being at the tr
ble of reading the whole booke, if yet you have not,
may the more easily vouchsafe yr remarks on it.
the drawing up of this learned mans thoughts I have
taken the greatest care I could wthout abusing him
shew how far you are agreed & how easily Christian
dor can accommodate this controversy yt has ~~[illegible]~~
occasioned the Churches trouble. &c

in Rom: 10. 5. [illegible] not [illegible] [illegible] wch most certainly Moses [illegible] pap. 4

Concerning the Imputation of Christs Righteousnes.

1. It must be duly considered that there is a Difference between the being Reputed Righteous & to have Righteousnes imputed. These differ as cause & effect. For yt any one may be reputed Righteous, (i.e) be judged, or esteemed so to bee, there must be a Real foundation of that Reputation, or it is a mistake, & not a Right judgement. Wherefore he that is Reputed Righteous, must either have a Righteousnes of his own or another antecedently imputed unto him, as the foundation of that Reputation. Wherefore to Impute Righteousnes unto One yt has none of his own; is not to repute him to be Righteous who is indeed Unrighteous, but it is to Communicate a Righteousnesse unto him, yt he may rightly & justly be esteemed, judged, or Reputed Righteous.

2. Since yt may be imputed unto us, wch is really our own antecedently unto that imputation, the word imputation must needs have a double sence, and be distinctly considered.

1o To impute unto us yt wch was really ours antecedently unto ye imputation includes two things in it.

1o An acknowledgement or Judgement yt the thing so imputed is really & truely ours, or in us. He yt imputes wisdom to be in any man doe in the first place acknowledge him to be wise.

2o A Dealing wth them according to it, whether it be good or Evil. vide Gen: 30: 33. Ezech. 18. 20. 2 Sam: 19. 19. Acts. 7. 60. 2. Chron: 21 22. Psal. 106. 31.

A Rule concerning this Imputation:

That whatever is our own antecedently unto this Imputation, can never be imputed unto us for any thing more or lesse than what it is really in it selfe.

An Inference from this Rule.

God doth not esteeme yt to be a perfect Righteousnes, wch is imperfect. For this is to esteeme a thing to be more than it is, and doe argue a mistake of the thing judged on, or perversenesse in the Judgement it selfe upon it. Wherefore if, as some say, our own Faith & Obed: are imputed unto us for Righteousnesse, seeing they are Imperfect they must be imputed unto us for ~~Righteousnesse~~ an imperfect Righteousnesse.

2o To impute unto us that wch is ~~our~~ not our own antecedently unto that imputation includes also in it two things.

1o A Grant or Donation of the thing it selfe ~~to be~~ unto us to be ours, on some just ground & foundation. For a thing must be made ours, before we can justly be dealt wth all, according unto it. is required or ye account of it

2o A Will of dealings, or an actuall dealing wth us according unto yt wch is so made ours. ~~[illegible]~~ Before this be more particularly considered there is to be laid down

A Rule

That No Imputation of this kind, is to account them unto whom any thing is Imputed, to have done the things themselves wch are Imputed unto them. This were not to Impute but

[illegible] not with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a [illegible]

[illegible] I have lately read [illegible]

to erre in Judgment. & indeed utterly to overth
the whole Nature of gracious imputation.

Inference from this Rule

That it is a manifest mistake, wh some make the grou
of a charge on the Doctrine of Imputation when they s
If our sins were imputed unto Christ, then must
be esteemed to have done it. or have done amisse
to be the greatest sinner yt ever was. & on ye other side, if
his Right: be imputed unto us, then are we esteem
to have done it he did, & so to stand in no need of
Pardon of sin. But this is contrary unto the nature
Imputation, wch proceeds on no such Judgment, but
the Contrary, that we our selves have done noth
of it is imputed unto us; nor Christ any thing
it was imputed unto him.

A more distinct consideration of the several kinds of th
imputation.

It may be either ex { Justitiâ.
voluntariâ sponsione
Injuriâ
Gratiâ

1°. Things yt are not our owne Originally, Personally, inhe
rently, may yet be imputed unto us ex justitiâ, by the Ru
of Righteousnes. & this upon a double Relation.

1°. Things done by One may be imputed unto others prop
Relationem fœderalem. So the sin of Adam was
is imputed unto all his posterity. And the ground here
that we stood all in the same Covenant wth him
who was our head & Representative therein. Hence Be
de amiss: Grat. lib. 4. c. 10: ~~the~~ Peccatum Adami ita p
teris omnibus imputatur, ac si omnes idem peccatum
patravissent. There is a transcription of Adams actual
unto us and a dealing wth us as if we had comitted it.

2°. There is an Imputation of sin unto others ex Justitia
-ter Relationem naturalem, on ye acct. of a Natural Rela
between them & those who had actually contracted the guil
sin. But this is so onely wth respect unto some Tempo
effects. Numb: 14.33.

2°. Imputation may justly ensue ex voluntariâ sponsi
when one freely & willingly undertakes to Answere for an
as Philemon did in the behalfe of Onesimus. v. 18. So Judah
Jacob. Gen: 43.9. & chap: 44.32. Here it must be noted. Th
this voluntary Sponsion was one ground of the Imputation
of our sin unto Christ. ~~He tooke on him~~ He Undertooke t
answere for it the whole church had done agt God & the
Hence the Imputation was fundamentaliter ex comp
ex voluntariâ sponsione. But on supposition hereof, it
actually ex Justitia, it being Righteous yt he should an
for & make good yt he had so Undertaken.

3°. There is an Imputation ex injuriâ; when that is Laid to the ch
of any which he is not guilty as in the case of Bathsheba
1.21. we shall be sinners. i.e. be esteemed so & dealt wth al acc
Ky But this kind of Imputation hath no place in the Judgment

4o. There is an Imputation ex merâ gratiâ, of mere grace & favour. And this is, when that wch antecedently unto this Imputation was no way ours, not inherent in us, not performed by us, wch we had no Right nor Title unto is granted unto us, made ours, so as that we are judged of and dealt wth according unto it. This is that Imputation the Ap: pleads so vehemently for Rom: 4. &c And of this kind of Imputation cannot be fully exemplifyed in any other instance, but this alone, it bee: the foundation of it in ye mediation of Christ is singular, & that wch there is nothing to Paralel in any other case among men.

Hence some inferences.

1o. The Imputation the apostle speakes of, is of a Righteousnes that antecedently unto the Imputation was not ours, being made ours by the Imputation. and therefore it cannot be the Imputation of Faith or good workes wch antecedently to the Imputati: was ours.

2o. The Imputation of workes of what sort soever they bee, of faith it selfe, as a worke & all the obedience of faith is ex Justitia, this imputation of ym unto us, as in us and as ours is an act of Justice tis just wth god to judge of things as they are. and therefore the Imputation of Faith is not yt the Apost. asserts, for that is ex merâ gratiâ Rom: 11: 6:

The Description of the Imputation of Christs Righteousnes.

This Imputation is an Act of god ex merâ gratiâ, of his meere Love & grace, whereby on the consideration of the mediation of Christ, he makes an effectuall grant & Donation of a true, real Perfect Righteousnesse, even that of Christ himselfe unto all that do believe, & accounting it as theires, on his own gracious Act, both absolves them from sin, and granteth them Right & title unto Eternal life:

1. There is on the acct of Christs mediation an effectuall Grant & Donation of a true Reall perfect Righteousnes. of Christ made unto believers, so that this Righteousnes being thus communicated unto them it is theirs, made theirs by a free gift.

2. It is accordingly considered, judged esteemed & reputed as theirs, being by free gift made theirs unto all ends and purposes whereunto it would have served, if it had been their own wthout any such Imputation, donation or communication.

3o. It being thus according to truth judged, esteemed & reputed theirs, their Righteousnes, God ~~[illegible]~~ agreeably thereunto deales wth them in pardoning their sin & giving them a title unto Eternall life.

Thus Sr I have presum'd humbly to offer the sence of ~~a~~ a Judicious Person yt hath appeared in the behalfe of the Imputation of Christs Righteousnes, in doing wch I have not only given you this sence but in many particulars ~~[illegible]~~ his own words, and on the whole cannot thinke that there is any other difference between you than a Lytle in the manner of expressing ~~being~~ one & the same fundamentall truth. for it

[illegible]

... met with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a ...

... C. I have lately read ...

Sr 19 Kempston Sept. 19: 1681

Since I wrote to you I read yr booke of Episcopacy
surely they must be much prejudiced whom your histo-
ricall proofs & yr evidences will not satisfie; but I
doe not like your waxy parenthesis of ArchBps as
jure divino, I feare it tends to hold us in ye old bondage
or to introduce another as bad at ye back-doore, I
graunt yt ye civil soveraign authority may appoint
such, as farre as it is concernd as to ye publique houses
of worship, maintenance, caution agst sedition; but
for yt; ye Kings Commission is ordination sufficient
nor is it necessary yt such a visitour should be a Bp
at all; neyther will I deny but yt ye Bps associating
may appoint a President for orders sake & as edifi-
=cation shall require; more than so in men fallible
is like to doe more hurt than good, we know
what ye grandeurs of great Churches & president Bps
came to; therefore abundant cautela is necessary.
most have hitherto looked upon ye Bps as successors
of ye Apostles in yt of ym wch was fixed & permanent
The Scripture hath given directions for Bishops why
gave it not ye like for ArchBps as to their election
ordination, ye limits of their power & diocesses?
if they have jurisdiction over ye Bps then also over
ye people; omne majus continet in se minus, then
it will be easie to graunt to them a regulation
of Church-members & power of excommunication
so yt (mutatis nominibus) we are well enough in
England already especially since ye magistrate
is also Christian & will have it so
why did not Ignatius so neare ye Apostles say
Presbyters be subject to yr Bishops & Bishops
be subject to yr ArchBishops?

X

Sr Lamport Sept. 19. 1681

Since I wrote to you I read yr booke of Episcopacy
surely they must be much prejudiced whom your histo=
ricall proofs & yr evidences will not satisfie but I
doe not like your wary Parenthesis of ArchBps as
jure divino, I feare it tends to hold us in ye old bondage
or to introduce another as bad at ye back=doore, I
graunt yt ye civil soveraign Authority may appoint
such, as take, as it is concernd as to ye publique houses
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for yt, ye Kings Commission is ordination sufficient
nor is it necessary yt such a visitour should be a Bp
at all; neyther will I deny but yt ye Bps associating
may appoint a President for orders sake & as edifi=
=cation shall require, more than so in men fallible
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of church members & power of excommunication
so yt (mutatis nominibus) wee are well enough in
england already especially since ye magistrate
is also christian & will have it so
why did not Ignatius, so neare ye Apostles say
presbyters be subject to yr Bishops & Bishops
be subject to yr ArchBishops:

ingaging ~~[illegible]~~ himselfe when he entred into t
Cov- made between him and the Father.

Cyprian sayth, yt every Bp. is absolute in his owne
Church see Dr Barrows popes suprem: p. 220
againe de simpl: prelat. episcopatus unus est cujus
a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. how in solidum?
if an ArchBp. may controule him, & to ye Bps
in ye Councill of Carthage: nemo nostrum se
constituit episcopum episcoporum. yet he was
president Bishop of a large province
Tertullian. lib. de pudicitiâ lin. 19. mocks ye Bp
of Rome as if he would be episcopus episcoporum.
as Mr Thorndike sayth though Junius excuseth it.
it was an old proverb yt no man was to be
Bp. in another mans diocesse.
if an ArchBp. why not primates & patriarchs &c.
wch were most certainly but of imperial constitution
as Dr Barrow also sayth.
if one Bp. be unsound another may keepe his church
pure therefore I argue ex paritate with Grego=
=rius. Mr. viz. then if an ArchBp. should faile
all ye Churches in a Kingdome should fall with
him; this hath been proved by wofull experience.
there is no such thing as an oecumenicall go=
=verning church, nor a National governing
Church as a Corporation jure divino. Matth. 18. 17.
ergo there is neither Pope nor ArchBp.
one Bp. would excommunicate an equall Bishop
& a Councill of Bps. would doe so, much more. but
was such a soveraign power in ArchBps (wch too scan=
=dalously emulate ye grandure of jealous princes)
to depose heretical Bishops usual & granted
before ye Nicene Councill who set ye first horne
upon ye two horned Beast; & before any imperial
Sanctions.

ignorance that is by Christ
be the same as if the same whethe

you seeme to me also in one or two places, to
Equall ye presbyters too much to their Bishop, not
that I thinke, but yt secondary presbyters should assist
them in preaching if they be able especially
in private houses & with his consent: for [illegible] be sure
apostolicall things are most usefull & best for saving
soules; not Ceremonious Rites, Charmes or formalities
not as [illegible] like pageants & puppets, stricked up
to surprize & delude ye vulgar. But ye choise
office of such presbyters was to governe ye manners
of ye people being (except in a few great Churches)
& more understanding tradesmen
but as our ordinary
The Scots prohibited Elders to preach &c. be ye
circumstances what they would. see ye London jus
divinum ministery diserves to be considered. I never
saw a good answer yet to 1 Tim. 5.17. let ye
Elders yt rule well &c. But I conceive yt in a
small Church where there is no great difference
in ye qualification of ye members, there is no ne=
=cessity of eyther Presbyters or Deacons & much
lesse of Deacons, now ye magistrate is Xtian, as
we have no Deaconesses

since my writing this I had a cursory sight
of Mr Sherlocks defence; I see he catcheth at
yt of Arch Bp: some thinke you will be concerned
to answer, not to all yt booke, but to ye choise
passages especially in ch. 7. where he speakes of
ye multitude of believers & greatnesse of churches
in great Cityes, urged long since in ye London jus
divinum! [illegible] yet but one Bp in a City never so great
To a ffriend of mine who seemed to be moved by
this authour I answered thus

most Evident

ticular. you agree as to the substance of these foll

1° That the Lord Jes: Christ ~~to~~ might save falne man in
sistent wth infinite Justice it was necessary he should in
ly under Infinite wrath & render a sinlesse obedience un
2° That accordingly in the fulnesse of time the Lord Jes: Chri
undergo infinite sufferings & render the ~~sinful~~ sinlesse obedi
3° That the Lord Jes: Christ did al this as a second Adam
4° That the Lord Jes: became obliged so to doe ex voluntari
freely engaging ~~[illegible]~~ himselfe when he entred into
covt made between him and the Father.

Mr Sherlock confesseth yt a man may be a
true Bp. of a smal Church & who can [illegible]
but his assertions will not graunt so much of
a monstrous Diocesan especially one yt doth not
reside & preach, therefore his safest to be of yt
way wch all graunt to be true yt ye people
may be [illegible] to reap ye benefitt of ye Bp.
in some hoping to be able to discharge his office
to all his Church at least with ye assistance
of Elders. Suppose a thing hath been in some
places anciently practiz'd & was simply lawfull,
nay convenient in some cases of need & circum-
stances, yet why should not good Xtians endeavour
after ye most easie undeniable & usefull &
commendable forme, if men studied ye churches
~~benefit~~ more than their owne filthy lucre.

Sr I crave yr pardon for sending Calamy
to Newcastle

14. 2d Dayes 16[illegible]

[illegible] whether your righteousnesse that is by Christ
by Faith be the same & if the same whether
Righteousnesse

This wch I have so amended is done [illegible]
fusion [illegible] unlesse I had been wel assured of
-rable Interpretation I would not present it you
Yr most humble se

(No 13)

20 20

Endeared Sr   Wrexham. 10th month 1656.

Its some months since I received your loving letter, but many thoughts & things have hitherto retarded an answere. & now I can say litle more than that the spirituall understanding is very desireable profittable & precious. I did not in the former letter invite my selfe to write to you. But finding you by your writings ingenuously earnest to prye into the immanent acts in God blessed for ever (who is nothing that is comprehensible by man or angell though hee bee there All in All), an exchange of thoughts was desired as by mee (who am but a babe, hoping that wee both looke straight forward, not against any sect nor for any Party in Europe or in this habitable world, but only as far as either the deepe error or sound truth springs up in the bottomelesse spirits of man. Manifest it is that the fairest truth & foulest error do lye side by side, yet they touch not one another to all eternity. [illegible] man knoweth the perfect will of his maker no further then hee understandeth or beleiveth the Essence or true Being of Jehovah, over all, through all & in all the saints, wherein Christ is formed & liveth. Neither do wee thinke it Scepticisme to see Him who is invisible nor Atheisme to know him who is God by nature, unto whom the Apostle to the Galatians opposeth all false Gods, as being by nature no Gods. And be it alwayes remembred (while some complaine of darke and uncouth expressions) that the things of God, of paradise & new Jerusalem (as in themselves) are some of them impossible, some hard to be beleeved, some unlawfull or inconvenient to bee told all. And in the present writings of men (that are far behind Paul for elegant expressions & depth of understanding) somethings will be hard to be understood & consequently wrested by them that say This is a hard saying who can &c

we are as Barbarians to some, specially when wee speake of our blessed only wise & wonderfull God as one of whom, through whom & to whom are all things (a fitt text for us) or of the three Questions or preface to the Catechisme viz How hath God the father made thee. How hath God the Son redeemed thee How hath God the Holy spirit sanctifyed thee. for in the midst of controversyes this is without controversye, that Great is the mystery of Godlinesse which is that of Christ & his church knowen only by meanes of his owne marvailous light & spirit in the heart And that the wonderfull holy Trinity is within & without all things is unquestionable with mee. Hee that knowes him admires him, Hee that admires him pleaseth him, & Hee that pleaseth him is not tossed to & fro with every wind. I would not offer you considerations of this nature but that I perceive that sometimes in your bookes (in this bookish partiall formall fierce factious animositous age) your mind is ripening towards the flower & drawing nigh to the fountaine of all. (love beleiveth all things). And when you & I (who am indeed but a child as I said, but a too froward one) shall be further acquainted with the nature of Pearls & with precious stones of the holy citty, you may yet againe lett me be helped by your meanes, for I could not well forbeare to send to you now this second time.

But of some dawnings. How cleare & glorious & marvailous are they! ô that we knew more spiritually ô that we saw by faith that one incomprehensible Holy Being who is through in & over all Essentially & substantially, for he were not perfect if he were not wholly every where at once. The error of the wicked (that maketh wicked) against which all the men of God (as one man with one lip) contended, was not against the small mistakes, but against the king, the root of the roots of the tree of Antichrist. The Epistles of Peter & Jude (among other) being planted as ordnances against such as deny the Godhead & Holy One & say in their hearts, Theres no God, nor word of God, nor spirit of that word. These oppose the founder & finisher of nature (& of faith much more) as all ranks of Ranters (whereof this evill world is full) do endeavour, by setting up the course of nature (if they could) above the eternall word, whereas it keeps its due place only (to the day & to the end) but infinitly beneath the word made flesh. Now one cause of our present wofull babilonish contention is the want of right apprehensions of the Godhead in his christ & spirit. Neither shall men agree in God, till the fleshly mind (that perks up in mans heart to iudge of Gods mind) bee mortifyed (And in that, the Quakers say well as I thinke). And because the foundations of present churches (however called) since the Apostacy from the true cleare chrystall primitive knowledge were not layd deepe & large enough in an eternall interest therefore they fall & crumble one after another into hostile partyes. Deare Sr. whom I love though I thinke I never saw your outward face. Excuse this brevity in the love of Christ, & wishing you & I may do nothing against the truth but for it. watching the exalting mind as our enemy forgetting whats behind, pressing forwards after the bright infinite glory at the resurrection of the iust whereof there is hope yet remaining to you & to your friend X Mor. lloyd.

This is not to be published, but among a few friends at the most. Rather keepe it to yr selfe

might without more words or sights. Sr the deare [illegible]
have met with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a change [illegible]

LETTERS.
fol. 51. of Baxter Letters in volume shown. s in

without more words or sight. so [illegible]
not with one learned man yt said somewhat towards

To his Honoured friend
Mr Richard Baxter
theſe
at Kidderminster

Present with
ſpeciall care

Merionethshire 3m 1656

Here is a word from a friend in wales that hath eyed you & the spirit arising & working in you (as your writings unfold you.) you are I perceive digging at the root of truth & your fainted spirit hath knowen in it selfe, that the fountaine is deepe & that no man can draw up the waters of life or unseale the booke of God. but Christ within is the revealer of secretts. you have trodden a singular unknowen path in your thoughts, & such as is not perfect though you have multiplyed words books & offerings. I hope you are yet kept by the lords spirit & seeke, else wt I propose would be to cast water into your big swelling river & oyle into your flame. I salute you in love & respect, though I must not now write at large. only I desire one private line of the upshott of your manifold thoughts. If you bee meeke & of a sober spirit & hearing heart God will teach you & you may instrumentally teach mee but if you bee puffed up wth your former attainements then & & & you condemne the generation of the quakers. If I were intimate wth you I might better aske, why? you write of the will of God but ~~how~~ can you understand his first & second will (distinctly two yet but one only will) beyond what you have printed? for beyond that you must go towards perfection if you will be saved & save them that heare obey you.

Sr you give occasion of many things. But I forbeare now to enumerate. This is a salutation I expect not in vaine. If you show your face in earnest love in the glasse Salomon speaks of, it may be answerably reflected further by Mr. Lloyd who wth is affected to see you in your writings so earnestly groping for the true inward [illegible] which many inward men (I feare) mistake also. None knowes the will before the revealed Essence of God. know wee him (as immanent) then all is plaine & the key is found. though philosophy could never well attend to the eternall word who is the only begotten Image and universall declaration of the wonderfull unbottomed Godhead & is God eternall. Sr I hope you are farr from despising the day of small things (as Augustin the Monke under the oake did the welsh.) I find you desirous to know the root better as I am, therefore am I thus desirous to salute you & to heare from you As knowing nothing my selfe but that there's one (Christ in you & mee) that knowing all things shall lead to all.

These
To mr Richard Baxter, at
Kidderminster
present wth speed
& trust

X 52

might without more words or light. Sr I'le deale plainly with you
have not with one learned man yet said somewhat towards a thing

LETTERS.

fol. 53. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

It is so naturall to man to desire to know, yt I take it for no boast to tell you yt I earnestly long to be acquainted with so lovely a thinge as Truth. And if I know my heart, I know not yt worldly thinge, yt I should account too deare in order to yt obtainment: And Experience tellinge me yt dearest truths do oft afford yt sweetest Comforts, hath promoted my hearty willingnes to entertaine it at any rates, so it be in order to my ultimate end. But here is my unhappines! I can rather wish for it yn reach it. I doubt not but many love it as well as I, yt yet differ from me in many particulars: And I dare not say yt I have never so neglected ye light as to forfeit it. for though I know nothinge by myselfe yet am I not thereby justifyed. The imperfection of my knowledge I am deeply sensible of: but O yt I could reach higher! wch I wish not meerly for ye love of light; but alsoe as it is ye necessary inlett of Love: for I find if I could but know God more, I should Love, desire & labor more. And concerninge ye state of my soule wch you enquire after, I shall as truly acquaint you with it as I can. In ye great Essentialls of my Religion, I consider two things: 1° whether they be true? And in this I am no Seeker: for I am satisfyed: E.g. yt there is a God, a Life after this, yt Xt is ye way &c: 2° By what evidence I may see more of ye Truth of those things, & be confirmed more in ym. And in this I am still a Seeker: As alsoe I am, for further Grace to improve those truths. And yt for ye more subservient truths many of ym I know past doubt, & there am no Seeker: in regard of very many I am at a loss, & am still to seeke: as alsoe I am, for ye clearer methodizinge & disposinge of some well knowne truths. And as for meeknes & sobriety, I have not so much as to boast of; but truly I can say yt I am conscious of abundance of darknes in my soule, & yt I would thankfully (even with a thousand thankes) entertaine yt advice yt would helpe me to a cure. But yn this is my case! I have not a commandable intellect. I cannot beleive things, because men would have me beleive ym; & yn they are offended. I have not ye Command of my owne apprehensions: Its only evidence of verity yt can command it; for wch I waite on God in ye constant & laborious use of those wch I have taken to be his meanes; & all yt I have attained to is this: 1° to be more stablished yn ever in ye Essentialls; 2° to see many subservient truths; 3° to have ye Light for ye methodizinge ym wch sometime I had not; 4° to longe after ye ~~rest~~ knowledge of ye rest wherein I am at a loss, 5° And to love those yt unite in ye Essentialls & greatest Comon truths. So far am I from beinge puft up with those attainments (though I am much troubled with pride) yt my strongest temptations have beene to be yet more scepticall, & to Doubt of allmost all, through ye consciousnes of my Ignorance in all. You would aske me why I condemne ye generations of ye Quakers? 1° Because they seeme to me to deny much yt God hath delivered us in ye sacred Scriptures, & to deliver much contrary: 2° Because they shew a designe to bringe ye most humble painfull ministers into hatred & contempt with their hearers, wch I little regard for ye ministers sakes; but wt a people should we have if they were ~~e~~ cast aside! & how faithfull do I know many of ym to be to ye interest of their peoples soules as far as they can discerne it? If they be in any error, ye way of Charity is to reduce ym in meeknes, & not to seeke their extirpation, to ye apparent hazard of ye flocks: 3° Because they come in a spirit of malice & revilinge, as far as I am able to discerne; wch is not ye Spirit yt truth proceedeth from. These are some of my Reasons: if any of ym be bad, I am willinge to know it. For ye hints you give of ye Created [illegible] (& ye two wills of God &c) I must confess to you I cannot understand yor meaninge without more words or light. Sr I'le deale plainly with you: I have met with one learned man yt said somewhat towards a thinge upon my mind, & I have lately read Sr Hen: Vanes booke & look't into some of [illegible]

but they all deny satisffaction to my understandinge, by two miscarriages wch they
are comonly guilty of: The first is yt they purposely & willfully hide their
minds, deliveringe most things in Allegoryes (even when they speake in Scripture
phrase) & avoydinge plaine & proper termes. No man is so great an enemy to truth
as he yt obscureth it. My understandinge is darke enough after all helpes: I
have no need of Riddles to hinder my discerninge. I am resolved by ye strength
of Grace, could I find truth more fully, to owne it bare fac'd in ye open world
without feare or shame wt ever it cost me. God is not God if he be not suf-
ficient to secure those yt he engageth for him, & to see yt they be no loosers
by him. He yt serveth a God yt he hath cause to be ashamed of, or to be afraid
to owne, doth not worship ye God yt I doe. They are envious to men yt would
hide pretious truth, & yt under pretence of revealinge it. The 2d Error is yt they
will not open to me ye whole fabricke & systeme or body of truths wch they
professe to have attained: but will only drop here one & there one, yt I may re-
ceive ym by degrees. This way I find unlikely to take with me: For till I
see ye concatenation of truths & tendency of ym, & whither they lead & where
they will end I find much unsatisffyednes in my mind. If therfore you have
attained further yn I, & are willinge to do me ye office of a true freind
deale plainly & fully with me, & I will do so by you. I do here solemnly
professe to you yt let ye name of it be never so odious in ye world, I will
thankfully entertaine & openly professe any truth of God whose evidence I
can discerne. But yn I must intreate of you these two things: 1o yt you
will give me in some smal compend systeme of ye body of truths which you
would have me to receive, beginninge at ye Principles, & put me not of with
incoherent scraps: for it is ye nature of truths so to befreinde one another,
yt ye hidinge of one may be a meanes to hinder ye reception of many. 2o
yt you will studiously avoid Allegoryes, metaphors & uncouth phrases
except where necessity compelleth you to use ym. If you shall yeild to
this, I shall take you as a plaine & faithfull freind & nothinge shall be more
wellcome to me yn any evidence of divine truth from what hand so ever.
But if you shall shun this course, I feare my dull understandinge will
remaine in its former darknes. But still I shall waite on God for his discovery.

July 10th
1656

yor Brother

Ri: Baxter.

An Answer to a Letter from Mr Morgan Lloyd
Pastor of the Church at Wrexham
in Denbighshire

15

Reverend Sr much honoured & beloved in Christ

Overlooking my letters I find yt in one place you saide you could not consent to the 7th chapter, as being too particular but said not in wt respects. for wch cause I returned no answer thereunto. but because another faithfull & beloved brother, of the Congregationall perswasion hath strongly objected against yt chapt: I thought it might not be amisse to give you so much trouble, among the multitude of your holy & more weighty labours, as to read over what I returned in answer thereunto. wch is as followeth.

Reverend & beloved brother in or Lord, & kinsman after the flesh.

Your Godly expostulations touching the 7th chap: of my Communion of churches, exprest wth so much love, faithfullnesse, & humility, doe oblige me to be very thankfull to you, for your labour of love to me, & especially to the cause of Christ. I account my selfe ingaged to a very considerable returne unto so great & weighty Questions, as you have proposed.

I must transcribe your first Question, at large, I canot epitomise it, because it is so full & circumspectly argumentative. [thus you say] If the foundation of voting members in the first Sec: (for such I suppose it must be understood, because of the election of officers, there mentioned, to be by ym [illegible]) be to be as stricte as the Supplementary Sec: 5. viz that they must be such, where is found a due evidence of some hopefull reall work of change of heart, by faith & repentance duely manifested to the church: then few parishes will afford a competent number to become a church: it may be one, or two, or three in a parish, in few more, except in populous citys & townes, & in some none. Shall yt few yt are found in some parishes, be left as sheepe wandering in the mountaines without a shepheard? shall such lambs never be folded, till there be a fold in the parish that a competent number to become a church: to chuse their owne officers? Or is no regard to be had to the aforesaid qualification in the begining of those reforming congregations?

if not, yn how shall they be capable of spirituall judgmt in yt spirituall case, of chusing officers, or admiting others afterwards to the Sac: of the Lords Supper, & to vote in the church; to wch is required an hopefull reall work, & heart change, by faith & repentance?

A. here is a great deale of matter wisely couched together, to wch I shall answer in severall distinct propositions. Pp. 1. The parishes are churches allready howevere corrupted both in matter and forme &c. yet there is some accepted matter, & some accepted forme, in their Sab: assemblings to worship God, & in the ministry of the word, & in the ministration of the Sac: & prayer. This principle we in NE. have allwayes owned, & dare not to this day deny it. hence the work of Christ in Engld (& other where also) is church reformation, out of the Antixian apostacy.

Pp. 2 there be many parishes in Engld, yea thousands through grace, that are capable of a present reformation especially considering the great light that of late hath broak forth, both by the ministry, & by the pattern of Congregationall churches, & by the present pressures. by all wch meanes, Christ hath greatly enlightened & prepared a people for church reformation.

Pp. 3. if the supream powers comand the parishes to be reformed in their church estate & ordered in ~~councils~~ comunion of churches: there would presently be councils in order, enough to cherish & traine up all the rest in due order & season, into the proposed frame & order.

Pp. 4. If there be a Godly minister, a godly ruling Elder & a godly Deakon, a good representative, though all the rest ~~be~~ generally weake, as to the males: there may be Godly women, who are accepted matter of the church, though silent & not vocal matter, & godly youth & servants also.

Pp. 5. The order of councils, whose care it is to cherish up parishes, into a more reformed state, must transplant & remove (in a way of advice & perswasion) godly & fit instruments, from one parish to another, wch may be of use to reforme the parish into a church state. Churches ought to deny ymselves, to let their choyce members, who are not in office among ymselves, to be removed to other places, where they may be of publick service in the kingdom of Christ. And upon this consideration, I believe there be saints in England, holy & well qualified, enough to bespangle all the kingdom over, & to [illegible] every parish in the whole Nation to become a reforming congregation.

Pp. 6. The first act of a Parish in giving ymselves up unto the Lord in the way of reformation, & submitting to be ordered by the counsel of councils, doth bring all the members into a state of confirmation [illegible] confirmed members of the church; whereby the dore is opened for the free passage of Baptism to their seed successively: but they are not yet hereby admitted into a state of full comunion, till some further fit manifestation, of a work in their hearts, be performed. And though they doe, by the guidance of councils, elect officers: yet upon a strikt debate, only the duely manifested Godly, doe put forth [illegible] ternal power of voting, the rest doe only consent and approve, & what is defective is holpen by the guidance of councils.

In these 6 propositions is contained (in my poor understanding) a plaine & cleare answer, & settlement of much of the case, as is contained & couched in your judicious Question till I see further objection I cease to draw forth answer by the propositions, to avoyd prolixity.

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Q2 How come we to be so confined to the civile bounds of parishes, in the matter of gathering churches

A. 1 I acknowledge yt the bounding of parishes is meerly civile, & for many civile purposes, very usefull, [illegible] to any ecclesiastical relation without consent

2 Cohabitation is a very necessary point in the exercise of comunion in a particular church [illegible]

respect of the Sab: that theire jornys to meeting in pub: worship, exceed not a Sabboth days j
& yt theire mutual watchfullnesse, & holyfullnesse be not evacuated by burdensome dis
3 here why may it not be lawfull wth consent to confine theire church comunion, by the oportunity
Parish bounds? especially seeing yt by a good correspondence is held betwixt civill & church com
moses & Aaron kisse eachother.

Q 3. who shall chuse ye Councils, before the Parishes are become reforming congregations? since yy are supp
being, wth the Parishes bound, in the way prescribed. sect. 1. particular reforming congregationall ch

A. this is in effect answered in the 2d & 3d of the former 6 propositions. churches must be before Cou
because yy are the efficient causes of Councils. theire first act may be to reforme theire ma
explicitly to renew theire Covenant, & yn to elect theire Councils. In wch transaction, tho
some may walk in greater latitude of charity, & others may be more strikt, yet such thin
no impediment of comunion of churches. or, seeing the Parishes are churches, I object n
theire first act be to chuse a Council.

Q 4 Are all the congregational churches in Engld unduly gathered? must yy to the fire as hay
stubble? (& to the same poynt, in the first paragraph you say) shall a few in this & yt Paris
scattered stones, & not be built up into an holy temple in the Lord, because there are not
every parish to constitute a church within itselfe?

Pp 1 A. here againe I must answer by distinct propositions. Pp. 1. the way of congregational church
England, hath bene a dispensation of grace, of exceeding great use & benefit to all, to
all men of the use, need, worth, excellency, & peculiarity of church estate, order, instituted
ship, comunion of saints, & walking wth God in covenant.

Pp 2. when neither did the supream authority comand, nor did the parishes attend to the way & work of
church reformation, why should ye lambs of christ whose eyes were opened in this poynt
be as scattered stones here & there in severall places in confusion & disorder, abiding alon
one & there another in the outmost boughs of the olive trees? I know no rule to prohib
fro gathering yyselves together, & speaking often ~~[illegible]~~ one unto another. mal. 3. 16. an approved practi
the saints in evill times. we should rather incourage yy in so doing.

Pp 3. If the supreme authority should comand the Parishes to attend to church reformation. & any Parish
delay, either by providential occasion, or by temptation, & there be a few names among yy, wh
to improve theire dayes, in comunion wth the saints in the order of the gospel, & should joyn
some other more remote congregation, for the present, untill the Parish be in a better
ment & order of reformation. I see not but yt we should be so far fro discouraging yy,
we should rather blesse ym, & incourage ym, in hope yt yy will be thereby the more & better f
be a blessing in theire owne Parish, wn yy need theire help, & when the Pps are
tend the same.

Pp. 4 Though the incumbent ministers of the particular parishes, where such scattered stones sought out
comunion of saints in other places, were offended at theire so doing, yet I doe humbly
yt question, did yy well to be so offended at it seeing yyselves, & the Parish, did not, at th
present, attend to the work of church reformation? that being the jewel and pearle
yy sought after.

Pp. 5. when, through grace, the supream authority shall comand all parishes to attend to church reforma
then my humble desire is yt all the members of the congregational churches, would in
season drop off fro theire more remote comunions, & fall upon the service of theire
generation in the Parishes where they live. to promote the work of christ in yt place, where,
other respects, yy are obliged & called.

thus my beloved brother & kinsman, I have given a breif answer to those weighty proposals wch you
unto me, in reference to my proposals for reconcilemt in the comunion of churches. I
for me to object. &c.

Revd Sr I shall give you no further trouble at present but beg your prayers for me, who am
afflicted by the hand of the Lord, in the death of my eldest sonne, a good workman
the vyne of christ, my assistant in the Indian work, a staffe to my age. he is in glory
am still in the valy, where I much need the Lords special help, to whose grace & gui
I comit you & rest

your unworthy brother
in the Lords work

Roxb. this 28t of the 8t. 68.

John Eliot

for
the Reverend
Mr Ric.
Baxter
these
Present

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4

Kederminster March 31. 1657.

Deare Sr

I received not yors till this day March 31. 1657. yor loving & free com=
munication must needs be acceptable, & obligeth me to gratitude, as every
truth doth to a ready entertainment. That you judge me a lover of truth &
willing to arrive at higher knowledge, I take for no great commendation:
for truth is naturally ye object of or understandings, as goodnes of or wills, & ye
understanding naturally is inclined towards it, however ye predominancy of car=
nall inclinations, have made us averse to sanctifying truths; but yt is not as they
are truths, but as they are cross to fleshly interest & are above & against ye naturall
& carnall mind. I confess I have so strong a desire after knowledge, yt I think I
could easily compass sea & land, I meane, lay out ye little strength I have, in any
certaine meanes for ye attainment; & yet so much of this desire as terminateth
in ye meere delight of knowing, & is not sanctifying, & leadeth not ye mind to God
for God, I take to be but naturall. But alas, I find desiring will not doe! I
study & pray & study, & reach upward, but I cannot reach ye things yt
I desire. My eager inquiryes into inferior truths, have long beene moderated; but
when I am on my knees, & speake to yt God of wm I have so low apprehensions,
& when I would faine have more lively & cleare conceptions of his blessed na=
ture, & ye invisible things, but canot attaine ym, this is my burden, & oft times a
great temptation to despondency. I know yt as ye matters of ye world are
trifles in comparison of ye least spirituall verityes & employments, so the
lower sort of spiritualls are smal things in comparison of ye pure knowledge
& love of God. And as ye highest complacency in ye Divine perfections wth the
fullest sense of Gods complacency in me (as a stone in ye building of ye new
Jerusalem, & a member of ye Glorifyed body of his son) with ye exercise of these
in everlasting Praises, is ye Heaven yt I expect; & Intuition must be ye Subst
or first step of yt complacentiall fruition: so I know, yt it is my Ignorance
of God & distance from him, yt here keeps under my affections, & depriveth me
of ye foretasts of heaven on earth: And could I but see more of God, & live
more in his Love, I could spare abundance of inferior conceptions & speculations, wch I find
but like all creatures, empty & insipid, further yn God appeareth in ym, or they
lead to him. I know in pt (alas I am taught by long & sad experience) how
little I can doe myselfe to reach to this Divine knowledge, & I think I lye
simply at ye foot of God, desiring ye free communications of his light:
but yet I am amazed wth darkness & distance. A thousand times my
heart groanes forth these wishes [O for a cleare sight of God! how can
I love him more till I know him more! O yt I knew more of ye fountaine
of life, & ye everlasting state of soules with God, though I were a foole
to all ye matters of ye world!] And yet I am where I was. I daily look
upwards, & gaze towards ye altitude, but my sight falls short: I am stu=
dying ye height & bredth & length & depth & faine would know ye love of
Christ; but I find it passeth my knowledge. // yet (yt you mistake me not)
I speake not all this of ye matter to be knowne, but of ye maner or degree
of knowing. I must needs say yt I take ye holy Scriptures conjunct wth
ye booke of nature, for a sufficient object the Revelation, & I dare not
so much as aske of God to shew me more yn Scripture & ye creatures doe
reveale, lest I accuse his doctrine & standing lawes, & established way of
teaching ye world, & lest I be guilty of prying into forbidden mysteryes,
& going beyond my sphere, & falling with Adam by a desire to know: for
things secret are with God, but things revealed are for us & or children.
It is not therefore for not knowing more yn God hath written in Nature
& Scripture, yt I am thus distrest; but it is because I know not ye most
necessary pt of yt, with yt cleare, heart warming, quickening know=
ledge wch ye nature of ye things requireth: I am most wanting in the
knowledge of yt wch I doe know. I can recite many truths about ye
divine nature & ye mystery of Redemption, & ye everlasting state of
ye saints, but my knowledge of ye subject is darke & smal, while I ptly
know ye sence & truth of ye propositions. In this darkness I am apt to hearken

to any yt cease to attaine higher discoveryes, yn ye rest of ye world: but
when I have oft drawne neere ym as a learner in hope & great expectation,
I have found yt many would thrust upon me their owne conceits without any
evidence for proofe, & expect yt we beleive ym & take their doctrines on
ye credit of their wordes, layinge us downe some new contrived frame, and
sayinge it is ye truth of God & angrily rejectinge us as sons of darknes, and
strivers against ye light if we doe not receive it. When I must confesse
myselfe exceedingly undisposed to receive any doctrines on ye credit of any
man, without Scripture or Reason to prove it to be of God: especially when
I see so many undoubtingly confident yt they are ye children of light & talk
& have ye illuminations of God who contradict both Scripture & one another.
And thus beinge discouraged in my expectations from men, I am faine to
waite on God alone, in ye use of those ordinary helpes yt he hath vouchsafed.
I confesse ye importance of yor first letters put me in some expectations
of receivinge some extraordinary helpe by yor communications: for I plainly
pceived you had much to communicate. but I now pceive you are pleased
to withhold it, & silently deny ye great matters yt I so earnestly requested
of you. Yor pious spirituall lines are very gratefull to me, but had you
granted my request, it would have beene a much greater kindnes; though
it had beene but in one sheet or halfe sheet of methodicall propositions
summarily containinge ye truths wch you would communicate, or at least
have directed me to some booke where it is done. But I plainly pceive
yt yor disposition & mind in yt are contrary: you are reserved, & thinke
meet to conceale yor mind, & while you magnifye ye truth, you tell
me not wt those truths are, wch you desire I should receive; & how
yn am I ever & never receivinge ym. But if I know any thinge wch
I judge necessary for my Brethren to know I am most carefull to make
it as publique as I can, by a speedy & plaine & free disclosure, & I canot
endure to hide it, but must cast it into ye world, whether they will heare
it or refuse it. And I know so well yt truth loves ye light yt (to deale
freely with you) I canot but entertaine those teachers with some suspition
yt refuse ye open light & carry on their worke in darknes, & thinke men must
be cheated into a beleife of ye truth under some other pretence, as a foolish
patient must have physicke secretly put into his meat, yt he may take it
& not know what he takes. This is not ye way of ye Gospell. Truth fear-
eth nothing so much as to be hid. And he yt is loth to reveale it least
it lose his credit, or prove his trouble, hath so low thoughts of his owne
opinions (supposinge yt they will not beare his charges, or yt their
credit is to be buryed rather yn his owne, or yt they have no such evidence
as may breake through ye darknes of opposition) yt he may well expect
× others yt are not forward to receive ym. // Now briefly of wt you have
here communicated. // 1° I resolvedly close wth ye Catholicke Church
in Catholicke verityes, & am no more for or agt any sect or pty, yn I am
confident they are for or agt ye truth. And there is no pty yt ever I opposed
but I would quickly joyne with, if I could find ym in ye right. //
2° The neerenes & yet inconsistent distance of truth & error, is past
doubt. 3° The infinite essence of God, over through & in all (as well
as ye Saints), & yt of him & through him & for him are all things (wch as you
call a fitt text, so you may see how I seald it, on my seale) is a truth yt
all Christians are agreed in. And yt ever sober man should call it [Sce-
pticisme to see him who is invisible, or Atheisme to know him, who is God by
nature] is incredible, or yt wch I never heard; for Scepticisme & Atheisme
are ye cleane contraryes to those. But 4° I yet conceived yt man may know
a thousand fold more of Gods will, yn of his essence: for alas, its little yt
we know of his essence: but to know his will, is but to know what he
willeth, yt is, ye object & effect of it, wch is abundantly revealed in his word
& works & events. 5° That some things of God are impossible to be uttered
I grant: but of those I am content to be ignorant; for it is not ye will
of God yt I should know ym; & yt wch is above us thus, is nothing to us.
That some things are hard to be uttered I grant: but those call for ye greater
diligence in teachers & learners, & ye more condemne those yt willfully

office of wch is so obscure in itselfe, & wch they should doe their best to illustrate.
That some are unlawfull or inconvenient to be told all, I am not satisfyed: If
you meane it of any thing contained in Scripture or ye visible works of God: for those
are Revealed allready by God to all: & if all understand ym not, it is not bec
God hath not told ym, but because they are dull of hearing & receive not wt
is revealed to ym. To say therefore yt those should not be told all, is to accuse
God yt hath told ym all in his words & workes, & comanded his ministers to preach
ye word to every creature. Yet I easily grant, both yt higher truths are not
to be inculcated on men yt be not prepared by lower, (but yt is not a conceal-
ing ym, but a prudent orderinge of works yt we loose not or labor); & yt
such a one as Paul may have a particular supernaturall Revelation, intended
only for himselfe, wch it is not possible or lawfull for him to utter to others.
But yts nothinge to ye matter. // The truths wch you adde, about ye Trini-
tyes beinge within & without all, & ye necessity of knowledge, admiration &
stability, are great & precious; & if I could advance to a livelyer knowledg
of ym I were happy; but there is so little roome for an intimation yt ma-
terially these are unknowne, yt all Christians are agreed in ym beyond all
dispute. These Pearles & precious stones of ye Citty of God, we magnify all
with one mouth; though all have not ye same intense apprehensions or inward
workinge sight & tast of yt wch they confesse. The same I say of Gods beinge
wholly & every where at once: Its confest by all. And though ye error of
ye wicked Atheists be ye denyall of it, yet ye error of ye wicked Hypocrites &
heart Atheists in ye Church is but ye secrett denyall, or not beleivinge it
with a workinge effectuall faith. Our Babylonish Contentions (as you speake)
I doubt not are fed by or Ignorance of God in Xt, & by every sin, but mate-
rially they consist not in any of those matters, wch all are agreed in. I verily
beleive yt ye mystery of ye holy Trinity runs through all ye veines of true the-
ology, & yt ye right methodizinge of it, must be from ye workes of ye three in one:
yea & yt some Image of ye Trinity is on ye face of Nature itselfe, & in ye nobler
pts of it, somewt conspicuous (as ye movinge power, ye light & heat of the
sun; ye vegetative, sensitive & Rationall facultyes in man: ye Power, Und, Wille
in ye Rationall, with abundance more doe intimate.) Or at least we may
here see somewhat to quiett Reason itselfe, as concerninge a consistency of
Trinity in Unity. The necessity of mortifyinge ye fleshly mind is another truth
wch all Christians are agreed in; & therefore I hope you would not make it
any particular honor of ye Quaquers to hold yt wch we all hold without Contro-
versye. If all practise not wt they hold, yts nothinge agt ye Doctrine, but ye
pson. Sure you had more yn this wch you approved in ye Quaquers as their
peculiar, when you would aske me, why I was agt ym? But doth not their
unsound Doctrine about ye Trinity & Xt in speciall, & ye Scriptures, shew yt
their mortificn hath had no such successe for advancinge their knowledge
as you intimate. // In ye last point I much differ from you. I am pswad-
ed yt ye foundations of all true Churches present or past, were laid in an
eternall interest (as you speake); & yt therefore, though hostile ptyes may
trouble ym with velitations about some pinacles of ye temple, yet it shall
stand as built upon ye Rock. Christ only is ye foundation of all these Churches
in ye primary sence, & secundarily ye Prophetts & Apostles, & we have his
promise yt his Church shall be so built on this Rocke (even Christ) yt ye gates
of Hell shall not prevaile against it. We all agree in ye antient Creed
& old test of Xtianity & in much more: we all beleive ye same Scripture
to be Gods word. All Xtians in ye world, united in Xt ye head, are, wth me,
ye Catholike Church: And if there were no Church, there were no Xt.
No body; no Head: No Kingdome; no King: No Schollars, no master:
No Spouse, no Husband. Indeed ye present Churches know but in pt, & so
differ in pt & will doe: but note their Agreements, before you note
their differences. I have heard many blame ym, but wn I have drawne
neere I could not learne ye way to better ym, nor find ye reprovers more
pfect yn others. If we blame men for beinge men, or ye Churches for
not beinge pfect in knowledge & Love, yt is because they are not yet in
Heaven, & Glorifyed, we doe but tell ym of ye burden wch they groane under.

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& must doe till ye day of unburdening & deliverance, & wch we
must beare as well as others. They yt see not ye Reconciling
wch ye shattered Churches must unite in, are fitter to Lament ye
reproach of Divisions & Ignorance. And they yt doe see this Recon-
ciling-truth, & will not openly, speedily & plainly declare it are
most unexcusable ymselves, as denyinge ye Communication of ye great-
est mercye to ye Churches in their distress; & passinge by us in our
wounds, & seeinge us in our needs, & shuttinge up ye bowells of Compassion
from us. Deare Sir pardon ye prolixity & beare wth ye freedome, of

Yor Brother

Ri: Baxter.

To Mr Morgan Lloyd Pastor
of the Church at Wrexham
(No 15)

Deare Brother

Yours of ye 21th of ye 4th month I received this 2 of ye 7th just as I was sealing up Letters for New England: As for my offending writings wch you mention, I cannot be very peremptory in justifying them; but they are such as my most impartiall Judgmt did dictate as needfull for ye place & time yt I live in: As I had displeased ye Prelatis before, I expected to displease many others by those papers; but it was yt God & conscience might be pleased; ~~[illegible]~~ you No man can be a fit judge of our case that is not here: This only I may tell you, yt when our sufferings were great, & threatned our lives, we seemed peaceable & calme; But since by connivence of his Maty they are somewhat lightened, wee are grown more distempered, rash and heady: And our strength is greatly abated wth our concord, while ye terms of universall concord are forsaken; and as ye Prelatis have their narrow termes on one side, so have many others on ye other side: And many judge ye cause good or bad, as it seemeth to them to be agt or for ye interest of ym by whom we suffer; Like two armies of enemies, our first question to each cause & person is, who are you for? And, who are you agt? We offer to subscribe to ye doctrine of ye Church of England; And yet because ye Quakers suffer wth us, (who will not any of ym owne ye scripture or ye Essentialls of ye Christian faith) we have far more charity for ym, than for a pious Conformable minister. And I yt am of ye principles of Dod, Cartwright, Hildersham, am more censured for sometimes holding communion wth such a Conformist as Sibs, Preston, Bolton (for such for piety, though of lower parts we have) than I should be if I had joined wth ye Quakers: And though my own judgmt & Endeavours have still been to embody ye Presbyts, Indepents, Anabaptists & all yt hold ye Essentialls of faith & church communion, yet because I will not totally leave out ye best of ye Conformists —— The truth is, it is hard to suffer & not to be passionate: And hard to be passionate, & yet be wise & innocent. The common body of strict professours are strongly addicted to be censorious agt all that are not of their mind: And since Ministers are stript of all by ye Prts, ye favour of ye people is become their interest: And so ye most censorious are like to have ye rule, & it is not all ye pastors yt are popular that dare displease or contradict them. But God hath saved me from yt temptation, enabling me to help others; & not to receive or be burdensome to any, or live upon ye peoples kindnesse; and I intend not to take up wth ye hypocrites reward & live on their applause. I will keepe none of their favour wch must be kept by sin. The truth is, ye maine body of ye Nonconformable Ministers in England are fitted for a very hopefull concord, if affliction & popularity were not ye strong temptations of ye time. And two or three men not —— more hindered it yn all ye rest. Had you stood by as I [illegible] these yeares, & seene [illegible] Ministers in influencing ye body of ye [illegible]
[illegible] & [illegible] most hopefull [illegible]

you to dislike ye principles & spirit wch tend to this. When ye house was nea
ly fallen on all our heads, wch they pulled downe, they were silent, calme,
almost like penitents: But, 1o when they saw yt their Afflicters openly appear
ed as flagitious persons, & worse yn ymselves, 2o And yt our broken condi
on constraineth men of other principles, to congregate as to outward ap
pearance in a separating mode, they presently returne to ye same spirit,
instead of repentance, we are more puft up wth ye self applause of our
own innocency & holyness, than ever; as if we were justifyed by ye vic
of other men that are worse. In one word Sr, There is one vice yt I pe
ceive adhereth almost incurably, not only to this or yt party, but to deprav
ed nature, wch frustrateth all meanes, & ruinateth all; & yt is, all people
tenaciously overvaluing their own understandings: The weaker an
men or women are, ye more confident & censorious agt dissenters. The
is but one thing yt giveth any ordinary checke to this disease, & yt
when ye Ministers are of such very eminent parts, as utterly to ov
top & cloud ye peoples: But those are alas! very few; & if those fe
prove unsound or tainted wth any ill designe, they are but ye more capa
to do hurt. I am sorry to heare of your opposition: There i
no mans worke in ye world yt my heart goeth out wth, more than y
though you must begin low; oh! how much higher & nobler a wor
is it, than our fierce contentions about we know not what our sel
The Lord preserve & prosper you, & turne yor difficultyes to yor advant
Will you give me leave to make one motion to you, for your common st
& benefit. I heare your good motion for stated Synods is neglecte
I am for avoiding all busy Lording & Law-making Synods, where a
jor vote do thinke themselves authorized, to tyrannize over ye Mino
though ye wiser part. But loving & free assemblies are very nec
for mutuall assistance & concord: Gentle discourse in presence, preserv
Love, & reconcileth differences; wch distance & backbitings cherish
If therefore you would leave out your particular Reasons, fro
Institution, from ye Texts yt mention ye 12 & ye 24 Elders &c (becaus
many can agree in a Practise yt cannot agree in ye reasons
& offer ye brethren only ye setling of ordinary Synods of correspon
dencies, & yt as for Councill & Concord, disclaiming church tyran
& leave every man to his owne principles; if you would
renew ye motion, & bring ym but to ye practise, you would
thinke do much to your common strength & safety. The ge
nerall precepts for Love, Concord, mutuall edification, order, &c, no
doubt will warrant such ordinary meetings. But you yt are up
ye place are ye fittest judges [illegible] rest

To my Reverend & much honored
Mr John Eliott Pastor of ye Church
at Roxbury in New England

(No 16)

Wor I thanke you for yor very good Sermon on Zech: I am more
easily perswaded to believe yor doctrine of ye Millennium than
yt Pagan Rome is not ye Babilon yt John saw fallen
And I thanke you for yor Letter: In it & in all yor writings I see yt
you have with so great study made all yor parts meet, & my head
is so weake, & my studyes so short & straight, yt I am still in great
suspicion of my owne understanding, & ready to give it up in
implicite obedience, especially to you & Dr More & such men, but yet I
have a head yt is very undisposed to ye implicite beleeving way. So
yt I am still over welcome by reading the bare text, & seeme to
find true halfe precarious or meerly affirmed without proofe which
the most expositors expect we should receive. Besides the little
agreement yt I find among twenty abroad about the Beasts, & times. //
I thanke you for yor Patience with my weaknes; I censure my selfe severely
for saying any thing in my paraphrase of ye Apoc: & especially so crudely
& disorderly. // As to your considerable notes in this Letter /
1. You tell me of the orderly progresse of ye vision from Pagan Rome / to
Antict: But yt hath seemed to me to make such great & sudden changes
of the same at c. 11. 12. 13 or till ye 20th, as to leape from Pagan Baby-
lon or Beast so darkly to another sort of men so many hundred years
after, & after so great a deliverance of ye Church, & so happy a change
& to say no more of ye state of Paganisme, & joyfull state after than
you & others imagine. Indeed ye connexion of parts seemeth to me
to be but various acts of the same scene or state.
2 As to yor Comparison of Mahomet & the Pope 1o Doth not he more directly
oppose Christs Kingdome who blasphemeth him directly, & denyeth openly
with scorne his Godhead, his Mediatorship, his office Propheticall, Priestly
& Regall, his spirit, his Apostles, his Scriptures, & scorneth & captivateth
all ye Church, than he yt directly owneth every article of ye Christian
Religion, & by pretence of honouring him, by unseen consequences
contradicteth his owne Profession. All peacemakers agree yt Consequ-
ences remaining inconsistent with ye Essentialls of Christianity, are
not to be charged on a man as his damning errour, if he hold
fast ye profession of ye said Essentialls, & would renounce the
Consequences if he saw yr inconsistency. Tho I doubt not but it is
ye guilt of their wills by sensuall pravity or slothfull neglect of
the due means of knowledge, yt maketh at least ye learned Papists
so grossly erroneous; yet seeing we are not their Judges, I am
not forward to damne or Antict men, on such termes as would
damne all ye world; knowing yt every Christian at age hath many
errors wch by consequence overthrow ye essentiall Perhaps all errors do
faith & religion do so) //// 3o Hath not Mahomet subdued twice as
many or thrice as ye Papacy hath done. // 4 Hath he not dispossessed
Christ of a farre greater part of ye old Roman Empire than ye Pope
hath done. The Easterne Empire was about twice as big as ye western //
5o Hath he not subverted farre more Churches. // 6 Hath not ye Mahometans
been ye men yt have possessed all ye very same Christian Cityes &
overthrowne ye Churches yt John wrote to, & therefore was of most con-
cerne to ym: except only Rome it selfe, to wch [illegible] Church did Paul
or any Apostle write to. // 7o Hath not Mahomet done all this by
Religious subtilty & hypocrisie, by pretence of equality to Christ [illegible]
Idolatry. And hath cast downe Idolatry (except his owne Idolatrous
arrogation as Gods chiefe prophet &c) in more nations than all Christian
nations on earth have done. Deceitfully pretending liberty of Religion,
which he destroyeth it by policie & scorne & captivating most of ye anci-
ent Churches. // 8 wch can more make him a false Christ, than he pretended to be
greater than Christ, & have more of Divine revelation & to bring farre more
to heaven, & to be appointed by God to be ye Lord of Christs Church on earth
9o Are there as many Mahometanes as holy & wise (Christians) as Romanists? //
[illegible] & thousands among ye Papists are. // 10 All agree when Mahomet
began, to be ye Easterne Antict. But how few agree when ye Pope began
to be Antict. Napier & others desperately begin it with Silvester who was
Bp in ye time of heathen persecution & in Constantine as raising him to it.

& great ingratitude for yͤ wonderfull Change. Why doth he not
John Antichrists fordershiring to be greatest. And yet he & many others make James
Head of yͤ Beast began but in Charles yͤ Great, & Rome to be Babilon
by yͤ Papacy & yͤ Lictors but an. 1200 (agst yͤ Albigenses) [illegible]
dot in [illegible] himself comparatively [illegible] Babilon for yͤ [illegible]
his speciall forme. And he yͭ hath read Godwins [illegible] And how little
& knoweth yͤ rest of yͤ world, will thinke yͭ yͤ Arabians are [illegible] but Idolatry, as
great Idolaters & enemies of Christ than Papists. And yea & Mahometans
so many more, farre more, to charge on [illegible] yͭ. I thinke as Dr Stillingfleet
much on their Idolatry, & so little on other things. And for my part I have
to yͤ much more laying too much on precarious things: & is too much this laying fo[r]
[illegible] (save from God & conscience) expositions of yͤ Rev. & Daniell
about mens [illegible] of [illegible] looking in [illegible] when I did [illegible] to say a word yͭ
hasty expectation of their fabrick. But sufferings have their temptations, without
about Charity & by interest & passion to corrupt yͤ judgmt. He had temptations, to
~~All what~~ you tell me yͭ as to yͤ other Churches, [illegible] you joyne with impartiality
those yͭ are corrupted with him, but take yͤ rest for yͤ [illegible] with Antichrist
Ans. 1o But by this we are at a losse what nations to take part.
For you cannot tell us: The Greekes, Moscovites, Armenians, Nestorians, for Antichristians
&c in East, South & North, agree mostly in yͤ same doctrine & only Church
worshipp but are mostly ignorant & of bad lives as too many Protestants
are: No man is free from all Idolatry. Thats yͤ greatest Idol which hath
most of Gods prerogatives ascribed to him, yͭ is Most Loved, & trusted,
& obeyed: And wͭ are most mens lives but an exercise of more Love,
Trust & obedience to yͤ world & flesh than unto God, or than yͤ Heathens
or Papists have to Images. // I cannot thinke yͭ they goe by a strait line
Seeing yͤ Revelation saith so much of yͤ whole Romane Empire, they
have cut two parts (yͤ East under yͤ Turke) & confine almost all to
yͤ third part in yͤ West (beginning with some at Silvester, with some
at Innocent 1. with some at Leo 1, with some at Boniface yͤ 3d; with some
at Odoacer, Theodorike yͭ [illegible] yͤ Pope & were not of his faith. with
some at Greg. 7: with some at Carolus Magnus, & with some [illegible]
of yͤ Waldenses (saith Mr Mede, yͤ first yͭ at all [illegible] declared yͤ Pope to
be Antichrist. // IV As to yoͬ question Who minded yͤ Apocalyps in yͤ
primitive times, or gave any Commentary on it. I answer, 1o You may as
well aske who minded Pauls Epistles. John no doubt sent his Epistles &
Revel. to yͤ Churches yͭ he wrote to, as Paul did his. And who can doubt
of wͭ Power & Tyranny they then understood it. Even Napier yͭ thought
Antichrist begun 316 yet with Grotius & Hammond, thought yͤ Beast
yͭ was & is not was yͤ Empire as when John wrote, when Domitian
had bin, & was newly then dead & yet was when Nerva succeeded
(or Trajan wrot persecuting.) // 2o who wonders yͭ yͤ persecuted Christians
expounded this booke more by their groanes, blood, prayers & patience
than by writings. // 3o yet I thinke all yͭ write agst heathens, Justin, Tertullian
Clem. Alex. Origen, Eusebius in Demonstrat. et Praeparat. ~~Athanas~~
Arnobius, Lactantius, Athanasius, Augustine Cyril. &c. have passages
enough of yͤ Churches sufferings & yͤ pagan Idolatry to tell us whom
they tooke for yͤ Beast & Babilon. // V As to yoͬ note of Ido-
latrous Christians may well be called Gentiles. I answer But they are
not so called in this booke & others, when yͤ Commentator tells us yͭ yͤ
name Gentiles is used to notifie yͤ Idolaters of those times: we need
not force this word without clear proofe. Sr I crave yͤ same patience
in taking my answers in this wch you exercised on yͤ last; & yͭ you take
it on yͤ same conditions to send it in a weeke without any transcript,
telling any one wͭ is in it generally or particularly: [illegible]

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fol. 62. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

They who have best judgment follow mr. Wowin, & hear mr. Shuttlewood; & others have both, to join with mr. Saunders at Bedworth. —

mr. Stephen Fowler Bro: to the Dr. of Cripplegate. is much frequented at his own house in Killosby: he preacheth like a workman indeed; how mightily doth he presse upon them to mind the substance, & to take hold of the present opportunity, & to take heed of separation. And honest, holy, poor mr. Worth, steers the same course.

I desire to be among the mourners for the sins of this generation, & the breaches among Professors. I do all I can to remove stumbling blocks out of the way of love & peace: & to direct, & encourage poor humbled soules, to believe in christ, & to set them in the way of life.

Revd. Sr. In the midst of many troubles, & feares, I have this comfort, that God hath preserved you so long in the service of his church & given you liberty to preach; & others, my honoured Brother & father: & in this country, that good mr. Fowler, & my intimate friend honest mr. Worth, have an open door. For others, I can say, I am glad of their liberty, tho thereby some who might have been a Crown of rejoicing to me, are my grief, in this hour of temptation. Our young Ones talke of constitution of churches, discipline, & other points, that tend to make great breaches: they say we come not in at the right door, God doth not own our way, (tho they know, that God hath blest my ministry to many, & that I have not been unfruitfull to them) the com: pr. is taken out of ye masse B. &c young, rash, erroneous, Ones would rule; mr. Sh. is not agt hearing in publick; & can hear, as one of the best of his people told me; but doth not, for fear of giving offence to some. I beg your pardon, for taking up so much of your precious time. My prayers are continued for you & I trust shall be long yet, to the glory of God, & the good of a Broken generation. & pray for one that is most unworthy to be called a Minister.

They are against
the manner of
forms of prayer
in private & pub
lick, & have
gotten A roote
of Separation
among them. he
keeps it close,
sore that he
discourse I
hear of his
[illegible].

But whatever I am, I am one who doth
heartily praise God for you, &
honour you, & all the faithfull
servants of christ

Dec: 23.

These
For the most hon^red: & Rev^d:
Mr. Richard Baxter
at his house in
Charterhouse yard

London

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My most Honoured and Beloved in our Lord Jesus
both as a Father and (as I Humbly Say) as a Brother
I Receivd Your Reply so Kindly Sent mee and have
Read it again and again to And I shall yet again and
again, Reconsider it, I Take it as Sent from God as
a Seamarke to Avoid any danger in Holding out
that Great Truth of the Kingdom of Christ; and I shall
most Intently observe the Steerage of it; and I shall
if God please, make public Acknowledgments, that by
his Grace I doe so: But I shall doe nothing under the
Appearance of an Answer or maintainer of a Controversy,
against one I so much Love and Honour, but as one Taught
by You to Looke to Every Quarter, and observant
Disadvantage of my doctrine from the Scriptures, [illegible] ob-
Sense; Friends, much more Enemies to Both Sides of the
controversy Receive Either offence or Sinfull occasi-
on of Triumph; at least that they thinke found in some
Sentiments, and yet Contrariant in others to one Another;
I Know, and Feele the Great Tenderness of both
Affection and Just Reverence, I have for you, and the
Several both Incouragements and Vigilancy I have had
from ~~you~~ You: and therefore I'll Lay my Hand upon my
mouth, or on my Pen from writing any more, as in An:
swer to you: But I will Take your Admonitions, if God
permitt, to clear, and to expedite from difficultys and
Objections the Gospell of the Kingdom, I have published.
I doe therefore Humbly desire You that You would not

X

may but this Exasperate the different Apprehensions as are Appearing between us. For as you please to say you only Suspend and Keepe your Self within the ἐπέχειν. I have Great Evidence of Scripture upon me in ~~[illegible]~~ what I declare, and you Knew very well. For Some All Christians are Generally Speaking Agreed, as in that of the Calling of the Jews and in that of Antichristian-Apocalyptic Rome ~~[illegible]~~ All the men Excelling professedly Agree And those ~~the [illegible]~~ of the Cassandrian Grotian way Stand off. Farr be it from mee to Suppose that you who have professed against that way, should mean it the Least Favor. But the wisest of Papists have found a Rome, farr beyond the Pagan in Rev. 17 as you well Know, though by Another Device the Serpent Saves his Head from it; and only Those, who who have had a Fear of the Blow upon them, to a most Antichristianizing ~~[illegible]~~ Selves Thinking even the Jesuits Concessions on that Scripture too Hazardous Found out this Better Constructor of A Pagan Rome throughout the Apocalypse. But these Things are better Known to You, then that I need Enlarge. I do humbly again Beseech you, that You would withdraw any Further occasion of Scandall from that Division, which is not meant so by my self, I well Know, and I am persuaded ~~[illegible]~~ not by you. I Cannot but Close with utmost Earnestness of Prayers, not only then Face to Face but now, while as through a Glasse darkly, You may have Reveald to you, whatever may make most for the Glory of the Kingdom of Xst, and for your owne Excelling in Glory in it. and that You may in the meane Time, have also All the Sweetnings of the present State [illegible] by his presence Surmounting the Asperity of a Sickly Age, and so much Sharpnesse of Thought; on Account of which, You may say as that other Great man, If any such Thing Seem; Ignoscito Morositati meae.

Your most Affectionate in all
Honour and Service

T. Beverley.

I begg of you, when you preach (God enabling) at Pinners Hall, you would Remember my Petition to you in this. Least it be told in Gath Sr:

(Nº 19)

This

To his most Esteemed
Mr Baxter present.

9

Deare Sir!
I hope my printing the Papers I sent you hath not offen-
ded you, but that they shall give you occasion of saying some-
thing more than you have yet said, as shall tend to the serving
the present generation; seeing the Ventilation of this Sub-
ject is so proper as it is, agt the sitting of the next Parlia-
ment. I gave you my reasons for my publishing of them,
and I must give you this present Item that you be not mis-
taken as to what I say in regard to the Papists, who are to
be dealt with no otherwise than we would have them deale
with us, or as we deale with others: You are to know (but no
need others know that) that I my self drew that draught
& put what is in from my self or to them, & though I showed
it after when it was done, I know not of any thing any other
changed, but only about my making the King without any
[illegible] of the Parliament a Lawgiver to the Nationall
Church wch therefore is carefully avoided now in the Draught
as you may see, & perhaps you may think I doe therein iniure
Civill government as you spake more of it in your Letter. I must
confesse I cannot guesse wherein you meane, unless in this par-
ticular, that I joyne the Parliament with the King to make
a Canon Obligatory. I have purposely done this knowing
how Parker on the Crosse, and our former Nonconformists com-
plaine most iustly of their being put out of their Livings by
a Canon wch is not Law. And to this purpose having consul-
ted with Sergeant Rotheram Mr Appleton &c, I drew up those
2 or 3 clauses (wch I here send you, to see I doe not wrong the
King on that account) & printed about two years since.
But as for the Papists, it is easy for any to say, this man
is for Uniting with the Papists, & so bring a prejudice on what
is said before consideration. You must consider therefore
that I distinguish between a Union for Worship, and a Uni-
on for Government. It is impossible for Quakers, Anabaptists,
or Independents, to Unite with the Churchmen for Worship.
There are those that can ioyne in a Liturgy & the Parochi-
all Churches (upon abatement of some few things wch are bet-
ter spared than kept) and for these I propose an Act for
Comprehension, that is a Union for Worship: but when the

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the most of the Dissenters, that is all that are for separation and agt that I propose another Act (to come after the other is obtained) for Declaring the Constitution of the Church of England so large as to comprize both the Tolerated and Separated into an Order for Government one with another. It were madness to think of Uniting the Separatists and Conformists for Worship, and it is want of consideration also not to think that all that own the Head & swear Allegiance may not be United for Government & upon that account make one Body. My Draught (pray doe not take notice it is mine) is altogether for a Union in Government, & yet I would not have till the Act for Comprehension, that is for Uniting us first for Worship (so farre as wee can) be passed.

Your affectionate & engaged
friend & servant J.H.

These
For Mr Baxter.

(No 20)

Reverend Sr:

I have too great assurance of your kindnesse for mee to
doubt your acceptance of a letter which comes to give
account of my affairs since I left our family. 'Tis now
about a month since I came to Wigan, where I have found
a great people, & generally I fear, very great strangers to
religion, though hitherto (so farre as I have had opportunity
of converse with them) they appear to bee of a loving &
courteous temper, nor doe I perceive that they are any of
them prejudiced against mee or my ministery. Some I
find there are that have a name for religion, though
fewer than would bee expected in so large a parish: the
prevailing temper is I think different from most trading
towns, which what it is you know well enough. At present
I table in a good honest family with one Mr Herle, son
to him who was sometime prolocutour of the Assembly.
The revenue I have is bare 60l. p ann: for all the church
dues from christnings &c. I give to a Reader, who thereby
gives mee an ease which is more worth. I have indeed by
my removall from Holiot and Dunton lost 20l. p an: & my
diet: but I have this good recompence, that I commonly
preach to near 20 times so many peoples as I then did. Upon
which account I am very well contented; yea & shall bee
much more than contented, if my God will give mee but to
see some good fruit of my labours amongst them: to
which great & blessed end I doe earnestly beg & indeed doe
promise my self a particular interest in your praiers.
The Bishop came the last week hither (his constant residence
being at Chester) & Dr Tillotson was with him, who is expected

(No 20)

back to preach here next Lordsday, being now with his friends in Yorkshire. The last day I preacht before my Ld, which was the first time hee heard mee. There is some talk & some probability of his being removd to Worcester: [illegible] yet I hear 'tis not disposd of, & then 'tis likely I may remove with him into that Diocesse. Dr Tillotson was betwixt jest & earnest wishing mee to Kidderminster which hee heard was now vacant & you the patron, having himself writ to you, as hee said, in behalf of Dr Worthington. At present I thank God I am very well satisfied where I am, & for the future without any sollicitousnesse I desire to bee entirely resignd to that will & providence by which I must bee governed, & the wisdome & mercy whereof I have so largely & frequently experienced. Wee have had many stories [illegible] of your conformity & preferments, Dean of Rochester, parson of St Martins & I know not what. A knight in our parish shewd mee a letter from London very confidently reporting it, but wee soon heard it confuted. I should bee extreamly glad to receive one line or two from you at some spare minute, you may at any time send by the post, directing your letter onely to mee, minister of Wigan, or if you please to send to my bookseller mr Simms at Swithins alley end near the old Exchange hee can send it away. I find that sober men about us both Conformists & Non C. (for of both wee have some such) are very well pleasd with your last treatise which I have sent for but not yet seen, & doe heartily pray God that both this & all your other pious endeavours may bee blest to those ends for which they are

(No 21)

intended, & that hee will yet long preſerve you in a capacity of being thus ſerviceable to his Church. Pray, Sr, preſent my ſervice to Mr Baxter & doe mee the favour to acquaint mee where you are & how you enjoy your health. Pardon I entreat you this interruption I give to your ſtudies. The many inſtances I have had of your kind remembrance of mee ever ſince I had the happineſſe of being known to you, makes mee hope that in your praiers you will not forget him, who lies under ſo great engagements to bee

Sr

As perfectly yours as I may

John Rawlet.

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(No 18)

(No 20)

(No 21.)

These
For the Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter

Dear Brother

I received & read yor letter I thinke wth as much thankfullnes to the author as any thing yt ever I received yt way. The diligence you have used to satisfie yor conscience deserves great commendation, & yet it is no more than all yt have time & the like cause) do owe to the truth & to themselves. I did according to yor will communicate it to some friends (old parlt men &c) with whome at present (farre off) it is lodged. By yor narrative it seemes yt you have done yor best to informe yor selfe, saveing that you are under two fundamentall disadvantages, 1o yt quoad jus you seeme not to have studyed Politicks any where but in Scripture, where ye principles of Politicks as well as of Physicks &c are supposed: though occasionally some things be said of them. For naturall light & law is of God as well as supernaturall. Having bin at so much pains, go back to ye foundation & read Besoldus, Willius, Alsted, Althusius, Tholosanus, Angelius, Arnisaeus Politicks, Suarez de Legibus, with Fragoso de Regim. Saravius Clar. Reg. Navar. Azor. &c have on this subject. Especially Aristotles Polit. & Plato. 2o It is an unspeakable disadvantage yt you were not a witnes of ye matters of fact, & know them but by papers & reports. For my owne part I shall God willing, study wt I have omitted as faithfully as my opportunityes will allow me. But it is my great losse yt you & I are at such a distance. Mens zeale of Royalty agt Loyalty hath brought men to this great strait, that their errors must not be cured, because their doubts must not be opened. He yt is of yor mind, need not yor reasons to convince him. He yt is not, will not hazard his life to know an errour which he takes to be no error: And there is no debating such cases by letters at a cheaper rate, especially at such a distance. How farre I am allready convinced my selfe, some late printed confessions have told the world: But if I would I should any others to yor mind I find I have many things to say wch yor Letters enable me not to do. 1o I canot tell them why you answer not wt is said for ye other cause (in ye maine) in such papers as ye Polit. Aphor. wch I wrote. 2o You suppose the K.s power absolute & unlimited, & they will looke for proofe. 3o The Parlt ye other day unhappily contradicted ye summe of yor papers, telling ye King yt ye Legislat. power is in him & them, & yt to ~~deny~~ or change it is to ~~deny or~~ change ye Govermnt. And men will thinke yt if a Parlt of this Parlt know not, we canot know, where ye power is. 4o It greatly confirmeth ye contrary minded, yt Bishop Hooker & such of ye highest prelatists are for them; & yt it was an Episcopall Parlt & Army & Lord Lievtents yt began ye warre agt ye King. Hooker is peremptory yt a lawfull prince usurping more power than ye law giveth him, can bind no mans conscience by it to obedience. They are ye last words of his eighth booke. 5o And I would advise you to take heed of pleading either Paternity or Primogeniture, or conquest for ye fundamentum iuris as to Governmt politicall. For by yt you will exceedingly wrong ye King. If you put him to make good a Right by primogeniture, as being of ye family wch was ye originall of ye 3 Kingdomes, you will deale too hardly by him. And if you make conquest a ~~right~~ title you will give Cromwell a [illegible] other successfull usurper. 6o They will expect yt you pr[illegible]

[illegible]

way, yt antecedently to Government, men have a right to their lives, members, Children, ye fruit of their labours &c & yt consenting to Government is not a quitting their rights but choosing a meanes to secure it. 7° They conceit yt their liberty & property cannot be taken from them, justly without their consent. 8° They think yt Bonum publicum is finis regiminis, contra quod potestas nulla est: much lesse agt God, is there any power, say they. 9° They think yt all ye K's subjects or soldiers are not K's! & to resist them in some cases is no resisting ye K. 10° They imagine yt if you say yt K. hath power to send two footboies to kill all ye Mart or burne ye City, & none may resist em, yt you speake agt ye Law of nature wch is fundamentall to all humane Lawes. 11° yea & yt it would savour of treason agt ye K. as if men would tempt ye people to take him for one yt all their lives are still in danger of. For to say ye K. may kill all ye innocent people of ye land without resistance when he wills, puts people in a distrustfull notion of him. 12° These weake men imagine yt if ye K. be absolute & all mens states & lives be at his meer will, tho he have ye sole legislative power, yet his will must be notifyed before it can oblige. And they think yt his Lawes are ye standing sure notification of his will, by wch ye Courts of Judgment & ye subjects are regulated, wch may be surely knowne; but yt we cannot so much of a private mans commission: For no man can be sure whether ye K. knowes of ye seale or some other hath not counterfeited it. In London 1660 one Col. Turner was hanged for carrying away a Citizens goods by a counterfeit commission under ye Kings seale. Therfore they think yt if a Law & a commission be contrary, ye Law is to be taken for ye Kings will, & not ye commission. 13° And some of em are so melancholy as to feare, lest they should be guilty of deposing ye King at ye pleasure of any Chancellor or Keeper of ye seale wch must confirme commissions. For e.g. ye late Chancellor or any such yt had a traiterous designe, might seale commissions to their confederates, to take possession of all ye K's navies, garrisons, forts & forces; & he must be a traytor yt defendeth his possession of any of them, agt such commission. And ye K's soldiers use not to shew their commissions to ye enemy whom they are to fight agt. 14° It encreaseth their confidence, yt ye Judges are sworne to do justice according to Law, though Letters to ye contrary come to them under ye Great or Little Seale, according to ye stat. Edw. 3. And Sheriffs must by ye posse comitatus execute judiciall decrees though Letters forbad it. 15° And these unskillfull persons think yt as saving a mans life from famine, fire or water or selfmurder, so also from ye murder of soldiers or robbers is a morall duty by ye Law of nature, wch ye Pope himselfe cannot dispense with; And yt saving their owne lives is of ye same nature, seing they must love their neighbours as themselves. 16° And they say yt ye Country & ye bonum publicum is much to be preferred before our owne or others lives. 17° And they think ye Judges & other magistrates in executing ye Law are to be obeyed when they command ye subjects aid (as ye stat. saith of repressing ryots) 18 They think yt if a commission may prevaile agt a Law, then it may not only make & repeale Lawes, but is somewhat greater. 19° They are much hardened in their conceits by finding allmost all ye world on their side, for resistance in some cases, viz Heathens, Protestants, Papists, especially ye Lawyers yt are most famous defenders of Monarchy, as W. Barclay, Grotius &c & allmost all ~~politicians~~ [illegible] have written politicks: And they think it ~~[illegible]~~ would be pride in them should they pretend to be wiser than allmost all ye world, even in mens own professions. 20° And they are still harping on this yt tyranny [illegible] by keeping out ye [illegible]

[illegible] wch they wonder [illegible]

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owne heart & interest uphold it; but good men should feare giving encouragement to it; wch they imagine would be given were Princes once assured yt whose lives, wives, estates, children soever they take away, their will should never be resisted — They think yt ye ten tribes should have gone up to Jerusalem though Jeroboam & his successors forbad them —. But I am weary of these recitations: I tell you all this, yt when you have professed yt study to ye satisfaction of others as well as yor selfe, so it is yt you must take notice of in them yt you would satisfie: I meane not these briefe hints, but such reasons & many more as they lie in their full strength in mens opinions: ffor be they never so weake in themselves, if you will cure mens minds you must deale with them as they are judged of by those yt are carryed away with them. I will not stand to tell you what any of them say agt yor reasons in yor letter, lest you should think yt I speake but my owne sense, while I am but telling you how you must satisfie others. I assure you againe as to myselfe, that the pious, serious straine of yor letter, & the honest diligence wch you have used, there expressed, are so very acceptable & pleasing to me, that I judge many & many thankes too little from

Yor darke unworthy fellow servant

Apr. 26. — 73

For Mr Edm. Hough at Thornton neere Skip
in Craven in Yorkshire

(No 22)

Sir

Whereas I was with you yesterday on purpose to be informed in a point that seemed dark to me in your book to Mr Beverly & you explained it no otherwise than in your book it seemes dark still: I cannot but desire you to think on it agen, that before the impression which are in the presse in answer to him come out you may add something to make it clearer if you can. The point is this. Christ hath a kingdom as Mediator distinct from Gods. It is an acquired kingdom a kingdom given him after judgment delivered up. You say this kingdom continues in heaven & I apprehend alwaies that after judgment Christ is to reigne with his father, that is as God, & no otherwise. He shall deliver up the kingdom to God the father, when he hath put down all rule authority & power. He shall reigne till he hath subdued all enemies, then shall the Son also himselfe be subject unto him that put all things under him that God may be all in all. I have apprehended this to signify no lesse than that he shall cease his mediatory kingdom quite, he shall cease to be mediator; there shall be no more need of any mediation, any mercy any pardon, any reconciliation, any grace which is mediatoriall for when the sons of God are brought into a perfect state wherein there is sin no longer there is no longer need of these. No nor of that law of Christ or law of grace which is the remedying law, & by which we are to be judged (tho' a most comfortable truth); & when the government of Christ which (as all others) consists in legislation & judgment is ended, so that his law is at an end & his judgment is past, & there shall never be a more, there must be an end of this mediatory kingdom quite, & he must reigne then as God only & that is by the law of nature giving the reward of glory out of justice to the soules of the just made perfect. To this end we may observe that as Christ was the heir of glory so are all his children heirs, nay coheirs, & made kings & priests in heaven as he is. It seemes to me that in heaven glory shall be common to Christ & his members, & that that glory is immediately communicated from God to him as man & them alike. They shall see him as he is; the beatificall vision is the clearenesse of the saints arriving to the schooles & that is the sight of God not of Christ as man. I cannot apprehend but your doctrine here ~~is~~ is peculiar (I say not singular) ~~& not~~ I meane that which is received into the minds of most divines when you count that Christs mediation, & so his kingdom as mediator doth still remaine after the judgment when I have ~~[illegible]~~ hitherto took it for ended. You distinguish & say, ~~the~~ Christs kingdom is either his kingdom of acquisition or his kingdom of fruition, the kingdom of acquisition is given up, but his kingdom of fruition remaines. The words of this distinction seeme to me odde: [illegible] [illegible] sunt contraria, & here is a distinction without a difference. You should say methinks, The kingdom of Christ may be considered in the acquisition, or in the fruition (for the kingdom it selfe is one & the same); & then that this kingdom so long as it is in the acquisition that is so long as any one man is to be gathered into it, is governed by grace

and by the law of Grace, but when all are brought in, & judgment past
according to this law, then this Government shall cease as was adm
in the acquisition, but the Kingdom it self shall remaine in the fru
onely the Kingdom of Grace & Government it ceases, but it remaines
as the Kingdom of Glory. Christ hath both now, but he then gives up. ~~[illegible]~~ The Government is
delivered up quoad modum Regnandi, but quoad ipsum Regnum it
the same. To this (supposing you will allow my explication) [the]
objection remaines, the Scripture saies the Kingdom is delivered
up & you make a distinction which shall shift this, & say No, it is
but the medium onely. The Kingdom is delivered up sayes the text,
you say when it is in the fruition it does remaine. While it is in the ac-
quisition it is not delivered up, that cannot be, & how can you say it
is delivered up when it comes to be enjoyed? How can the text be
made good, A Kingdom of fruition & a Kingdom delivered up? Sir
The blessednes of man consists in the enjoyment of God, in Commu-
on with God; Adam when in innocency had communion with him, but
when he sinned he lost it, for himself & us, when Christ shall have u-
nited his Church & they made perfect, they shall then enjoy the com-
nion & if Adam had not sinned we should have had no need of a
mediator. The scope of this is, at onely to prevaile on you to make your
notion in answer to this text plainer before the sheets be printed
off. I know what you say that so long as Christ remaines a man
must be a mediator still for the communication of glory to us
in heaven as of grace in earth, we cannot else know, or have
but through him as the instrument. You have said much of
this in some book if I remember right, but the question is whether
it be not all without book as to the Scripture & who knows
any thing that will be in heaven if not revealed?

I have one thing more to advise you & pray be advised for the
publick, you have left out in your Papers (I mean your Chapter) what I desired abo
the call of the Gentiles ~~(which is you have done well, I mean those of~~
~~a Nationall Church)~~ let me again beg you leave out the T
for all & put in onely this for a Title Of Nationall Ch
[illegible] in order to a Comprehension. If you doe so, & draw
the thing throughly (for you may add or put out any thing)
you will doe our work. This will make the book sell & all
look into it, & if there was nothing else worthy, that will be dra
for union. If God put it into your heart to crown Comprehension
the very word will shine up.

And yet let me advise you for your book of [illegible], Agree with
the Seller to let him print one thousand alone upon promise
that when these are sold off he shall not print it againe, but
the Unreasonableness of Infidelity (I think that was the book) [illegible]
with it.
Your true friend John Humfrey.

These

For the Reverend Mr Rich:
Baxter at his house
in Charterhouse yard.

8

Sir

If there had not beene ſome unexpected obſtructions cast in the way of my proceeding since I came from beyond the Seas, I should have ſooner made this application unto you, but I thought it not fitte, till I had made ſome tryall of the pious Inclinations & ingenuitie of thoſe yt are in theſe parts, which hath required ſome time before it could bee done; & now having as I ſuppoſe gained an open dore to treat, & to engage the Brethren of this Citie, to cooperat in this deſigne; I have judged it expedient (& yt with the advice of ſome of the Chief of them) to acquaint the Miniſteriall Aſſociations with theſe proceedings, that there might bee a concurrence of all the Godly & orthodox Miniſters of this Nation, to cary on the Worke of unitie amongst Proteſtants in a Goſpell way; yt is with prayers to God in privat & publick for it; & with ſpirituall advices & endevours, ſet a foot, upon the ground of Holy communion in yt whereunto we have attained.

By the adjoyned packet of Papers you will ſee how farre the forrain Reformed Churches are engaged to mind this buſines with the Countenance of their Magiſtrates; to maintaine a correſpondencie to this effect one with another & with us: the papers herewith ſent are double at least, of ſome there are foure; & of ſome eight copies according as I am ſtored to ſpare them; for they were all that are in Latin printed beyond the Seas at my Cost, & I would not make them publick to bee ſold, becauſe my negotiation if ever it take effect, must bee ripened in a privat way, before it bee taken notice of in the world; where many adverſaries lye in wait to croſſe it. Of the Double Copies, I ordaine of each paper one copie for your ſelf; & the other for the Aſſociation, yt it may bee peruſed by the Brethren from hand to hand, or by ſuch as they ſhall appoint to take the matter into conſideration in their name & of the papers whereof there are more copies then two, you may diſpoſe to whom you think fitte the remainder; when the Aſſociation & your ſelf are provided.

I know

I know yt you will improove these suggestions not only to waken the affection of the Brethren to mind a Common Gosp interest, but also to draw us all; to the thoughts of a neere vnion & owning of one anther at home amongst our selves; fo in Considering what should bee advised for the healing of brea amongst others, wee may bee conscionably drawen on, to fr Rules of walking Peacably & without offence amongst our sel I need not to suggest any thing of the way of managing this businesse amongst your Brethren; you have given abundan proofe of your Prudence & zeale to carye on in your g a worke of this nature; I shall leave it therefore with you & beseeching the Lord to blesse it & all your underta in your hand, I shall desire your reciprocall prayers, & expect in due time to heare from you, concerning that wch may bee an Encouragement towards the proceedings of

Sir

Your loving Brother & hum
servant in the Gospell

John Durie

Westminster
at James house
this 24th May. 1638.

(No 24)

To the Reverend & his Loving
Brother in Christ Mr. Richard
Baxter minister of the Gospell
& Pastor of the Church of Christ
at Kederminster
these
with a packet of Papers
to bee delivered at
Kederminster

Loving & Reverend Brethren in Christ

Having made generall applications to the dissenting parties who hold the foundation in these quarters, since the dissolving of the Parliament; I think it expedient & a part of my dutie, to acquaint you also, with the matter of my Negotiation, wch is now upon the wheele not only here, but in some other associations of the Counties & abroad amongst all the Churches. Be pleased then to receive these papers for your Information that knowing the progres of the worke & the way wch is advised by other Churches how to proceed in it, you may contribut your prayers & Endevours towards the advancement therof as the Grace of God in your Ministerall worke shall direct you, in a Corresspondencie amongst your selves or with others. you have beene the first & have given an Example unto others of associating, & therefore must not bee the last in my thoughts, to gaine your assent & concurrent advice how to proceed ~~therin~~ in seeking for unitie & Peace in the Truth of the Gospell: if I may in due tyme heare from you, it will bee a great Comfort & encouragement to mee, to impart unto you in due time the further passages of the worke, which I make no doubt Providence will produce & cary on in a Gospell way.

I beseech the Lord to knit you more & more together, & to build you up in Love, & make you eminently Instrumentall in the worke of his service towards your owne flocks & towards all the Churches of Jesus Christ both at home & abroad through the Communion of the spirit, in whose Love I rest

Your affectionat Brother &
Servant

John Durie

James House
this 24th May. 1658.

P. sor.
The Papers herewith adjoyned are these
1. De scopo. 2 de Medys. 3. & de Modo procedendi
4 Judicium

3.17.18.16.15.14.11 ⁂. And for ye second point of Healin

4. Judicium Ecclesiæ & Academiæ Genevensis
5. Judicium Ecclesiarum & Academiarum Helveticarum
6. Declaratio Magistratus Helvetici
7. Judicium Ecclesiarum Gallo=belgicarum
8. Irenicum de casibus Conscientiæ in negotio Pacis
9. Episcopi Stregnensis Epta ad Regem Sueciæ
10. Syllabus Documentorum Joh. Dureo traditorum
11. The summarie account of Mr. Durie his Negotiation
12. The Effect of Mr. Durie's Negotiation
13. A brief Representation of the Protestant Cause in Germ

To the Reverend & his Loving
Brethren in Christ the Ministers
of the Goſpell in Worcestershire
to bee preſented unto them at
their next meeting in their
Brotherly aſsociation
theſe
with ſome adioyned papers

Our Deare & Reverend Brother

Upon the receipt of yor Papers & consideration of ye subject as or hearts were moved with thankfullnes to God, yt hath given you so great a desire after ye peace of ye Churches, & so much patience in ye Labors & travailes of so many years for ye obtaininge of it; so we must needs resent it as a thinge yt should melt or hearts within us, yt ever there should need so much adoe, & yt amonge Christians, yea ye Leaders of Christs flocks, to bringe ym to so cleare & great a duty; much more yt after all such labors, there is no more done. // For orselves, as far as we can understand yor desires, we conceive yt it is in three particulars, yt or returne must answere ym. First in givinge you or thoughts of ye designe in generall. Secondly in tellinge you or thoughts of ye disease & cure more particularly. And lastly in offeringe you or correspondence for ye time to come for ye contributinge of or uttmost assistance to ye worke. // I And for ye first there's little needfull to be said. The designe doth so evidently beare ye name of ye Prince of Peace & answere ye Precepts of his Gospell, & ye workings of his Spirit in all his Saints, & is so happily suited to his interest, & to ye wellfare of his Church, yt it pleads sufficiently for itselfe, & needeth not ye testimony of such as we. So blessed a thinge is Peace & a Holy Peace amonge ye members of ye body of Christ, yt ye enemyes & violators of it do pretend to it, & none are found yt oppose it professedly for itselfe. They all flatter it while they fight agt it, & betray it wth a kisse & smile upon it, while they are woundinge it, & extoll it wth ye highest praises while they destroy it, condemninge ymselves by all yt they say in its justificatn. We scarce thinke yt there is a man, of all those where yor great unwearyed labors have least succeeded, & yt are obstinately unpeaceable after all, but will joyne wth you in extollinge ye concord of ye Churches, & professe their great desire after it. So yt they are all farre from their severall pretensions to truth, to fetch their weapon for ye woundinge of or peace. For Christ hath left it an undenyable Principle, yt all his members are one body, into wch by one Spirit we are all Baptized, in wch even ye more feeble & less comely & less honorable parts have their place, receivinge a comelynes & honor from ye whole, yt there may be no schisme in ye body, but ye members should have ye same care one for another, as sufferinge wth yt wch suffereth, & rejoicinge wth yt wch is honored. 1 Cor. 12. 12. 13. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. And ye Holy Ghost hath left it as a certaine truth, yt of all those members ye most charitable is ye best 1 Cor. 12. 31. & 13. 13. And yt all men must know us to be Christs Disciples by or lovinge one another Joh. 13. 35. & 15. 17. That we must thus be followers of God as Deare Children & walke in Love as Christ hath Loved us Eph. 5. 1. 2. And certainly he yt loveth God doth love his Brother alsoe 1 Joh. 4. 21. & is a lyar if he say yt he loveth God wn he hateth his Brother. v. 20. Peace must be followed (& not only accepted when offered) as well as Holynes Heb. 12. 14. & yt wth all men if it be possible, & as much as in us lyeth Rom. 12. 18. 1 Thess. 5. 13. The weake in faith must be received but not to doubtfull disputations Rom. 14. 1. & ye strong must tolerate their infirmityes, not pleasinge ymselves but their neighbors for their edificatn. Rom. 15. 1. 2. The light of a multitude of such passages of Scripture doth shine so bright in ye faces of ye unpeaceable, yt they were not able to stand before ym, if they drew not ye veile of a zeale for some pretended truth over ye face of their most uncharitable practises. But ye selfe appropriated title of Orthodoxe, & ye straininge of Heterodoxe odious consequents from their Brethrens words, will prove but insufficient figleaves to cover ye nakednes of uncharitable dividers, when the Lord of Peace shall search & judge ym. Go on, Deare Brother, & if Satan should have leave to hinder yor success, yet live & dye in this Blessed worke: & if you have not more comfort at last in ye review of these yor pacificatory labors yn selfconceited dividers shall have, in their uncharitable wayes, yn must we confesse yt we were strangers to ye will & wayes of Christ. The wisedome yt is from above is first pure, yn peaceable, gentle, easye to be intreated: & ye fruit of righteousnes is by Peacemakers sowne in Peace: But ye wisedome yt cherisheth envyinge & strife, descendeth not from above, but is Earthly, sensuall (or naturall) & divellish: for where envyinge & strife is (though piety & Orthodoxe doctrine may be pretended yet) there is confusion (or tumultuousnes) & every evill worke: & so in pretendinge to be friends of truth, they do but glory in vaine & lye agt ye Truth, & indeed know not wt spirit they are of Jam. 3. 17. 18. 16. 15. 14. // II. And for ye second point ye Healinge of [illegible] as surely accomplish it, as we can all tell what meanes are necessary thereunto. Our worke is not to procure a comunion betweene ye visible members of Christ & of Sathan, nor a Syncretisme wth any yt hold not all yt is essentiall to xtianity, or yt deny any point of absolute necessity to Salvation, nor yet to draw any to pticipate wth the worst Church or Saint in any of their sins: nor yet is it ye || present busyness to change mens minds from Infidelity or heresye to ye faith yt so they may be capable of or Comunion; nor to change ye differinge opinions of ye Churches, wch is a thinge yt we canot expect at psent. But or worke is in these three pticulars; 1o To bringe ye true Churches of Christ to understand each other to be true Churches. 2o To procure yt internall charity wch true xtians should have to one another. 3o To procure ye externall manifestation of this charity, wch is their duty, or so much at least as is necessary to or comon safety & ppagation of ye truth wth all professors. And for ye first of these (wch ye rest depend upon), what can we require more of one another yn a profession of ye Christian faith. That wch we require to prove a single pson to be a member of ye Church, is it yt we must require of whole Churches, & wth wch we must be satisfyed; wch can be nothinge but a profession of Christianity, not nullifyed by contradictory professions or practises. And I hope we are before this agreed wt xtianity is, & wt are ye essentialls of or faith. All these essentialls we do all professe. We all professe to beleive ye Articles of or faith, contained in ye Creeds & Confessions of ye Chs. By wt test soever a xtian or a Ch: was knowne for many hundred yeares after Christ (till Papists & heretikes enlarged or depraved ye Creeds) by ye same do we all offer orselves to be tryed, & may easily be knowne to be professed xtians, & (beinge united wth or pastors for holy Comunion) to be true Chs of Christ. We all take ye holy Scriptures for ye Rule of or faith & lives, & beleive it to be ye infallible word of God. In this Scripture all ye essentialls of xtianity (& ~~[illegible]~~ the integralls too) are plainly expressed. This Rule is Divine & so or faith is Divine. Had we but a humane Rule, we could have but a humane faith. If any would know or Religion, its fitter yt we send ym. Our Confessions are but to satisfye men of or understandinge ye sense of passages of Scripture. And they are written accordinge to ye occasions of their writinge, & so wth diversity (though not contrariety in any necessary point at least); speakinge most to ye points yt contentions call us to speake most to. We make none of or Confessions ye Rule of or faith; nor do we take any thinge in ym to be infallible & unalterable, further yn it agreeth wth ye Scripture wch is or Rule. It hath bin ye cuninge designe of ye Papists (& in Conventu Thorunensi pissime) to draw us to owne some other test of or Religion: & yn they thinke they may freely dispute agt it & charge it wth falsity, novelty &c, wch they dare not charge on ye word of God: & they thinke by this, to sett us all together by ye eares, while one is for one Confession, & others for another; whereas in ye Scripture we are united. || The great cause of or uncharitable Censures & Divisions, hath bin or departinge from ye ancient simplicity of faith & alsoe from ye sufficiency of ye Holy Scriptures to be ye Rule & test of or faith. And till we returne to this Scripture sufficiency & ancient simplicity, there is no hope of ye ancient xtian unity & charity. While proud men must thrust their owne opinions into ye Churches Creed, or unchurch all yt hold not such opinions, or peace wth ym must be by calminge ym, & bringinge ym to ymselves, & bearinge as far as may be wth their infirmityes; but not by doinge as they do, in lacerating ye Churches. || We know it is here objected by ye Papists, & too many more, yt many heretiks will subscribe to all yt is in ye Scriptures, while they misinterprett ym. And wth ye Consequ- [So a plaine confession is necessary for men to owne yt will be accounted Orthodox] we deny ye Consequence. The Scripture is a Rule both plaine & pfect. Al Heretickes may misinterpret ye words of any other Confession, as well as ye words of Scripture. The Confession of ye Councill of Trent is not yet agreed on amonge ye Papists. The Remedy for heresye is not to impose another rule of faith yn Scripture (as if this were insufficient & we could mend it): but to exercise the Governmt carefully, & if any be proved to teach any doctrine contrary to ye Scripture, yt Magistrates & Pastors do their parts to correct such & restraine ym. We must not make new Confessions or Lawes, wn ever wicked men will misinterprett or violate ye old ones: The pfectest Law may be broken, & ye pfectest Confessions misinterpreted. We conclude so yt all yt subscribe to ye Holy Scriptures, & pticularly to all contained in ye ancient Creeds of ye Church, & in ye Lords Prayer & Decalogue do make so full a profession of xtianity, yt none may reject ym, till they prove by some inconsistent contradiction yt indeed they hold not wt they do professe. || And we deny not but to teach ye people, to direct young ministers, to stop ye mouthes of slanderous adversaryes, yt confessions of ye Chs: are usefull & to be approved. And Ex abundanti to cure ye jealousyes of diseased minds, we are all ready in every Protestant Church to give more full account of or faith, in plaine confessions: but wth this Protestation, yt only ye holy Scrip[illegible] Rule of or faith & ye Test of or Religion: & yt all || yt is contained in or severall confessions is not essentiall to a xtian or a Church; nor will wee justifye every terme or method of those confessions, (as perfect & inculpable; but as wee are certaine in ye essentialls & other points most plaine in Scripture; so far ye lesser darker points, wee are ready to alter anything of ym yt can be proved contrary to ye Scripture wch is or Rule. The 39 Articles were lately ye Confession of ye Churches here in England: But now [illegible] of two or three Articles for Ceremonyes and Prelacye, this Confession is laid by; & not imposed upon any: And wt! have wee so changed or Religion? Or are ye Churches in England otherthings & of another faith! No such matter: who ever affirmeth it yt knowes wt xtianity is. Wee have ye same Christ, & ye same Rule of faith, & ye same Religion, still: & hold ye same doctrines wch those Articles do profess, tho: wee be not all of a minde in Ceremonyes. A Papist, Polidore Virgill truly saith of ye Protestants, yt they are so called Evangelici, quod haud ullam asseverent recipiendam esse Legem, quae ad animarum salutem pertineat, nisi quam Christus aut Apostoli dedissent: de Invent. rer. l. 8. c. 4. p. 410. By ye great mercye of God wee are all agreed in ye Authority & verity of ye Scriptures, & yt's enough in point of profession, to prove us to be of a sound beleife. but if wee thinke to enlarge by Confessions yt are not plainly thence extracted, wee attempt a difficult & needles work. // Nothing can be pretended agt or faith (ye Rule beinge so perfect & unquestioned) unles it be yt wee nullifye this Confession by Contradictions, & beleive not ye Scripture while wee think wee do beleive it. But they yt will condemne any Ch: on such an accusation must 1o produce their proofe, wch must not be from ye words of a single person, wch none are responsible for but himselfe; but it must be ye words of ye Ch: itselfe wch they condemne: & it must not be from forced, feigned or undiscerned consequences, while ye Church doth expressly assert those truths, which adversaries pretend they do by consequence subvert. Such a confusion is there betweene theologicall verityes, yt if no man were a true beleiver, yt holdeth any thinge consequentially inconsistent wth an Article of faith, it would be hard to find a beleiver in ye world. 2o They must in reason admonish ye accused Ch: & heare ym speak for ymselves & not reject ym till after a first and second admonition, ordinarily. But if all ye enemyes of ye Protestant Churches at Rome or [illegible] should bring forth their evidences to prove ym void of ye Christian ~~faith~~ Beleife (for wee are loth to suppose yt there are any such accusers amongst ymselves) they would all stand yet & leave ye Ch: in possession of their faith. Wee can as easily prove yt wee are xtians as ye Romanists can yt they are Papists. // 2o And for or second work (to cure mutuall charity among ye Churches) this is ye worke of grace, wch wee may & must perswade men to, and wait ye blessinge to ye Lord. But wee must needs say yt one of ye greatest causes of or divisions is ye admittinge of graceles unsanctifyed men into ye sacred ministry; who beinge more opinionists in Religion & void of yt tender Love to ye Brethren wch is ye character of true xtians, are easily urged for ye sake of their opinions, to condemne & vilifye their Brethren, & warre & tread downe ye Churches of Christ. whereas if they had ever knowne ymselves they would have bin more compassionate to others! And would be so jealous of their frayle understandings, as to be afraid lest they condemne ymselves, by ye termes on wch they condemne their Brethren. And if ever they had bin possessed of ye Spirit of Xt they would have bin taught of God to Love ye Brethren: And all that they would have understood of denyinge ym to be Brethren, will prove a poore excuse for their uncharitablenes. // And for ye 3d point (of externall manifestation of this Charity) wee conceive yt in these severall wayes its to be done. 1o That persons of different judgmts in lesser controversyes, that do live neerest together in ye same townes or Countryes, yt they should lovingly joyne together in ye same holy Assemblyes for ye worshippinge of God. 2o That if any confessing ye substance of xtianity dare not joyne for feare of sin, in ye use of any Ceremony or doctrine wch they are agt, they should not thereuppon be used uncharitably, but have such liberty as is consistent wth ye Peace & wellfare of ye Churches & Commonwealth where they live. 3o That ye Churches of severall nations (yt have not opportunity of locall Communion) do cheerfully acknowledge one another for ye true Chs of Xt & professe xtian Love to one another, & a readynes to assist each other to their power, in ye Comon cause. // In summe Deare Brother, wee conceive yt ye meanes most usefull for ye expeditious attainmt of these ends, are these two. First yt ye Churches in every Nation, do in their Synods recognize their owne confessions, & also receive ye confessions of other Churches; & havinge considered of both, do send to those Churches whose communion & friendship they desire a double message, yt is, both an acknowledgment of ye Truth of those Churches, wth a Profession of or Brotherly Love to ym &c: And also or desire of ye like brotherly charity from ym to us; to wch end wee send ym ye confession of or faith. In order to this it were to be desired, yt or Comon Confession be in generall ye Holy Scriptures, & in particular, ye ancients Creeds of ye Church, & (if this satisfye not) a fuller collection of all & only ye essentialls & neere-adjoyninge points of Christianity, & yt as much as may be in ye very words of Scripture. If this canot be done for want of time or concord, yn let ye present confession of such Chs be sent as it is; but wth this profession yt only ye word of God is ye Rule, & if any thinge in or confession be found disagree [illegible] wee [illegible] to disowne it & correct it. If ye Churches thus to owne each other & professe their Brotherly Love & concord, yor worke is done. Some such acknowledgmt wee should all subscribe. E.g. ~~We ye servants of Jesus Christ representinge ye Churches of Christ in England, in or Assembly at W. havinge considered of ye Confession of ye Churches of Christ in (E.g.) Saxony, & heard of their stability in ye xtian faith, do heartily owne ym as ye true Churches of Christ, & love ym as or deare Brethren in ye Lord, & take it for or duty to pray for ym, & praise God on their behalfe, and assist ym in ye comon cause, accordinge to or severall capacityes & opportunityes: & we earnestly desire ye like Brotherly Love & Comunion from ym, havinge sent ym or Confession of faith & this Profession of Brotherly Love to yt end.~~ || This much of ye worke is actually or virtually (with our [illegible]) done allready. For wee perceive by ye Paps wch you sent us, & by ye frequent Professions of many reformed Churches, yt they are generally resolved to owne ye Churches called Lutherane, & for or parts wee take it as a thinge yt charity alloweth us not to Question (though in every point wee be not of their minds). So yt on one part the worke is done allready, & nothinge is wantinge but a solemne manifestation of it & an invitation of ym to ye like charity & comunion. || [redacted] 2°. The 2d part of the worke to be done is, yt those Churches wch upon those Brotherly invitations, shall reject any neighbor Churches, & refuse to owne ym as Brethren in Comunion, may be desired (as wee must do wth pticular members) to sett downe in termes out of their Confessions ye Heresyes & other sins yt they charge ym wth as ye cause of their rejection & heare ym speake for ymselves before they judge ym. Which if they refuse, wee can proceed no further but comitt or cause to God, as wee [redacted] would do agt ye accusations of any unreasonable men. But if they pforme it, wee shall its like correct some phrases yt offend ym & explaine others, & give ym satisfaction: wch one would thinke none should need, when ye Qu. is not [whether wee have any errors] (for so have ye accusers & all men on earth) but [whether wee are true xtians & Churches of Christ] which nothinge but lamentable darknes or frowardnes can cause Brethren to deny. The two chiefest expedients to satisfye or silence all accusations would be, 1. To reduce or Confessions as afores(aid) to Scripture & ye ancient Creeds & Scripture phrase. 2° And to cause some judicious moderate men to draw up a discourse containinge or mutuall agreemts & contractinge or differences, & explicatinge ye mistaken points, & showinge how much of ye difference is but seeminge, how much but verball, & yt ye reall are but in lesser points, where a difference is tollerable & consistent wth Christianity & holy Comunion. Some of us thinke it no hard matter to manifest ye disagreements yt are most odiously exagitated, to be far smaller, yn many on both sides apprehend ym. And much is done towards this allready by severall Learned Pacificators whom you have excited.

XXX Havinge thus showed you or thoughts of yor worke in generall, & in pticular, wt remaines but yt wee returne you or hearty thanks for yor great labors & patience for ye Churchs sake, & for comunicatinge yor endeavors to us, who professe yt or hearts are much upon this worke; & if at any time you can informe us wch way wee may be any whit serviceable to ye accomplishmt of it, wee shall very thankfully accept yor intimation & devote or interests & abilityes to so blessed a worke. In ye meane time it shall have or hearty desires & prayers for successe, & so shall all ye friends of peace, & you especially, whose name is hereby made honorable in ye Churches, & very honorable

Subscribed in the name & by the
appointment of ye Assembly of the
Associated Ministers of Christ in
Worcestershire, held at
Worcester August 6. 1658
by us

Yor Brethren in ye faith & Patience of
the Gospell

Richard Baxter Pastor of
the Church at Kedermister
John Boraston Pastor of the
Church at Ribbesford & Bewdley
[illegible] Pastor of the Church at Hartlebury

Giles Collyer Pastor of the Church
at Blockley
George Hopkins Pastor of the Church
at Evesham
Joseph Trebell Pastor of
the Church at Church-Lench

Reverende et Charissime Frater 36

Literas tuas fraternas de Ecclesiarum Concordiâ et Pace accepimus, una cum fasciculo Librorum, et tuiipsius et Ecclesiarum cum quibus negotium hoc inprimis transegisti, judicia de re totâ, et fine et medijs et modis continentium. Avidè omnia legimus, relegimus, pensitavimus: Gratissima lectu, utpote Concordiae gratissimo nomine ornata, dulcorata, insignita; et genuino Christianitatis spiritu, Charitatis videlicet et Pacis, animata. Mirum autem tibi haud videatur quod profitemur, affectibus et intensis et contrarijs admodum nos intensos fuisse et commotos. || Gaudio primum non mediocri perfusi fuimus, haud sine gratitudine erga Coelestem Majestatem, qui Ecclesiae suae misertus, ultra rixarum et errorum strepitum, quosdam excitavit, et Pietatis et Pacis [illegible] studiosos, qui rabidis, contentiosis, et Cadmeis fratribus receptum canerent: et te praesertim, inter caeteros pacis amatores eminentem, firmatis adeo viribus dignatus est ad tot et tantos 32 annorum labores exantlandos, et invictâ patientiâ tamdiu sustinendos, honesto et Christiano hoc animo, ut fratres de se invicem rectius judicarent, et animi dissidentes amoris et pacis foedere conjungantur, et depositis iniquis praejudicijs, et censuris, et suspicionum et carnalium acerbis contentionibus, Ecclesiae vulnera tandem coalescant, et Charitas Christiana, per rixas et bella jam alte sopita, et tantum non deplorata, feliciter reviviscat. || Cum gaudio autem hoc nostro, conjunctum minime diffitemur, infandum prorsus animorum dolorem, dum oculis quasi objiciuntur heu tanta Ecclesiarum vulnera, tantae clades, tanta jamjam imminentia pericula; quae omnia non solis ab hostibus Christiani nominis inferuntur sed a nobis ipsis etiam scientibus et monitis (et utinam non adversos ~~militares~~ et pacificos faventibus) ultro, impotenter, et obstinatè nimium, adsciscuntur simul et promoventur. Dum ulcera adeo maligna reponuntur, in animis Christianorum Doctorum, Pastorum Dominici gregis, quae omnia haec documenta, monita, remedia, et requirunt ut necessaria, et rejiciunt ut inefficacia.

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John Boraston Pastor of the
Church at Ribbesford & Bewdley
[illegible] Pastor of ye Church at Hartlebury

Joseph [illegible]
the Church at Church-Len

BAXTER
LETTERS.
fol. 81. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Reverende & Charissime Frater. 37

Gratissimis bis Acceptis literis ~~tuis~~ una cum Scriptis & tuis ~~singularum~~ & Ecclesiarum de pacis negotio, eorumq materiâ diligentius pensitatâ, minimum quam variis ~~mutua quadam~~ affectibus ~~[illegible]~~ Beomoti! ~~[illegible]~~ ~~contrariarum affectionum, nos~~ totos ~~deprehensos statim invenimus~~ : Gaudio ~~[illegible]~~ non sine erga totius Majestatis primum & gratitudine in ~~Deum nos dilectissimum~~, qui Ecclesiae suae misertus qui [illegible] vacuum [illegible] aliquosdam excitavit & Pietatis & Pacis studiosos, & te praesertim inter caeteros pacis amatores eminentem, firmatis adeo viribus ~~tanta~~ dignatus est ~~gratia~~ ad tot & tantos labores exantlandos & ~~tanta~~ [illegible] patientiâ tamdiu sustinendos; ut Fratres de se invicem rectius ~~[illegible]~~ judicarent, & depositis animorum iniquis exacerbationibus, & hominum superborum pervicacium ~~pacifragis~~ contentionibus, ~~coalescant tandem~~ Ecclesiae vulnera tandem coalescant, & ~~[illegible]~~ feliciter [illegible] Christiana Charitas, per rixas & iurgia pene iam sopita, & tantum non deplorata. Cum Gaudio autem hoc nostro conjunctum non diffitemur infandum pene animorum dolorem, dum ~~monti~~ quasi ~~[illegible]~~ oculis objiciuntur heu ~~tot~~ tanta Ecclesiarum vulnera, tantae clades, tanta jam imminentia pericula, quae omnia a nobis ipsis scientibus & monitis ultro, imprudentiae & obstinatae ~~hominum continuantur~~ promoventur: dum ulcera adeo maligna reperiuntur, in animis Christianorum, imo Principum, & Pastorum dominici Gregis, quae omnia haec remedia & requirunt ut necessaria, & rejiciunt ~~[illegible] ut inefficacia~~ : Pudore multo & tristitiâ perfusi sumus, quod tot tui conatus & labores indefessi in maius non ~~nihil adhuc protulere~~; & quod nomen & vultus amabilis Charitatis & Pacis Christianae non plures, imo non omnes alliciant & rapiant in sui admirationem, & amorem ~~[illegible] cupiditatem~~ : Quod Pax salutifera a paucis medullitus diligitur, a paucioribus prudenter & studiose quaeritur, a paucissimis sui abnegatione, patientiâ, tolerantiâ & quovis pretio redimitur : Sed a plurimis negligitur, a multis hostiliter tractatur & confoditur, & a non paucis adblandientibus perfidis ~~aut aut~~ [illegible] proditur; spectante & ridente hoste & Reformationis & nominis Christiani. At nihilominus sperandum, conandum, & Christo Pacis Principi fidendum est, & in patientiâ animae nostrae sunt possidendae donec pacis & concordiae tandem adveniat exoptatissimus dies :// Ad nos quod attinet Charissime Frater quantum Mentem tuam ex literis pergratis ~~capimus~~ intelligimus, ex quibus hisce desiderio tuo satisfactum iri (quantum in nobis fuerit) iudicamus : // Sententiam nostram ~~aperiendo~~ explicando : //

1° de negotio Conciliationis in genere

2° de Morbo & remedijs quod maxime necessarium & accomodam nobis videtur, proponendo.

3° Et tandem consilia nostra & manus adiutrices, & totos nos, quanti quanti sumus tibi & beato Pacis operi in posterum offerendo, vovendo, praestando : de hisce sigillatim. // 1° de primo multa dicere supervacaneum est; Paucioribus igitur res expedienda est. Ipsum enim opus in fronte habet inscriptum Xti Conciliatoris maximi nomen, & Evangelii eius praeceptis evidentissime respondet, & Sancti Spiritus operationibus in cordibus Sanctorum quam optime quadrat, & rebus Xti & saluti Ecclesiae feliciter adeo congruum est & accommodum, ut suam satis strenu

causam

X 81

[illegible]

[illegible] for sympathizing christian [illegible] causam agit, & nostro non indigens calculo sibi ipsi validissimum praebet testimonium.

Praelustris adeo & ab omnibus honorata est Concordia, ~~Christianorum~~ praesertim in rebus divi & ad salutem pertinentibus sempiternam, ut ab ipsis inimicis amari videtur, si dare verba & Encomia ~~spectes~~: Qui pacem furiose & indesinenter impugnant, tacite ~~etiam pa~~ ~~eam~~ laudant & [illegible] simulant: Et vix invenitur qui oppugnat pacem ~~[illegible]~~ sub nomine pacis, & hostem eius se palam profitetur. Qui adversantur, etiam adblandi~~untur~~ l: osculantur dum produnt; dum vulnerant arrident, & laudibus in sum efferunt, dum conculcando & destruendo pergant, simetipsos damnantes iisdem suffragiis, quibus pro concordiae laudibus testimonium praebent ~~attestantur~~. Haud facile possumus in animum inducere, ut vel iurato crederemus, ex istis omnibus quibuscum, labores tui solertes & indefessi ad concordiam amplectendam, minime profiteri vel unum quempiam Mentis compotem posse inveniri, qui unitatem, concordiam, pacem Ecclesiarum, charitatem fraternam, animorum lenitatem, humilitatem, patientiam, & voce & sententia non comprobaret, magnifaceret, & laudibus ornaret, quasi omnes ex animo totum facerent & sententiarum & voluntatum aeternus esset summa consensio: ~~Dum~~ Illi tamen concordiam quam plurimum deturbant, affligunt, comminuunt, & pacem laudatam foras extrudunt, piorum conatibus cornua obvertunt, ita ut nos nec prece nec pretio ab ipsis pacem possumus impetrare, neque praecepta & comminationes divinas proferendo, neque per nomen eius sanctissimum obtestando & adiurando, neque ad summum eius & tremendum tribunal appellando obtinere possumus, ut manus furiosas ab Ecclesiarum laceratione, vel tant per cohibeant, dum ~~viscera~~ consolidentur & a pacis amatoribus Medicamina adhibeantur: Verum necesse habent, ut pacem efficacius iugulent a nomine vel pietatis Veritatis vel ordinis ecclesiastici arma mutuari; nec sine pietatis obtentu (etiamsi sibi contradicenti) charitatem & concordiam feliciter unquam possent expugnare. Fratrum videlicet infirmitates Boni isti (~~proh~~ nimis magni nimium sibi boni & orthodoxi) non debent non possunt, ullo modo tolerare. At utinam dum Errores vel levissimos non tolerant, charitatem & pacem christianam tolerarent, & ab ipsis non starent quo minus floreant & Veritas & Pietas, et Ordo Pace profligata: Manifesta scilicet & indubitata sunt Axiomata a Xto definita Universa eius Membra esse unicum Corpus (Ecclesiam scilicet vere Catholicam) in quod per unicum Sanctum Spiritum baptizamur, In quo membra etiam quae existimantur infirma, minusque decora, & honesta, sua tamen obtinent loca, & a toto simul decorem suum, & honorem accipiunt, ut ne sit dissidium vel schisma in Corpore, sed membra itidem sollicita sint, alia pro aliis, & dum patitur unum omnia compatiantur, ut dum unum honore afficitur omnia congratulentur, 1: Cor: 1. 12: 13: 22: 23. 24. 25: 26: Et membra charitate maxime abundantia esse omnium praestantissima, ut Veritas obsignata nobis in Sacris Libris a Spiritu S. traditur ~~in Scripturis~~ 1: Cor: 12: 31: & 13: 13: Et hunc esse communem illum, & certissimum characterem, ex quo omnes nos agnoscent esse discipulos Xti, si charitatem habuerimus alii in alios Joh: 13: 34. 35 & 15: 17: Oportere nos etiam esse dei imitatores ut Filios dilectos, & ambulare in charitate sicut & Christus nos dilexit Ephes: [illegible]: 2: Et procul dubio qui deum vere diligit, fratrem suum etiam ex animo diligit, Et si quis dixerit diligo deum, & fratrem suum oderit mendax est. Joh: 4: 20: 21: Ut Sanctimoniam ita & pacem sectari debemus, nec satis est eam admittere oblatam, Heb: 12: 14: Imo si fieri potest. (quantum in nobis est) cum omnibus in Pace vivere debemus Rom: 12: 18: 1: Thess: 5: 13: Infirmi etiam in fide sunt assumendi, non tamen ad altercationes disceptationum: Rom: 14: 1: Si potentes revera sumus vel firmiores, debemus infirmitates imbecilliorum sustinere, & non indulgere nobismet ipsis, sed unusquisque nostrum proximo placere, in bonum scilicet ad aedificationem, sicut Xtus etiam sibi ipsi non placuit Rom: 15: 1: 2: 3: Quamplurima huiusmodi loca S Scripturae meridiano lumine, ita litigantium & dividentium

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[illegible]

LETTERS.

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et confusiorum ~~evidentium~~ oculis affulgent, ut eorum Evidentiæ resistere non possint, nisi facientes Discordiæ, veritatis divinæ vel ordinis prætextu obvelarent. At nomen orthodoxorum, quod solis sibi ~~epistol ap~~ vindicant ~~appropriant~~, cum odiosis consequentijs ex Fratrum dictis male intellectis, tenue nimis, ficulneum, & araneum est velamen, quo tegant Factiosi suam nuditatem: Sicut experti sentient cum Dominus Ecclesiæ & Pacis Zelotes (a cujus conspectu Fluvius igneus manabit prodiens, cui millies mille ministrabunt, & coram quo Myrias Myriadum stabunt) Tribunal eriget, secreta cordium explorabit, latentia deteget, doctissimè & ingeniosissimè operta denudabit, fucos detraget, ~~fallacijs nequissimis~~ occulta palam revelabit, Authoritate, injuriâ, fraude oppressos relevabit, Justitiæ, Charitatis & Pacis turbatores judicabit: Age igitur alacriter perge Charissime frater, ~~et si~~ si Satanæ (Pacis infestissimo inimico) a Domino sapientissimo copia concederetur conamina tua pessundandi & cœpta honestissima irrita faciendi, & plurimorum bonorum frustrandi desideria (quod tamen avertat Deus) in moliminibus tamen & Xto & omnibus bonis pergrato, ad finem usque fortiter progredere. Si autem non majus & melius solamen animi, tibi tandem, ex laborum pacificorum novissima recensione obveniet, quam unquam arrogantes isti Censores & pugnaces Tricones & Litigatores in via Ruinarum & Schismatis invenient, tum nobis vel ignominiose fatendum ~~est~~ voluntatem Xti a nobis fuisse absconditam, ut rerum divinarum turpissime imperitis. Qui zelum habent in corde & amaram contentionem, frustra de Orthodoxiâ & pietate gloriantur, & reverâ mentiuntur adversus veritatem; Non est ista sapientia superne descendens, sed terrena, animalis, dæmoniaca: Ubi enim est zelus invidiosus & contentio, ibi est tumultuatio (vel vita inquieta) & omne malum opus. Quæ autem est superne Sapientia, primum quidem est casta (vel pura) deinde pacifica & favorabiliter judicans, bene suadibilis, plena misericordiæ & fructuum bonorum, absque censurâ (vel disceptatione) & sine hypocrisi. Fructus autem Justitiæ in pace seminatur ijs qui paci dant operam. Jam: 3: 14: ad fin: Et plurimi etiam cætera boni, qui confidenter & intrepide quasi flagrantes, zelo veritatis & pietatis ignem de cælo evocant, haud probe norunt qualis sint spiritus, & quam tandem objurgationem a Domino sint audituri ~~Luk~~: Luc: 9: 54: 55: II°: Ad secundum pensi caput quod attinet, facillima est Παθολογια, difficillima Θεραπεια. Remedia tamen seligere, monstrare, præscribere vel Typo quivis facile possit; Ut vero a morbidis hauriantur, applicentur, vel etiam respuentibus prosint ad Medelam, quis unquam Hippocrates vel Æsculapius efficiet. O si tam certo possimus mederi, quam certo possi~~mus~~ præpotentem, & efficacem propinare medicinam. Non nostri est propositi vel negotij, Communionem promovere inter membra visibilia Xti & diaboli: Neque cum talibus syncretismum ambire, qui essentialibus Christianæ Fidei articulis consensum professione & opere non præbent, sed vel unicum apicem ad salutem animarum simpliciter necessarium, scientes prudentesque vel oppugnant vel abnegant. Neque molimur vel unam inducere Animam, ut Ecclesiæ vel optimæ, peccati vel minimi reatu participando implicetur. Nec adhuc præsentis est negotij, Infideles vel hæreticos ad fidem convertere, ut Communionis Ecclesiasticæ fiant capaces; Nec Christianorum Dissidentium animos ita mutare, ut ad unam aliquam partem vel optimam vel maximam reliqui omnes accederent ~~&~~ in Dogmatibus tam controversis, hinc inde unum idemque sentiamus. Optima sane et maxime desiderabilis est hæc ~~perfectio est~~ plena cum sanctitate Concordia, et quam gemitibus, precibus & votis assiduis, conquirere & prosequi nunquam desinemus: Sed cui jam manus admovere non audebimus: Et utrum in hoc Nosocomio, militante scilicet & imperfecta Ecclesiâ, an in Patriam cælestem, a pijs expectanda est, Deus novit. At opus præ manibus capitibus hisce continetur: I°: Ut veræ Xti particulares Ecclesiæ se tales esse aliæ de alijs agnoscant & intelligant omnes Christiani de Fratribus jam ignotis, sed famâ invidiosâ injusti ~~schismatis~~, quod non sunt Hæretici, ut a malevolis & rixosis odiose indigitantur, sed Fratres amore Christiano colendi ~~complectendi~~. II°: Ut internam illam charitatem promoveamus, quam omnes obligantur

~~obligantur~~ Christiani inter se mutuo studiose exercitio arctissime obligantur. 3°: Ut internum huius Chri
stianis exercitium, promoveamus, ut dextram societatis nobis invicem porrigamus, preci
busq; & consilijs & omni ope nobis invicem subveniamus; vel saltem ne irritis & ini
quis suspicionibus Ecclesiam & Fidem hostibus prodamus; Nec causam & Veritatem
communem deseramus, quia in placitis quibusdam minoris Commatis non omnes conse
ntimus: ‖·‖. 1°: Et primum quod attinet (a quo reliqua pendent) quid aliud iure possumus a nobis
invicem postulare, ut necessarium characterem Visibilis Christianismi, præter ipsius
Christianæ Fidei professionem, & Vitam professioni parem, saltem non ~~refragantem~~ contrariam; Quodcunq;
enim exigimus ab uno aliquo Christiano, ut probet se Membrum visibilis Ecclesiæ, idem
illud ~~ab~~ Ecclesia particulari expetendum est, ut probet se veram visibilem Ecclesiam, & ~~ab~~ hoc inquirentis animo omnino satisfieri oportet: Quod quidem Signum nil ali
esse potest, quam ipsa veri Christianismi professio, quæ neq; professione, neq; actione con
tradicente plane in cassatur & redditur incredibilis & apertum Mendacium. Nec
Nota est, Hæc Tessera Visibilis Ecclesiæ, quantum ad materiæ dispositionem.
quisnam sit ille verus Christianismus, & quænam illa necessaria professio. Et
certo inter nos convenit: Nec contrarium potest litigiosus aliquis asserere sine ludi
brio & ignominia nominis Christiani. Si post Christianos & Ecclesias per orbem
a temporibus Apostolorum dispersos, si post baptismum & Symbola & doctrinam
Apostolorum tamdiu continuata nescimus adhuc quid sit Christianismus, & quid Ec
clesia, & quid Religionis Christianæ professio, nonne talia fando risum movebimus
hostibus ~~[illegible]~~ Veritatis! At quid multa? Ex summa Numinis benignitate in
omnibus hisce Fidei Articulis (& primi & secundi gradus necessitatis) inter omnes Pro
testantium Ecclesias, summa est consensio. Eandem Fidem omnes profitemur: Antiqua
omnia Catholicorum symbola concorditer tenemus: Ex hisce omnibus Ecclesiæ Catholic
orum & Orthodoxorum dignoscuntur: Communiter adeo & plene hic congruunt omnes,
unum si cognoris, omnes noris: Quibuscunq; indicijs per multas a Xto annorum Centu
rias cernebantur Ecclesiæ, & individui Christiani (donec ab Hæreticis & Papistis am
plificata & corruptelis depravata sunt Symbola) per eadem libenter nos probandos
exhibemus, & ex ijsdem Christiani facillime dignoscimur, & Pastoribus propter
sacram Communionem adunati, veræ etiam & ordinatæ dignoscimur Ecclesiæ. Sacra
Scriptura nobis omnibus perfecta est Fidei & Obedientiæ norma, quam uno ore
divinum & infallibile verbum profitemur. Dogmata hic omnia ad salutem ne
cessaria (ut cætera iam taceamus) aperte satis & dilucide exprimuntur. Fides
nostra est vere divina, quia testimonio nititur vere divino, & per Regulam ve
re divinam mensuratur. Si testimonium & norma Fidei nobis tantum essent
humana, etiam Fidem & Religionem humanam haberemus. Si qui igitur de
Religione nostra percontantur huc illos amandamus: Fidei & Religionis nostræ
mensura, & Lapis Lydius est Verbum Divinum in Sacris Canonicis Scripturis comprehensum.
~~Ecclesiarum~~ Confessionum Ecclesiasticarum alius est usus, (viz) ut de nostra Scripturarum in
telligentia, vel in uno aliquo vel pluribus, vel in omnibus necessarijs, scisci
tantibus rationem aliqualem redderemus: Ad populum etiam recte instruendum
& Ministerij Candidatos & Tyrones tuto dirigendos, ad ora denique obtrectatorum
& maledicentium obturanda; Ad hæc & plura in suo genere utilia & salubria
aptissime inserviunt Ecclesiarum Confessiones: Quæ ideo diversæ sunt & diver
simode conscriptæ, non una Methodo, nec ijsdem verbis: Aliæ breviores, prolixi
ores aliæ: Aliæ tantum positiva asserentes, & Aliæ etiam corruptelas hæreti
cas rejicientes; Aliæ de omnibus necessarijs ad salutem, Aliæ vero de aliqui
bus tantum maxime controversis: Ad ipsam Scriptionis & Professionis occa
sionem plerumq; adaptatæ sunt, de istis & plurima & apertissima habentes, de quibus
copiose, & luculenter disserere, per calumnias malignantium vel importunas
iniquas suspiciones litigantium Ecclesiæ urgebantur. At nulla prorsus
ma harum Confessionum, ut Lex Fidei agnoscitur ab Orthodoxis: Sola Lex
est prima & propria Lex Fidei. Et nihil ideo dicimus infallibiliter con
quia in h

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quia in hac vel illâ Confessione invenitur, sed quia in S. Scripturâ ab ipso Spi
ritu sancto nobis traditur. || Astuti admodum Pontificij Reformatis struxere insidias
ut in Conventu Thorun: & alias sæpissimè) dum præter S. Scripturas Confessionem
vel Symbolum aliquod vehementer semper postularent, quod omnia Fidei & Reli=
gionis nostræ Capita distincti simul & expressè exhiberet, ad ravim usq; clami=
tantes. [vel unam nobis monstrate Formulam ~~Protestantium~~ Confessionis Protestantium, quæ totam
vestram exprimit Religionem, in quâ concorditer omnes consentitis] Et si quando
dolosè ita a Lege & Regula divina nos avocarent, audacter tunc Legem & Religi=
onem nostram incusarent, Falsitatis scilicet, obscuritatis, novitatis, angustiæ, &
culpa cuiusvis (merito an immerito) intrepidè statim & liberè eam arguerent: Et
dein Qualis Lex Fidei, talis Fides, humanam, novam, imperfectam, contradic=
toriam & falsam etiam Fidem nostram indigitarent: At talia de S. Scripturis
modestiores isti (non adhuc infideles) clamitare non audent, neq; ipsissimum Dei
Verbum tam audacter calumniari. Spe etiam gratissimâ seipsos blandiuntur, fa=
cillimè se Protestantes inter se commissuros, si a Lege unicâ Fidei Christianæ, a Regu=
lâ Veritatis & a Centro unitatis efficaciter semel nos abducere valerent. || Ubinam
enim Concordiam figent Christiani; Ubinam Veritatis plenitudinem, certitudinem
firmitatem invenient, si non in Scripturis divinæ Revelationis? An in ho=
minis vel Ecclesiæ alicuius authoritate, claritati, doctrinâ, fide, convenient
unquam & acquiescent Fideles, potius, quam in ipsius Spiritûs Sancti authoritate?
Probè nôrunt Protestantium inimici, in Fidei hac Lege & Regulâ divinâ nos
omnes tamdiu unanimiter convenisse, at in Regulâ aliquâ humanâ haud certo,
haud rectè, haud universè adeo conventuros. || Inter omnes Discordiæ & Schis=
matis causas, vix ulla potentior eminet & feracior; quam. 1°: Sacrarum Scriptu=
rarum sufficientiæ (in suo genere) ~~definitio~~ restrictio: 2°: Et a Fidei antiquæ simplicitate
defectio: Neq; ulla spes restat (fidenter loquimur) de antiquâ charitate & unitate
instaurandâ, nisi ad Scripturarum sufficientiam, & antiquam simplicitatem, con=
cuditer revertendo: Ad portum hunc maturè si recipiant dissidentes, si in animo
gni & voto non est, vel Fidei facere iacturam, & Pacis naufragium, vel saltem
Mari & Ventis expositi) fluctibus iactari, agitari procellis, & ultimo tandem sub=
ire discrimina tum sua, tum Ecclesiastica. Dum homines superbientes prurigo quæ=
dam possidet, opiniones sibi arridentes in Ecclesiarum Symbola vel Confessiones
infarciendi, & receptionis earum necessitatem imponendi, & Fratres dissentientes
e sinu & communione Ecclesiæ exterminandi, cum talibus nulla speranda est
Concordia, nisi eorum animos humiliando, leniendoq; & magis modestos sobriosq;
reddendo, vel (ut verbo dicamus) sanam in eis Mentem Sanctamq; reficiendo!
[quod Numinis, non invalidi hominis opus est] Pijs interim ferendum, gemendum
orandum est, nunquam tamen consilijs huiusmodi consentiendum. || Nec tamen
nos fugit quod hic a Pontificijs, nec non a quibusdam alijs obijcitur [Plurimos
scilicet Hæreticos promptissime Sacris Eloquijs subscripturos, qui tamen Scripturas
male intelligentes, & sensum verborum, & Fidem corrumpant dum verba re=
tinent] Quid vero hinc a ~~nostris~~ Antinomis & Antinomis colligitur? [expressa scilicet & ma=
gis clara formanda est Confessio, cui, omnes qui orthodoxi cupiunt audiri, subscri=
bere oportet] Respondeo Ad usus antedictos nos Confessiones laudamus; Hic
tamen sequelam audacter negamus: Lex Dei in S. Scriptura est perfecta & perspi=
cua. Opus hoc non relinquitur nobis emendandum: Nos cacutientes homunciones
minimè decet divinæ Regulæ sufficientiam denegare, Claritatem obscurare, Per=
fectionem vituperare, & ita revera Authoritatem abrogare, ut nostra qualiacunq; &
quantacunq; substituamus & velut perfecta magis & sufficientia præferamus?
Divine Politici Remp. administrarent? An Lex insufficientiæ & defectus arguen=
da est, quotiescunq; a pravis hominibus violatur? An mutanda quotiescunq; te=
meratur? Quid si furentur, mæchentur, homicidia perpetrent, qui subditi
dicuntur, Legesq; verbo tenus honorant? Num Leges igitur corrigendæ sunt
potius per=

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potiùs peccatores? Nam ad Legis pertinet sufficientiam, vel perfectionem ut temerari non possit? Novane Lex cudenda est, quotiescunq; peccatur in priorem? Minimè Gentium: Saniora consilia Christianis, imò Gregis Pastoribus sunt ineunda. Scriptura non est insufficiens, quià de rebus Religionis Hæretici malè sentiant: dicenda non est imperfecta, quotiescunq; eam Hæretici malè interpretantur. Nova Fidei Regula non est cudenda, quoties ab ipsis subscribentibus, Regula vera tortuosè, perversè, obliquè intelligitur. Num Censores isti Scripturarum nobis talem unquam Fidei Confessionem fabricabunt quam Subscribentes non possunt malè intelligere? Quam Homines pravæ & hæreticæ Mentis non possunt distorquere? Talem Fidei & Religionis Legem Ecclesijs fingent, quam Nemo peccator potest violare? Apage hæc somnia & deliria superbientium, qui inscitiam suam ignorant, nec probè pensitarunt quam longè omni sapientiæ humanæ, divina ista insipientia antecellit. Quid igitur faciendum? Anne Hæretici in sinu Ecclesiæ sunt fovendi, quià subscribunt S. Scripturis, vel Symbolo aut Confessioni alicui simplici ex ipsissimis Scripturæ verbis contextæ ~~composito~~? Respondeo, nequaquam: Absit a corde Christiano tam impia cogitatio: Meliora adsunt contra Hæreses remedia; viâ rectiore Ecclesijs est incedendum. Quandocunq; Lex violatur, Peccator puniatur; Pastores Ecclesijs fideliter invigilent. Inter se etiam Pastores consocientur, ut fraternam foveant charitatem, concordem colant communionem, & communi Consilio res comunes transigantur: Et siquando ex testibus fide dignis, vel iustâ facti evidentiâ compertum est, hæreticè aliquem errores effutire, & semina mala in populum spargere, fidemq; corrumpere, subvertere vel denegare, corripiendus est Hæreticus & seriò admonendus, ~~&~~ tandemq; (si ad frugem meliorem non redeat) reijciendus est & ab Ecclesiarum Communione ~~et~~ sammovendus ~~est~~. Quod si pergat in zizanijs suis disseminandis, & animis imperitorum hæresibus imbuendis, a Magistratu Christiano prudenter est coercendus: Si erratur, corrigatur non Regula sed oberrans. Si peccatur, vapulet non Lex, sed delinquens: Non Lex accusanda, iudicanda, corrigenda, sed homines, Moresq; & dogmata secundum Legem. De sensu ipsorum Conciliorum Papalium, non adhuc inter Pontificios convenit; ipsum Tridentinum diversè interpretantur, interq; contendentes paucissimi inveniuntur, qui Paparum & Conciliorum, etiam universalium decreta in partes suas non trahere, & subornare conantur: Firmissimè igitur statuendum est, & tenaciter ab amicis Ecclesiæ asserendum, omnes Essentialia Fidei profitentes, & generatim toti S. Scripturæ subscribentes, & particulariter Articulis istis, qui in Symbolis Ecclesiæ Veteris continentur, nec non Decalogo, & ~~Ecclesiæ~~ Dominicæ Orationi, in gremium Ecclesiæ, Sanctorumq; Communionem libenti animo ~~esse~~ recipiendos, Nec inde reijciendos usq; dum testimonijs iustis comprobetur, vel hanc Professionem esse mendacem, vel criminis tanti reos esse Professores [utpoti cum contumaciâ & impœnitentiâ coniuncti] ~~Dec~~ ut ipsos Ecclesiæ intolerabiles planè reddat ~~per~~ ~~catores~~: || Ex abundanti tamen, & ut animorum ægrotantium iniustis suspicionibus medicinam accommodemus, Parati sunt omnes Protestantium cœtus, rationem de Fide & Religione suâ plenissimam omnibus reddendam, in apertis lucculentisq; & articulatis Confessionibus; At salvâ semper divinæ Legis & Regulæ prærogativâ: Junctâq; simul hac protestatione, neq; omnia esse Fidei partes essentiales, quæ in verâ unaquâq; Confessione inveniuntur, neq; Verbum omne, vel Methodum in talibus Confessionibus, ab omni vel culpâ vel imperfectione immunem ~~nos~~ velle nos unquam vindicare. Illis vero omnibus quæ Scripturis S. planè sunt contentanea, tanquam certis & indubitatis subscribere non abnuimus. ~~[illegible]~~ minoribus item controversis, ~~[illegible]~~ & obscuris si quando nobis probationibus compertum erit, nos vel minimum a sensu Scriptuarum aberrasse, ad meliorem mentem cum pœnitentiâ nos redituros, sententiamq; ad mentem divinam mutaturos, non pudet nos vel coram omnibus profiteri. Triginta novem (ut vocantur) Articuli, Confessio publica Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ titulus ~~[illegible]~~ fuere; nunc [illegible] tandem utro ~~[illegible]~~ ~~autem~~ propter unum vel alterum articulum, de Ceremonijs & Officio & præeminentiâ Diocesanorum, a regulatoribus ~~[illegible]~~ & plerisq; Pastoribus posthabita ~~[illegible]~~ & in tantum depositus, ut nullis imponetur. Quid igitur, Num Fidem & Religionem mutavimus

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the Church at Church-Lench

[illegible] Hartlebury

mutavimus! Suntne iam aliæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Fidei diversæ quam antea fu ere! Ita quidem nonnulli commoti & malevoli deblaterant Ardeliones; Fortasse ne mundum lateret, se, quid sit vel Fides, vel Religio, vel Ecclesia, vel prorsus vel plurimum nescire. At idem continuo Numen colimus; Eundem habemus Xtum Ecclesiæ caput, eandem Spiritum S. Dei gratiâ possidemus: Eandem iugiter Fidem retinemus: Eadem sumus affecti charitate erga omnes Christianos: Eadem spe futuram felicitatem expectamus: Inter omnia nova, non est quod magis nollemus quam novum Deum, novum Xtum, novum Evangelium, novam Fidem, Religionem vel Ecclesiam. In omnibus hisce convenire possumus, qui de Ceremoniis & exorte. ~~[illegible]~~ Episcopatu (ut a Grotio vocatur) minimo convenimus: Candidissimè Protestantes descripsit Pontificius Polidorus Virgilius [Lib: de invent. Rerum 8: Cap:4.] quod Evangelici ideò dicuntur, (quia haud ullam asseverent recipiendam esse Legem, quæ ad Animarum salutem pertineat nisi quam Xtus & Apostoli dedissent.) Utinam vel omnes dicti Evangelici tam probè nossent, Quis sit Evangelicus.|| Ut verbo rem totam expediamus; In Lege hâc divinâ universi iamiam consentimus: Nulla hîc inter Evangelicos Controversia. [Quod probè nôrunt Concordiæ nostræ & Reformationis Inimici] Si qui vel sibimet, vel Ecclesiæ Catholicæ æqualem unitatem & Concordiam promiserint in aliâ aliquâ Lege vel Confessione (saltem ex ipsis Scripturarum sententiis, non liquidò depromptâ & compositâ) obnixè ab istis & suppliciter petimus, ut prius æquale Unitatis Fundamentum, æqualia pacis & Concordiæ subsidia, & æqualia Pacis stabiliendæ retinendæ adjumenta, in quâcunque vel optimâ Confessione nobis ostendant: Æqualem scilicet Authoritatem, infallibilitatem & omnimodam perfectionem, æqualemque universis Christianis congruentiam: Quin etiam ut ad Ecclesiæ priora (& si visum est) puriora secula retrospiciant, & vel ~~unam~~ aliquam nobis indicent Confessionem, in quâ Ecclesia consensit universa, & talem quamcunque nobis digito monstraverint, unanimi consensu sanctè profitemur nos etiam omnes concorditer amplexuros. ~~Quod~~ si aliam aliquam nobis [illegible]dant Confessionem, obnixè eosdem rogatos velimus, quo iure ipsi Legem cudent; dabuntque Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, Quibusque freti rationibus unitatem Catholicam possunt expectare in Centro istius (recentioris fortassis & privatæ originis) Confessionis, in quâ nec omnes, nec plurimæ Ecclesiæ unquam sunt adunatæ: Hoccine iam in Senio Ecclesiæ est sperandum, & necessarium ad pacem & concordiam faciendum, quod seculis prioribus fuit prorsus incognitum, necessariumque ab Ecclesiâ nunquam æstimatum, & in quo nullo unquam tempore unione Catholica Ecclesia est potita? || Plura de malo hoc pernicioso loquuti sumus quia plura ex eo mala Ecclesia perpessa est: Imprimis autem a Pontificiorum Sectâ, qui nullo iure, nullâ necessitate, ratione nullâ, summâ cum audaciâ arrogantiâ, tyrannide novellam prorsus Ecclesiæ universali Fidem & Religionem procuderunt. || Restat igitur inter Ecclesias Evangelicas [quæ unam omnes agnoscunt Regulam & Legem Religionis, eamque divinam, infallibilem, invariatam & ab omnibus Xtianis receptam] neminem posse iure arceri a Sanctorum Communione, nisi validis priùs probetur argumentis, vel a contradictoriâ professione vel vitâ petitis, mendacem plane, & nullam esse eius Christianismi professionem: Quicunque autem ausuri sunt, necessariâ hâc procedendi methodo, Ecclesiam vel minimam ~~[illegible]~~ & repudiare, vel Pastores eius exauctorare, ante oculos fideliter retineant hæc duo cognitissimo iure ipsis incumbentia: || 1°. Ut Nemo condemnetur, nisi ipse reus; Noxa Caput sequitur: Ex ore igitur vel scriptis singularis alicuius vel Theologi, vel Episcopi vel etiam Principis aut Imperatoris, iudicanda non est Ecclesia, nec accusanda: In reum, non in innocentes animadvertatur. Nec nisi ipsius Ecclesiæ verbis vel factis ulla condemnetur Ecclesia: Nec accusationis tela in Ecclesiam vel personam aliquam sunt conjicienda ex fictis aliquibus, vel extortis Consequentiis; neque etiam ex remotis veris, quarum adversus veritatem repugnantia

existentibus

errantibus ipsis est prorsus incognita: dummodò illos ipsos articulos Fidei profiteantur qui consequenter a nescientibus incautè evertuntur. Positiva enim & Practica Fides Christiana ~~&~~ est Essentia Christianitatis, & conditio Salutis: Nulliq; contrarij Errores quicunq;, cum Fide hac positivâ & practicâ consistentes, ex Amore, Famulatu, Civitate dei credentem unquam quempiam exterminabunt. Et multi procul dubio errarunt speculativè, in notionibus, & opinionibus, qui tamen contrariam Fidei veritatem practicè, cordicitùs ad salutem retinuere: Tam arcta etenim est amicitia, & tam miranda & perfecta connexio & concatenatio omnium inter se Veritatum Theologicarum, ut si omnes arcerentur, ab Ecclesiarum Communione, qui aliquid opinantur, quod (non perceptâ consequentiâ) articulo alicui Fidei est contrarium: res esset omninò difficultatis plena, vel unicum verè credentem, per omnes totius Mundi Ecclesias invenire, qui ipse est sine alicuius erroris reatu, Articulum Fidei consequenter subvertentis; is in errantes hasce Ecclesias primum Lapidem intrepidè conjiciat. Abstineant alij, & in tuto erit Concordia: ¶ 2°: Ecclesiarum item Censoribus incumbit observandum, ne ulla vel Ecclesia, vel infimi ordinis persona, rejiciatur ut hæretica, vel communione privetur, nisi legitimo processu prius accusetur, citetur, & causam suam agens patienter audiatur: Quod si Hæreseôs rea testimonijs fuerit convicta rejicienda tamen (ut plurimum) non est, nisi post unam & alteram admonitionem. Tit: 3: Sin autem omnes Ecclesiarum reformatarum infensissimi hostes vel apud Romanos, vel apud Inferos, versutè quantum possunt, & scelerate laborarent, ut ipsas probarent vel a fide Christianâ alienas, vel hæreticâ pravitate Articulum aliquem unum essentialem vel necessarium ad Ecclesiæ salutem, perversè denegantes, rumpentur citius invidorum ilia, quam istud effectum dederint: Res in ipsorum Calumniatorum ignominiam cederet & cæcutientis malitiæ sibi notam inurerent; Reformatos tamen Fideiq; & Religionis Christianæ Professores, incolumes essent relicturi. Haud majori cum difficultate & opera probamus nos esse Christianos, & antiquæ Fidelium Religionis hæredes, quam se esse Pontificios probatum dederit Secta Pontificiorum. ‖.‖. Hactenus de Remediorum parte primâ (nimirum ut omnes Evangelicorum Ecclesiæ, se invicem Membra Catholica agnoscant) 2°: Secunda sequitur ut mutuâ nimirum charitati se invicem amplectantur: Non autem nostri est, sed Spiritus S. tam grande opus præstare, Charitatemq; diffundere in corda Peccatorum Donatoris est & Domini Charitatis prærogativa: Sanctificanti quidem Spiritui tum docendo, tum suadendo a nobis inserviendum est; At hoc Concionatoris potius quam Conciliatoris est: Scelerata pectora, Charitate vacua, per verbum Spiritumq; immutanda prius, purificanda, vitaq; cœlesti imbuenda sunt, quam ad exercitium charitatis possunt a Conciliatoribus efficaciter persuaderi. Hoc utiq; testari [licet ingratum fortassis aliquibus futurum] certa, quin & amara nos urget Scientia: Inter maximas nimirum deplorandæ discordiæ Causas hanc numerandam censemus, quod Homines impij ab operatione Spiritus S. tum quâ mortificat, tum quâ vivificat planè alieni, cœlestisq; Sanctorum Conversationis inscij, in Sacrum tamen Officium nimis frequenter intromittuntur: Ita qui Sanctitatis amore & sensu penitus destituti sunt, res tamen ad Sanctorum Communionem pertinentes & tractant & gubernant: Diriguntur eheu Ecclesiæ res, ab Ecclesiæ inimicis! Qui Spiritum Xti non habent, Xti res administrant: Qui dum in Religionis negotio meri sunt Dogmatistæ, vacuiq; Sanctitatis & Charitatis Christianæ, ex partium studio, philautiâ, propriarumq; opinionum deliriâ satis admiratione, ad Ecclesias scindendas, Fratrumq; sanctissimos ab illis vel leviter dissentientes, malitiose traducendos & injustè condemnandos, ad omnia deniq; conturbanda facillimè inducuntur: Contrà tamen qui cœlesti gratiâ verè renovati sunt, ab ipso Deo edocti sunt invicem diligere, inq; amorem fraternum, & concordiam Christianorum, mutua tolerantiâ, patientiâ & compassione, spontaneâ animi propensione feruntur, ~~propensitate~~, atq; impetu quodam a S. Spiritu inhabitanti impelluntur: Sicut vulnera viventium sunt Discordia Regenitorum: quæ adeò non amantur aut foventur, ut contra dolore & cruciatu fere impatiens vehemensq; Medicinæ desiderium excitant. Ipsorum verò discordiæ, sicut Mortuorum vulnera, neq; dolent, nec sentiuntur

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ideoq; patientia summa vel potius insensibilitate tolerantur. Quod diligimus idem quærimus & prosequimur, non item quod odio habemus, vel aversamur: Quicquid præ se ferunt, vel de seipsis sentiunt plerosq; saltem, qui renovanti Spiritu Xti destituti sunt, adversus Sanctorum indolem & communionem, intime & medullitus inimicitias colere certissimum est: Cum Cælestis ille, naturæ depravatæ instaurator, Ecclesiæ suæ Principes & Pastores, sanctificante illo Spiritu plerosq; vere renovatos dederit, tum Lux e tenebris nobis exorietur, zeloq; Concordiæ & Charitatis impulsi, ad Ecclesiæ vulnera consolidanda festino gradu Homines properabunt ~~gradu~~, animisq; conciliatis, in fraternos amplexus perlibenter ruent, Levesq; aliorum infirmitates tolerabunt: Tum ex sincera Animorum humilitate, propriarumq; infirmitatum & inscitiæ conscientia, valde timebunt ne dum iudicant, iudicentur, & Fratres condemnando seipsos condemnarent. Nec temere Fratres Hæreseos insimulabunt, ne ob æquales sibi incognitos errores, pari iustitia sibi Hæreseos nota ab alijs inuratur, & cognomen Hæreticorum sibimet ipsis arcessant. Nec temere aliorum nomina ex Agni mactati libro vitæ obliterabunt, ne propria eadem manu obliterent. Imò nec Fratres ex Finibus Ecclesiæ festinantes exterminabunt, divinaq; dilectione excludere audebunt ~~excludere~~, ne ipsi se quoq; eijciant, ianuamq; gratiæ & Communionis Ecclesiasticæ sibimet ipsis præcludant. Grex ovium (inquit Dominus) pereuntium sunt populus meus, Pastores eorum faciunt ut aberrent; Per montes avertunt eos, de Monte in collem abeunt, obliti cubilis sui: At diebus illis & tempore illo dictum Jehovæ, venient Filij Israelis ipsi cum Filijs Jehudæ, indesinenter flendo ibunt & Jehovam deum suum quærent: de Tzione interrogabunt, in viâ, illuc Facies illorum ut adiungant se Jehovæ in fœdere perpetuo, quod non tradatur oblivioni [Jer: 50: 4: 5: 6:] || 3o: Ad tertiam iam remedij partem progredimur: De publicâ scil. charitatis expressione, & mutuo dandâ dextrâ Societatis: Quod modo sequenti tutissime, citissime, & facillime præstandum iudicamus || 1o: Quicunq; cohabitantes in Catholicâ Professione conveniunt, (qualem antea descriptam dedimus) in quibusdam ordinis inferioris dogmatibus inter se dissentiunt, nihilominus in uno eodemq; cœtu, sub probis ijsdem Pastoribus coniungantur, retinentes ibi unitatem Spiritûs in vinculo Pacis, alijq; aliorum onera sustinentes: Hac tamen Lege, ut Concordiæ sint studiosi, & fidis Ecclesiæ Pastoribus subditi, & disciplinam necessariam aliquatenus observantes :||: 2o: Quicunq; a publicis hisce cœtibus se disiungunt, vel quia salva Conscientiæ pace dogmatibus vel Cæremonijs quibusdam consentire non possunt, vel ex aliquâ aliâ causâ, a sui vel Rectorum errore oriundâ, in Professione tamen antedictâ Catholicâ consentiunt, inq; cœtibus proprijs deum piè & legitime colunt, vitamq; agunt Professioni consentaneam, & hominibus Christianis dignam, hos etiam Fratres & Conservos agnoscamus, & mutuam cum illis charitatem foveamus: Quamvis autem eorum disiunctionem approbare non possumus, nec fortasse debemus, nec dogmata quædam & Cæremonias, ritusq; suarum Ecclesiarum, non tamen diffitendum est eas esse verâ Ecclesias Christianorum, etsi fortasse culpabiles: Talisq; cum hisce communio retinenda est qualis seipsos capaces adhuc reliquerunt: Nec tales iniuriâ afficere debemus, sed paci eorum & libertati consulere; Salvâ tamen semper tum Reip. tum Ecclesiæ pace, & magistratus authoritate & Salute animarum. || 3o: Ecclesiæ omnes Christianorum in regionibus diversis & distantibus habitantes, quæ ideo localis & personalis Communionis non sunt capaces, veras se invicem Christianorum Ecclesias, professione publicâ non gravate agnoscant, charitatemq; fraternam & Communionem, quantam licet per locorum distantiam, firmissime colant: ~~[illegible]~~ ubi autem ad salutem Ecclesiarum necesse est, per internuncios etiam (si fieri potest) res illas communicent, semperq; sint parati ad mutuam assistentiam in communi Religionis causâ; || At restat fortasse inprimis dicendum, De modo scil. & Medijs, quibus hoc tertium [Agnitio (nimirum) Amplexus, & Communio distantium Ecclesiarum] feliciter & sine morâ possit obtineri; Resp: In prompt & aperto re

aperto res posita nobis videtur: 1°: Ecclesia sc. vnaquæq; Confessionem suam deliberatè re-
=cognoscat, & ad Scripturarum Authoritatem & Sufficientiam & Veterisq; Ecclesiæ
simplicitatem fideliter reducat: Perlegat etiam Confessiones aliarum Ecclesiarum.
Quiq; tales Ecclesiæ pacificæ duces se præstabunt in negotio Conciliationis, duplicem hanc
legationem ad exteros vel distantes mittant, quarum ambiunt Concordiam & Com-
=munionem; || Pars prima legationis ~~[illegible]~~ sit Publica ~~sit~~, per Pastores subscripta, professio, se
Ecclesiam ad quam legatos mittunt agnoscere & amplecti Charitate Christianâ,
eiusq; amicitiam & fraternam Communionem ambire: Quodq; a parte ipsorum
non stabit, quo minus exoptata Vnitas & Concordia feliciter stabiliatur. Secunda
autem legationis ~~[illegible]~~ pars sit, vt mittentis illius Ecclesiæ Confessio recognita, ad exteros mit-
=tatur, illisq; communicetur, ~~hoc~~ cum hoc postulato, vt suâ perlectâ Confessione, si
ipsam tanquam Christianam probaverint, ipsos velut Fratres in Charitatem & Com-
=munionem Christianam reciperent, dextrasq; Societatis darent: Sin reprobent,
vt candidè & peramanter errores notarent, rationesq; Sententiæ damnatoriæ
subijcerent: Cui insuper hæc iungatur Protestatio, se Sacras tantummodò Scriptu-
=ras amplecti, tanquam Fidei divinæq; observantiæ Legem. Quodcunq; itaq; in
Confessione suâ, divinæ huic Regulæ contrarium inveniatur, illud se non obstinatè
defensuros, sed ad normam hanc divinam, lubenter reducturos. Professioni isti-
=usmodi Formulam hanc breviorem, non tantum vt consulentes, sed vt syncerè con-
=sentientes hic non incongruè putavimus subiungendam. || Nos infra=scripti Jesu
Xti Ministri in Evangelio Pacis, Ecclesiarum Pastores consociatarum in Comitatu
Wigorniensi, perlectis Confessionibus Augustanâ, Saxonicâ, Wittembergicâ, Palatina-
=tus, Bohemicâ, Helveticâ, Gallicâ, Anglicanâ, Scoticanâ, Hybernicâ, Belgicâ,
Argentinensi sive quatuor Civitatum Imperij, Basiliensi, Polonicâ, cum consen-
Ecclesiarum Poloniæ & Lithuaniæ, Cyrilli Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani &c. doc-
=trinam in hisce omnibus & singulis Fidei Antiquæ, Catholicæ, Apostolicæ, Christia-
næ, non sine gaudio & gratijs Xto Fidei Auctori, agnoscimus: Omnesq; Ecclesias hanc
fidem retinentes, & secundum eam in Spiritu Xti ambulantes, tanquam Membra Xti
& Fratres charissimos, partesq; Ecclesiæ Catholicæ honorandas amplectimur: dex-
=tramq; illis Societatis porrigimus, Fidemq; ijs probè conservatam gratulamur.
Flexisq; genubus coram Patre cœlesti assiduè preces pro ipsis fundimus, vt floreant
adhuc & stabiliantur, & ab Hæresibus, Peccatis & inimicis præserventur, studentesq;
conservare vnitatem Spiritûs per connexum Pacis, incrementum faciant in Chari-
=tate vsq; ad Finem: Eorum insuper Amplexum & Communionem (quantæ per
distantiam sumus capaces) percupientes, Confessionem nostram typis publicatam, hu-
millimè ipsis exhibemus; submissè petentes, vt eâ perlectâ, examinatâ & compa-
=ratâ, Fraternâ nos haud dedignentur Charitate & Communione: Sin aliq
in nostris sibi videantur, minus doctrinæ Sacrarum Scripturarum congruum inve
=re [quæ nobis sunt sola norma Fidei divinæ] vt illud affectu fraterno nobis
indicarent suppliciter etiam petimus: Spondentes quamprimum per Studium Scrip-
turarum Sac. Consultationisq;, Precesq; quotidianas, pervestigando, detectum illum habu-
erimus errorem quemcunq;, lubenti quin & pœnitenti animo nos dimissuros esse
et retractaturos:] || Huiusmodi Professionem & Postulatum Fraternæ Charit
& Communionis, tum publicandas, tum per internuntios mittendas curare debent
Principes, & Pastores in Synodis congregati. || Hoc autem Negotium tuum pacificum,
citò, si tutò & sine strepitu rixarum ad finem velles exoptatum perduci, Huius-
=di ab Ecclesijs tuipse Scripta procurato, Hæc alijs mittito, Ab ipsis rescripta
tia postulato; Hæcq; Testimonia Vnionis & Communionis Ecclesiarum, Typis
=ta, divulgato, Quæ legant gaudentes Pacis Amatores, Legant frendentes Eccle-
=siarum Osores, & in Pacis propagationem consignata legat grata ~~legat~~ Posteritas.
Sed reverâ ex alterâ saltem parte (Exstantes dicimus) hoc opus iam iam per
=tum (etsi non perfectum) nobis videtur. Hæc enim ipsa quæ a te ~~[illegible]~~ recepim
Scripta, Ab Ecclesiâ sc. & Academiâ Genevensi, ab Ecclesijs ~~[illegible]~~ vna cum Acade
& Magistratibus Helveticis, ab Ecclesijs Gallo=Belgicis, ab Episcopo Stegnen
vna cum

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una cum summariâ tuâ ratione redditâ, de exantlatis tuis triginta ferè Annorum laboribus, cumq; Syllabo Documentorum, & Effectu tuæ Negotiationis; Scripta etiam conciliatoria ab Anglicis (tum Episcopis tum alijs) Belgicis, Gallicis, Bremensibus, Germanis pluribus, alijsq; [ex tuo pleraq; hortatu] exarata: Omnia hæc cum communibus piorum votis, notum nobis & testatum faciunt, Ecclesias Evangelicas, se invicem ut veras, charasq;, & Fidei Catholicæ Professores agnoscere & amplecti. Reformatarum saltem (ut vulgo distinguuntur) erga Lutheranos hanc esse Mentem, luculenter satis probatum dederunt; Fratres eos charissimos semper ferè ~~inv~~habitantes, eorumq; Communionem summopere expetentes: Eundemq; esse Lutheranorum (uti dicuntur) animum, quanquam non ita plenè & perspectè nobis compertum est, benè tamen de illis speramus; omnesq; reformatas Ecclesias, charitate fraternâ animitùs amplecti nulli dubitamus: Ex scriptis enim paucorum quorundam superbientium contentiosis, Ecclesiæ integræ & Nationes minimè censendæ sunt. Si pauci aliqui contentiosè & arroganter, per convitia, calumnias & iniquas Censuras cum Fratribus ~~injustas~~ rem ~~[illegible]~~ gerunt, quid hoc ad Principes, Pastores, Ecclesias, qui a criminibus hisce abhorrent? Quid hoc ad plures Theologos moderatos, qui pacis Christianæ & Ecclesiarum Concordiæ, amatores & præstites? Si charitate fraternâ & unitatis amore eos esse vacuos censeremus; impios item, absq; Xti Spiritu, subq; damnationis statu, (quod absit) esse censeremus. || 2°: Sin autem aliqua inveniatur Ecclesia, quæ ex zelo nimio, charitatisq; defectu, amplexum & Communionem Fratribus denegabit, pacisq; corrumpet, & pacificis Conciliatorum abnuent consilijs, a tali statim Ecclesiâ postulandum est, ut quam habet adversus Fratres accusationem ostendat, idq; non ex privatorum vel scriptis vel factis, sed vel ex ipsis Confessionibus, vel publicis Actis earundem Ecclesiarum, utq; diem ipsis dicat, causamq; suam agentes patienter audiat; nec Causam incognitam, Ecclesiasq; inauditas ante unam aut alteram admonitionem ~~[illegible]~~ condemnaret. Justissimo huic & necessario si renuunt postulato, cum his adeò iniustis & inhumanis pacem ultra transigere non possumus; sed ad divinum Tribunal appellandum est, & judici justissimo Causa commendanda est, quemadmodum in alijs iniquorum calumnijs facere solemus: Sin autem (quod confidenter vel ab infensissimis expectamus) ex ipsis Ecclesiarum vel Confessionibus, vel factis, quod culpant signatis literis describent, procul dubio offendiculum statim amovebimus; Quædam enim corrigendo, quædam elucidando, quædam deniq; confirmando, nos omnes Fidem antiquam, Catholicam, Apostolicam, Christianam tenere intemeratam facillimè testatum dabimus; ita ut viris oculatis & cordatis res extra aleam controversiæ ~~[illegible]~~ posita in posterum patebit. || Quæ tamen ultimò proposuimus nullius fore necessitatis spem habemus, remq; nunquam inter Ecclesias illas Evangelicas in quæstionem venturam. Non enim quæritur, Num in aliquibus erramus? Quis enim Mortalium ab errore immunis est? Dum aliquatenus tantum novimus, aliquatenus erramus. Quæritur tantum [An verè simus Christiani & Ecclesiæ Xti, e Fratrum charitate & communione non ejiciendæ:] Quod nemo nisi deploratè iniquus vel malevolus post auditam causam potest inficiari: Ut omnibus autem suspiciosis contentiosis & cavillatoribus causam penitus præcipiamus ~~causam~~, Hæc duo quam maximè videntur necessaria. || 1°: Quod ~~præ~~jam dictum est, || ut Confessiones nostras Catholicas vel ad ipsas S. Scripturas, & antiqua Symbola reducamus [in quibus omnes facillimè consentimus, [illegible] quas Nemo Christianus obstrepere audet] vel saltem ut per ipsas S. Scripturæ phrases, & sententias in omnibus necessarijs res exprimantur: || 2°: Ut doctus aliquis Theologus, cordatus, & perspicax, in palestrâ harum Controversiarum bene exercitatus, talem Tractatum exararet in quo Consensus primò Ecclesiarum ~~&~~ in rebus & Dogmatibus Fidei exprimatur: descendens inde ad Dogmata controversa, verbalia a realibus accuratè distinguat; Methodum a Materiâ, easq; omnes Controversias primò seligat & seponat, quæ sunt tantum circa Methodum & Verba, talesq; reverà esse probè planeq; demonstrabit:

Privatas etiam quorundam Theologorum opiniones ab Ecclesiarum doctrinâ sem-

per ut ni

per ut non immiscendas discernat. Tandemqȝ cum ad reales Controversias deventu
est, Earum paucitas, atqȝ a corde & essentia Fidej distantia, cumqȝ Charitate & fra
=ternâ Communione consistentia, probè demonstretur. ||Hisce peractis liquido appare
bit, differentias nostras, ab Adversarijs, & furiosis quibusdam odiosè adeò exagita
tas, non esse de necessarijs ad salutem, vel ad Pacem & Communionem Christiano
=rum, quin potius de Verbis solummodo nudis & Methodis ~~plus~~ magis quam plerisqȝ fortassis
utrinqȝ probè intellexerunt. Earumqȝ plurimas videbunt in Controversias philoso
phicas, incertas, & non=necessarias ultimò resolutas. ||Haec omnia aliquatenus iam
=dudum a Moderatis aliquibus perficiuntur, & si impari fortasse conamine, & non
ad rej necessitatem. Totum hoc in vulgato illo Prudentium dicto (sed nunquam
satis laudato, nec satis adhuc pensitato) concludimus: [Si omnes servaremus
in Necessarijs unitatem, in non=necessarijs Libertatem, in utrisqȝ Charita
tem.] optimo loco esset Pax Ecclesiarum, ~~quantumvis hoc~~ aliter per ~~omnia alia~~ quaecunque
conamina, nunquam vel obtinere, vel retinere valebimus. || Hactenus de negotio
Conciliationis in genere, & de Medijs, modoqȝ procedendi loquuti sumus (fortasse
pluribus quam opus est, quod verum esse peroptamus) 3º. Quid restat Charissime
& Reverende Frater, nisi ut gratias tibi quam maximas agamus, propter immen
=sos tuos & indefessos labores Ecclesiarum & Evangelij causa susceptos & exantla
=tos. Et quod tua nobis fraterne communicando, Charitatis, pacisqȝ suavissimi negoti
participes nos etiam fierj voluisti: Tandemqȝ ut syncere profiteamur, nobis iucundis
esse. Beatissimum hoc Conciliationis negotium, ipsiqȝ perficiendo nos totos esse devo
Imò inter maxima numeraturos beneficia, si quando nobis feliciter obtigerit ut
vel a te, vel ab aliquo tui simili, via nobis vel aperiatur vel monstretur, qua tam
gratum opus, dabitur, promovere. Spemqȝ insuper fovemus, nihil nunquam in hoc ~~nobis~~ fore
tam charum nobis visum iri, quod ad Ecclesiae pacem procurandam, operisqȝ Reformationis
& Concordiae promovendum, lubentissimè dicare, offerre & expendere non valeamus. Animo
interim prece coram benigno Charitatis & Concordiae, omnisqȝ doni optabilis Largitore, sup
plices orabimus, ut opus hoc feliciter prospereqȝ succedat, utqȝ sacrifici a Xto volo
hati, & amati, per omnia suspicionis, inscitiae, superbiae & invidiae tela fortissime
progrediantur, eousqȝ dum metam tandem ~~attingant~~ exoptatissimam attingant. Quod tibi
(Colendissime Frater) inter primos precamur, qui a Pace (quam tantò coluisti studio
in Reformatis omnibus Ecclesijs, ita charus & venerandus es, nobisqȝ inter primos,
Qui in arctissimis Christianae charitatis vinculis tibi obstricti, ma

Fratres tuj in Fide & Patientia
Evangelij:

[R B &c

Church at Ribbesford & Bewdley
[illegible] Hartlebury

The Church at Church-Len

39

Dear Brother

Though or Particular Associations meet once a month, yet our generall meeting being but once a quarter, I could no sooner dispatch an answer to yor Letters. Our Brethren are thankfull for yor great respect, in communicating to us yor papers about so sweet & desirable a thing as ye Concord of ye Churches. I conceive ye way yt we have here expressed will be by farre ye most expeditious: viz For ye most peaceable Chs to begin, & send to ye rest 1o a Confession of their Faith (as much as may be in Scripture phrase to avoid dissention) & 2o with it such a Profession of Brotherhood & Communion as in ye fformula we have expressed. And if this be accepted, & we desire a returne of ye like from them. When this is done, ye worke is done. (save only ye Recording of this by their Synods, & improving it by their Princes & Divines, must help set the fruits of it). If they deny this, they must be desired in their Accusation to set their Reasons, on wch they deny us their Communion. Wch when we have received, its two to one but we shall, partly by correcting or expressions wch offend ym, & partly by explaining ym, & partly by manifesting their mistakes, give some satisfaction. If this way will not doe, I know of none yt's like to doe it, but Princes correction of intemperate Divines. We may easyer thus satisfie ym by writings than by confused passionate debates in great Assemblies. And you & I may not hope to live to see an Assembly of all or most of the Churches for this worke. The Lord direct, strengthen & prosper you in this blessed worke. I rest

yor unworthy Brother

Rich: Baxter

Aug. 18
1658

Church at Rickford & Beudley the Church at Church-Lem

Dallowe of ye Church at Hartlebury

40

Dear & worthy Sir,
Lond. 3. March 1659

Yors of the 24th past I received, being much afflicted in my spirit to read there in the sad report of yor bodily distemper. Truly Sir when I consider through what infirmities of the flesh you have for many years preached the gospell and yet how abundant yor labors, those infirmities notwithstanding, have been in the Lord, I cannot but think you may rightly well be numbered among those who as the scripture saith, out of weaknesse have been made strong. And when I have considered the frailty of the vessell so frail as earthly, and yet upon what termes the invaluable treasure hath been furnished but I have often thought that God hath exercised you with much affliction of body, out of speciall designe to provoke you to a more then ordinary zeal for heaven, by contracting yor expectation of opportunity for service, and to make yor present savour the more of heaven, by yor more earnest expectation of its neer approach. So that if you had not been so weake, its probable you would not have been so strong. For I question not but you as well as yor elder brother St Paul have met with the more inward ~~strength~~ and spirituall strength, by how much the lesse you have had of that which is but corporeall; it being Christs method toward such his laborers to supply the defect in the one with abundance of the other: Which made that servant of his say, most gladly therefore will I rejoyce in mine infirmities, — that the power of Christ may rest upon me — for when I am weake, then am I strong. This then having been the tenor of Gods former dealing with you, how faine would I hope as indeed in some measure I do, that this present depression of nature in you, is but to give you afterwards another lift yet neerer the heavens: for who is he that ascended, but he who also first descended &c. But if this great abatement of yor health and strength, should be but to usher in the taking downe of that tabernacle in wch so much of heavenly glory hath shined and shewed it selfe, what should we then say, but that our unworthinesse hath deprived us of such a mercie, which while enjoyed, we neither prized nor improved according to its worth: but my hope is in the mercie of the Lord towards those that so much need yor yet abode in the body. And never think deer Sir, that the people of God are weary of praying for you; for I am very confident that there is not any that know you, & hear of yor affliction, and are to any competent degree acquainted with the grace of God in you, and the benefit wch the church of God receives by you, that can refraine striving with God in prayer for you. And who knows whether this threatening affliction, be not to try our love, and to quicken us in our applications to God for you. (of wch if I for my own pt should fail I should but trifle in what I have said. Its true you have followed the Lords work so close, and laboured so hard for yor time, that it would be the lesse wonder if the Lord should shorten those your labors, and hasten that reward that's waiting for you: but as he loves you, so he doth those that have need of you. And he that spared not his own son, when poor sinners had need of his death, will ~~[illegible]~~ not I hope, refuse to spare you his servant, while so many both saints & sinners have need of yor life. And so I shall with much of my heart commend you & yor condition to him who only holds our soul in life and remaine

Yor simpathizing christian friend

As for the rider of gold, I pray dispose of it as shall be best to you, only let not my name see it. Pray Sir, will you speak to mr Brabson to write me how you do by this next post, for indeed I much longed to know, and I question not but he will be willing to answer my desire.

To the Reverend and his
much honoured friend,
Mr Richard Baxter,
minister of Christ

post paid Kedderminster.

I have perused some of yor late published labours, that yor
for the uniting of all Sts, though of different thoughts about
in Religion: a work so worthy while carryed on in the fe
there is few, if any, more acceptable unto the Lord Jesus
is so much in it, as that in one of his last prayers here on
almost the only thing he insisted on, so farr as it did imm
to all that should beleeve. And it seems his soul was s
that he could not get it all out at once; and therefore he
and again, & a third time also in the same prayer. Jo. 17. 11.
consideration whereof, & of the many advantages of Union, &
of division among the Sts, (of wch I have had a greater se
then formerly) makes me afraid of being accessary to any
distance betweene Sts & Sts, & am greatly desirous God wo
clearly to understand his minde about that communion wch he
them hold one with another. And though I have strong in
to a free communion with all Sts as Sts, ~~yet when I come~~
~~to it~~ could I see the grounds of such a practise cleare b
when I draw nigh any resolution tending to such a practis
selfe opposed wth some considerations, wch if they should not be
I should humbly beg yor helpe to remove them out of my wa
therefore as briefly as well I can, acquaint you how far I
where I stick. 1. I doe beleeve that all those that shall be sa
Christ Jesus; or rather that are in an immediate capacity of being
him, are of his universall church: for he is the saviour of the b
of none else that I know of. Eph. 5/23. I am of opinion that so
inward & invisible ~~[illegible]~~ grace wch doth interest them in Christ
saviour, is made visible by profession & conversation, so far the
of that church. 3. It is for the present my thought, that this visible
to Christ, wthout any more adoe, opens a way of free communio
them all, in matters of naturall worship (as I may call it)
as the word & prayer. And thus farr I am at liberty to co
nion wth all that love the Lord Jesus, how different soever
otherwise. But then further, there are also particular churches
wch are so by institution, & these have a holy worship & order a
them, wch are agreeable to the institutive nature of such church
themselves what they are, wholly by institution; such as are th
of the Lord, the being of elders & deacons, the receiving in of
& casting out of members. And may not the difference be
the church universally & particularly considered, be fitly
by the different capacity of all the Natives in ~~a~~ the same Kingdome,
of them as they are members of this or that particular corpo
In the common priviledges of the Nation, they all share in co
in the severall immunities of such or such a corporation, th
who are regularly made free of it. In like manner all
90 in as much as all Christians upon their first cordiall embr
x Christ & his gospell, are put into an immediate capacity of the
& prayer wth acceptation, they may thereupon hold communion
another in these. But my doubt is, whether the privile
of such spirituall corporations or instituted bodies of w
[illegible]

[illegible]
ly of the Ceremoniall church then, though uncircumcised, as any unbaptized ~~[illegible]~~ were
them, & consequently had as good right to the bread in their fathers house
now; and yet this generall relation to God & his people did not give them
right to the passeover (an instituted priviledge of an instituted church) but by
of circumcision. And I pray you S^r is not baptisme as much the door of entrance
~~[illegible]~~ an orderly constituted church now, as circumcision was then? and
want of it as just a rub of refusing fullest communion (in ~~[illegible]~~ some parts of it) to such in whom other
precious qualifications may intitle them to communion in some things, as the want of cir-
cumcision was in like case? 2. Because the Lords express order and method is,
after the making of men disciples to baptize them; and then the doing those other things w^ch
he hath commanded, is to follow after: according to w^ch commission & rule, the apostles &
primitive Ch^s walked. And would not my consenting to break bread before baptisme, be
a consenting to a violation of this prescript method & order? Or can I be found therein
doing? Is not the exhortation to hold fast the traditions as they have been taught,
and was it not the commendation of the Corinthian Ch^s, that they had kept the ordinances
as they had been delivered to them? and a charge among the Thessalonians of with-
drawing from, to walk disorderly, & not according to ~~the~~ apostolical traditions? or
is a violation of an order ~~[illegible]~~ to be allowed in Gods house, more excusable, then
the violation of such an order w^ch the apostles gave to Christians to observe in their own
houses & callings? 3. When Christ sayes, except a man be born of water & of the Spirit
he cannot enter into the kingdome of God, Jo. 3. 5. Can not by Kingdome of God be understood
here the new church state, w^ch sometimes bears that denomination? into w^ch Christs prose-
lytes must be entered by ~~baptisme~~ regeneration & baptisme, as the proselytes were en-
tred the old church state by circumcision & baptisme. Or may we reasonably understand
water any other thing then water properly & literally taken? seeing there is nothing in the
text to induce us to understand it improperly, but many things to understand it literally,
and among the rest this, that Christ in these words does purposely explaine, what he had
spoken more obscurely in the 3. ver: and seeing likewise, that a literall understanding
so fully agrees w^th the current of the scriptures elsewhere w^ch couple regeneration &
baptisme together: and the whole w^th Ezek. 44. 9. if prophetically understood of new
testament things, express in old testament phrases; and to such scriptures as 1 Cor. 12. 13. w^ch
declare the Christians entrance into the church, to be by the spirits work & baptism.
Such things as these bring the thing I speak of into question w^th me in point of lawfulness;
& these and other considerations w^ch raise doubts to arise about the expedience of it as to my
selfe. For it is the fear I have lest I should thereby lay a stumbling block in the way of some,
who are I hope sincere, though very weake, who possibly may be exposed thereby to fall into
that horrible pit of Quakerisme, as being in danger thereby to be tempted to think, that
they shall take a more safe course of the two, to be following those who to their apprehension
may seeme to be getting out of this world, then such as are (as they may be ready to interpret)
going back again into it. And that w^ch strengthens such a fear, is, the experience w^ch
I have had of this very effect produced, at least in great p^t, in more then one or two,
but some overtures this way made by a very good man, who was a like related
to them, as I am to others, who upon such an alteration as that under question, may pro-
bably be brought into the same snare. Besides, when I consider the deadness & flatness
of the generality of professors here among us, & how much of the spirit of the world
is to be visible in their garbs, discourses, & behaviour; I am afraid, considering my
own weakness, lest I should be a looser in drawing neerer to them, especially having
had some experience of mine own suffering in this kinde, before my present different
situation, did occasion some little distance more then formerly. And I am not w^th
out fear too, lest if I should leave that way wherein I walk, w^ch pretends to more
strictness, and harm in that where, that I should thereby encourage & strengthen others in their sluggish way,
giving them occasion to think ~~the~~ better of themselves & their spirituall state, for
my alteration, then will consist with their safety. And however I am not in
doubt but that those godly brethren that are of different perswasion ~~[illegible]~~ from my selfe in the point
of baptisme, & so of communion, are very well accepted w^th God in their way, considering that
they own the old manner of baptisme in generall, & judge themselves under it, & obliged to
performe that duty w^ch right baptisme doth oblige, upon w^ch account I am apt to
think that their want of right baptisme (as I apprehend right) shall be counted to them
for baptisme, under such circumstances, as well as uncircumcision to them that kept the
righteousness of the law (as some of the first sort of proselytes) shall be counted for cir-
cumcision; yet whether I who seem to my selfe to have other light from God & his word
concerning these things, should be so well accepted in forsaking my present station, &
~~[illegible]~~ with them, is a thing to be thought of, & that wherein I desire advice.
I now spread my desires & my doubts before you, touching this matter, I
beg of you S^r for yo^r faithfull advice. It is my experience of yo^r abilities
in other things, & my observation of yo^r tenderness to those conscientiously
concerned, that hath put me upon this address. I should not have presumed to
put you to so much trouble, but that I have confidence of yo^r readiness
to any that are willing to learn. And truly Sir I am not sensible
upon examination of mine owne heart, but that I should [illegible]
[illegible]

tisment, as to endeavour my satisfaction in the point of communion,
tion of an allowance to the other. If you should not reach my s
you may be confident, the Lord assisting according to my spirit pur
pose mine my dissenting in this or any other thing, with a great deal of lo
and humility, having farr better thoughts for you & many others o
perswasion, then for my selfe; and being very confident, that you would
to doe as I doe, in case you ~~[illegible]~~ thought as I do. And I
before the Lord & unto you, that I doe in spirit more cordiall
with such ~~[illegible]~~ in whome I discern more grace, though differing fro
then with such in whome there is but a slender appearance of grace
agreeing in Judgmt with me; and am exceeding farr (I bless
Lord) from placing my religion in my opinion. Sr I beseech you
me for this trouble, & to favour me with yor prayers as well as yo
self. And that the good Lord may therein assist you, & in all other
worthy labours, ~~and prosper~~ and prosper you yet more & more in the
porable work of saving of souls, is the true desire, & I hope sh
be the prayer, of

London 29th Octobr. 1650

Yor Christian friend, to love,
honour, & serve you,
William Allen

If you shall please to write,
Direct yors to me at the
next doore to the Crowne,
at the upper end of Broadstreet.

To his much honoured friend
Mr Richard Baxter,
Minister of the holy word.
these

In
Kidderminster

post is pd

[illegible]

[illegible] relating to
Mr Bxtrs Life.

fol. 94. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.
fol. 93. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.
Vol. 1.
BAXTER
LETTERS.
fol. 92. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

43

Ragley. 27. January. 1679/80

My Lord

I had the honor to receaue a Letter from yor Lordsp on Saterday last, with a Paper enclosed of Mr Baxters the first part of which being a Narrative of what past betweene Sr Foulk Hunckes and them I can say little to, being a stranger to it, but as to so much as concernes me, I remember that he brought me a Letter from Mr Baxters Father desiring me to pay 50li to Sr Foulk Hunckes, and I am certain I payd it, wch answers his first Quære, His second reflects upon my Father his words are, Did not the trust of an Executr a Kinsman, a Just and charitable Christian, and a man of honor, oblige him more carefully to execute the Will of his Aunt. By which I see that Mr Baxter hath never perused the Will of my Lady Hunckes, and I think it becomes him to doe it, before he lays that Imputation, He may easily finde it in the Prerogative Court, being exhibited in 49 and after a long Sute proued in 51. or 52. By this Will, wch had layn dormant many yeares in the Isle of Man, my Father was declared her Executr and a former Will revoked by which Sr Henry Hunckes was made her Executr. If I could reddily finde the Copys of them, I should not give him any other trouble, but as those in the Prerogatiue Court are more authentick, so I suppose they will give him better satisfaction. Mr Baxters 3d Quære, enlarges much upon his owne charity wch I easily beleeue, having always heard very well of him, but it doth not convince me that I haue been guilty of any neglect,

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He knew there was such a person in being as M^{rs} Mary Baxter, he knew in what condition she was left, and he knew her merit, and worth, I knew nothing of these particulars more then that 24 yeares agoe S^r Foulk Hunckes told me he had such a Sister, and yet I remember to haue seen M^r. Baxter with my Lord of Orrery in my House in Queen-street, but he never spoke one word to me of her. This is all I need to trouble yo^r. Lords^p with in answer to M^r. Baxters paper. As to yo^r. Lords^{ps}. com̄ands they will always meet with that respect from me, which becometh

Yo^r. Lords^{ps}

most obedient servant

Conway

See Treatises No. 110.

Sr

rious letter which I have received called me to consider first whether I had don well
tting so long to give that people my advise by letters about the church controversyes of these
d next what I should doe for ye time to com, upon this yr friendly invitation. And for the
ting my silence doth not accuse me: for though there have fallen out many weighty cases, in
I earnestly desired their iust satisfaction, yett were (when ye corporation was changed by ye
d when divers of them were oft in prison & som very long &c) I found nor sufficient reason
pose my counsells: I hope not out of any diminution of my affections to them, nor discontent
my sufferings of my owne; but partly in submission to my superiors, & partly because I would not
ye Bpp in a nother mans diocesse, & partly least I should have occasioned their hurt
I desired their good, for I suppose authority, which forbiddeth us to preach the gospel, doth
it unfitt, I think it ~~unsafe~~ our counsells unsafe to ye people, further then they are licensed
their approbation. And I well remember that when I was forbidden to preach there, it was
ed that the people should bee as well taught, & that my removall and silence was
riors judged nessesary to their good. And you cannott butt knowe also how much labour
hath cost to perswade them from a dependance on my iudgment, And what am I that
should sett my iudgment & endeavours against authority and against the iudgment and
vours of persons so wise & venerable; And that I should think my service necessary when
it thought so unsufferable by my betters. And withall I had sufficient reason to knowe, yt
being for my sake, that those people were so hardly spoken ~~against~~ of, if I had nott forborne
course & counsells, they would have bin still abhorred as my followers, & suffered much more
my sake, And what usage one letter to my aged Mother had, & whither it was sent,
hat was itt it your Noble Lord knoweth, whose great Condescension in its returne, I must not bee
unthankfull as to forgett. These reasons satisfied mee for my silence that is past, though I
new it to bee displeasing to ye people, & might cause them to think mee timerous or
mindfull of them. And what I should yett do upon yr kind invitation, I am in doubt: I have
d from som of them of yr Candour & tendernesse, & how much different a course you tooke, from
e that would have perswaded them that they were a generation of presbyterian vipers (whe
ly ye never knewe two presbyterians in the parish): No wonder therefore, if (as I present you
selfe with my thankes on their behalfe, so) I perswade such of them as I meete with, to
thankfull to you, & to god for such a mercy, & to live in yt unity, love & peace as beseemeth
itians, & to avoyd all unnessesary seperations, & estrangednesse; And if I gave them such
it seemeth you have bin acquainted with. But whether to meddle any further, then by
eaking to any that speaketh to mee, I knowe not yet whether it may not contradict the sence
my superiours, who think it nessesary to remove us so farr from the Corporations & people that
we have taught, And though I be never so conscious that my endeavours are not to promote
schisme & rebellion, but to destroy them, yet must I not rashly use a meanes displeasing to
superiours, who know best what instruments are fittest for their service, but
this much I think I may bouldly say, and not be a transgressor; that the Catholick Church
but one & that all Christians are members of itt, & that nor Cause will warrant any
man to seperate from itt: & that he that seperateth from any one Church, from a reason
or a cause common to all, doth interpretatively so farr seperate from all: And that
undance of faults must be disowned in a Church, which yet must nott be seperated from
ust in love with the deseases or vices of any Church, but as little with dismembring and
issolving: I am neither for Corruptions nor Divisions. And as to your question [whether the
ing the oath be a conscientious contradiction to ye reception of ye sacrament as
it administred by the prelaticke discipline] the ambiguity of the last words, is all that
make the answer difficult. by discipline is commonly ment ye government as distinct from
doctrine & worship: And so that which is most scrupled is whether the privation of
ipline about ye sacrament all being compelled to com, do not make seperation nessesary
the cannon expressly requireth that all scandalous persons be kept away: And when
discipline is executed that scruple is removed. but I suppose by discipline you rather
ne, the whole order of administration & reception, required in the Liturgie by the
rch: which is 1o that it be don in ye words of yt forme (which are better then the rest
the booke and so apt as that I scruple not to ioyne in the use of them) 2o that
e administred by one ordained by a Bp (which I was my selfe and yet ye people
pled not to take it from mee) 3o yt it be taken kneeling (which thay have long
ne that I judge lawfull, though not the most convenient gesture, but perhaps som
of them think otherwise) your question is easily resolved in ye generall rule
yt ye Covenant bindeth ~~not~~ them not to any duty or against any sin, which they
nt bound to or against, in case thay had never taken it) not that a vowe
ut things indifferent is not obligatory: but because, 1o protestants take not vowes
pists do) to make them new dutyes & sins, which gods law made not such, but on
a secondary obligation, to bind them where god hath before bound them
made religions are against our religion men are bound in their places
to do their best against all sin, if thay never vowe itt

2° And a vowe about things indifferent, will not prevent the duty of obedience to a
lawfull governer. els a man by vows might exempt himselfe from much of his
subiection, so that all that comunion which is due or lawfull in case there had b
none of that vowe is due and lawfull still. This is past question: But I am
afraid that in saying so, I have done little to answer ye doubts of them that y
question comes from: for I may well suppose that they first think ye communio
to be & other reasons vnlawfull, and then to be doubly so because of their Couent. And if so, then I
am incapable of satisfying them, till I knowe those other reasons. I am glad to
heare from you that there are noe Sectarians: And I can Confidently say, tha
(allowing ye ordinary infirmityes of Christians) I left them a humble vnanimou
peasable people, hating contentions, sects & schisme: And that maketh me hop
that thay haue no scruples, but what a peaceable tractable people may haue:
But what persons may be there now that were not there in my time, & what passio
may haue prevailed in all these changes, & so what alterations be among them in
six yeares time, I cannot tell. And if thay are altered by any exasparations or temp-
tations (though I heare not of any such thing) I doubt it is not my bare opini-
on that will satisfie them: And indeede I was used rather to satisfie them
with evidence & reason than with my athority & opinion. if thay are as I left
them, I think thay neede not here much more of my mind that I haue oft tould
them, if thay are not, though cautelous phisicions are loth to be called in at th
end of a dangerous desease, yet I knowe a minister of christ, must be willin
at any time to do his best: And I must confesse I find among many others, that th
usage of these times haue made a great alteration on their iudgments: And
those that are redy to beare their testimony against ye Brownists or former se
-ratists, do yet say, that ye case is much altered, & things are not as they the
were, And verily the perswasions of those very ministers whose eiection doth
offend them cannot prevaile with them so much for communion as ye thought o
their eiection doth prevaile against it, one would think that if it be for our sake
that thay are grieved, our iudgment should over rule this effect of their gri
-evance; but it is not so. iniuries with weake persons are like blowes, whose hur
will not be eased with words: I knowe it should be otherwise, & with all Christi
there is a forgiving patient spirit in some good degree, but before thay are aw
ye sence of suffering tainteth their judgments, and especially when they thinke th
ye iniury is to god and ye Church & soules, they indulge them selues in their distan
-ces as a duty, & say, it is not in our power to forgive it. it is as naturall for mutua
reproachis and imprisonments and deiections, to offend men and so to abate the
charity, & sett them at a distance from each other; as for a boxe on ye eare
to make a man angry: the fore sight of which ruines to Christian loue an
vnity in these Kingdoms, the Lord is my witnes, was the great cause which made m
so importunate to haue attained a healing & vnion, by som little abatements
(then easie) meanes of concord; that satan might not make instruments by mutua
hurt to keepe up mutuall uncharitablenes, & so stab religion at the very heart, fo
since I vnderstood well that loue is the fulfilling of the lawe & ye common
character of christs disciples, & ye very ende of faith in christ it selfe, I thoug
it as honourable to be a martyr for ye cause of charity & vnity as of faith. but th
things are past, & christian loue & concord hath ~~too many~~ great enimys, for my wre
to visit, even amongst the professed frinds & furtherers of it, but if I could do an
thing to promote it in that narrow compasse, where som time I moved, I should be gl
I haue talked with two or three that haue here called on mee, & find them a
moderate but thats nothing to the rest whoes obiections I knowe not, & therfor
cannot answer, for that of ye couenant is but the second of som that are
more prinsipall. I haue talked with many other people in severall places
where I haue binn, & I find great numbers of ye most religious very averse to
publick comunion, & Ile tell you iustly what thay say, som say we we
all vnity till these men by violence did scatter vs: thay smite ye shephar
and scatter ye flocke & then call for vnity: by vnity thay meane nothing bu
give vs our will, & folow our opinions & give vs ye guidance of yr soules. w
had faithfull pastors, & we seperat not from them, but keepe our relation to the
in desire, though these men drive them from vs, we never tooke these men for ou
pastors, nor did god ever command vs so to do how then can you say that we seper
from them. are our soules so little worth, that we must comit them to the
guidance of we knowe not who;

we would not comit our health & lives, to a phisicion though honest an
tolerable for others, if he were vnskilfull in our case, & abler were to be
had, no though our rulers did comand ~~it~~ vs. for (thou shalt not murther) is a
command which thay cannot dispence with, & are not our soules better tha
our bodys; & should we not be as free in choosing their phisicions. who knoweth
not that ye antient churchis had this liberty (except for patriarks or great
prelats) 700 or 800 years after christ. and are you wiser then al thay, or have
you authority to take a way our libertys, we do not as ye brownists call
them no ~~churchis~~ ministers & (nor churchis, nor do we seperat from them
as none, but wee vse our liberty & reason for our owne soules, do we seperat
from al parishes where we are not present, then al men are seperatists
do thay not cast vs out them selves, when thay take a way our pastors
whose relation thay cannot disolve (though the place & tythes be in their
power) others say, hath not god comanded vs to avoyd and not to eate with
fornicators covetous, railers &c how much more with persecutors, & destroyers
of churchis & persons stigmatized openly with per~~jury~~ And here when I
tel them how vncharitable it is to accuse ~~as~~ men ~~ministers~~ of publick just
ifying per~~jury~~, when thay knowe it is a controvertible case, thay aske me
whether I knowe not what persons constitute of corporations, & whether it be any
controversie, whether a vow (though vnlawfully imposed & taken) against
popery, schisme & prophaines, bind, ~~as a vow to repent~~ or a vow to repent of sin
and amend our lives:– And realy I find that corporation oath stick harder
with many against parish communion in corporations, than any thing: Others
say, there is no discipline in their church but ye afflicting of men that feare to s
And al men are forced to communicate and do you think that church communion
is ~~al thing~~ so vile a thing as to be given men as a drench; And cast on al yt
had rather communicate than lye in a jaile, & will it helpe men to heaven
to communicate against their wils; what if our scruples be our disease,
shal our phisitians say eate yt which yr stomack is against or wee will
punish you, communion is an act of love, & can we love them by such
arguments (love vs or ye shal lye in jaile) som I find that have a conseait yt
if thay communicate with a minister thats forsed on them, thay consent to
his obtrusion, & to forsake their former: others scruple kneeling, least it
~~[illegible]~~ swerve from christs institution & smel of Idolitry (which ye late
added Rubricke hath fully answered): And abundance charge som minis
ters with utter insufficiency & vnfitnes & say, that though a sacrament be
not a nullity which is given by a man that vnderstandeth ye creed or is openly
profaine, yet it is a sin in them to encouridg such a one in vndertaking the
charge of soules, or to trust their owne soules on his pastoral care,
many other such reasonings (I do not faine but I find very common with those
that disclaime the ancient seperation, & then thay think that ye coven
ant binds al faster on. And vnlesse I knowe which of these were
the case of those with you that communicate not, I knowe not how to
give them satisfaction. But first if you satisfie mee that it is no afront
to athority, nor to those who thought my silence nesesary, 2o & if those yt
doubt desire my advise, & send me their perticuler arguments, (though
I cannott vndertake ye confuting of them before I knowe them, much le
st ye satisfieing people at this distance, where we are not at hand to
dispatch debates, yet I can promise to give them my iudgment, & to do
my best to incresse their charity vnity ~~love~~ & peace; But one thing more
I find the greatest hinderance with many, that have gott over al other
doubts; thay love their bretheren & cannot indure to ocasion their
sufferings, though thay think their weaknes be ye cause, & thay think
if thay should communicate those that yet dare not will not be pati
ly forborne with til thay are satisfied, but will suffer much sooner
their sakes, as being singuler & obstinate; verily the feare of cons

hose doubting honest christians that are left a while behind, is
reatest hinderance that euer I mett with in som of ye more indi
hoe wil rather suffer with them (yet openly professing their owne judg
en ocasion their sufferings. By al which you may see, what kind of pe
municate for feare, & how unfitt violence is to further loue and Chur
mmunion: And I hope you wil patiently giue mee leaue (with my
hankes for yr tenderenes of that peoples peace) to intreat yea and
djure you as you wil answer it to ye universal Shephard, that yo
member that it is a paternal gouernment by loue, which you are
exercise, & to rule them not by constraint but willingly (vid Gr
arond in 1. pet. 5. 2) & that you ioune not with those who dispise
rists little ones and make a reproch of a soule that feareth to offe
is god, nor with them that in sheeps clothing haue bloody teeth, but
mitate him who dwelleth with ye contrit, & carrieth his lambes
shed his blod to saue euen ye infirme, And I beseech you take warnin
me who am iustly silenced & laid aside, for working no harder the
hilst I had time & being nor vigilent for soules, & serious in matt
f eternal consequence, that you may be more cumpassionat to
sinners, more louing to saints, more holy & heuenly, & serious &
unwearied in yr happy worke (delightful to ye Spirit though
ngratful to ye flesh) than I & such as I haue binn; pardon this
freedom & tediousnes to yr unworthy felow seruant

R B

acton may 15
1666

only reason why I would not haue you communicate this to our people is
because I would haue no objections put into their heads, wch it may be they
haue not heard before.

To my Reverend Brother Mr Francis Wheeler Preacher at Kedderminster thes D

(No 27)

BAXTER
LETTERS.
fol. 96. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Reuerend & most beloued Brother

when I was thinking to ſend this incloſed by your Conveyance to Mʳ Beale, with whom I know you do Correſpond; Mʳ Titon told me yͭ you hadde written to him to know whether about eight weekes ago he had not receiued a packet from you for me; I found yͭ he knew nothing of the letter wʰ you wrote unto me in October, becauſe his man had deliuered it unto me, when hee was abſent; but I said nothing to him of it, not being certain whether you meant yͭ letter or ſomething elſe becauſe he did name a packet; only I told him yͭ I would write unto you concerning yͭ wʰ I had receiued laſt from you, whereby happily you might bee reſolued of wͭ you deſired to know of him. if then you haue ſent any thing ſince the Latin Letter incloſed within one dated the 16th October, I haue not receiued it; but if you meane that Latin letter containing the aduice & iudgment of your Aſſembly dated Octob. 1. I haue Cauſe to thank you heartily for it, & should haue done it ſooner if I hadde not purpoſely delayed to write unto you till I should bee able to acquaint you with ſomething of Moment in my Negotiation with the Miniſterie of this place & with both the Univerſities: with whom the buſines is brought thus farre, yͭ the matter of a publick Declaration is agreed upon here, & to bee ſent unto the Univerſities, to bee put in a forme & worded in Latin, & to bee deliuered unto me, to bee imparted to all my Correſpondents abroad in the name of both the Univerſities & of the Synod of London iointly. this reſolution of giving a ioint Declaration was firſt ſtarted at Cambridge; & afterward approued by the Delegates of the Claſſes here, & alſo by thoſe of Oxford; ſo yͭ I hope they will bee ſerious in the worke & make a buſines of it. Moreouer there is a Reſolution agreed unto by the Univerſities & the Miniſtery of this place, to Correſpond in a more ſpeciall manner with the Churches of Switzerland in this buſines, & to that effect a letter is penned to bee ſent unto them in the name of both the Univerſities & of the Miniſtery of London iointly; this letter is now ſent to the Univerſities to bee conſidered of by them; but the Materialls of the Declaration are

not yet ſent

not yet ſent, but God willing shall bee ſent within a few dayes: The Congregationall Brethren who meete at th Savoy have promiſed faire, yt they will concurre with the rest in this worke; but they delay the performance & walke not ſo openly with me in the buſines as I di expect; but I ſuppoſe they will first give forth their Confeſsion & the other things which they have prepared, & then wee may have a further ground to deale with them for unitie: Some of the Anabaptist way although they are not well agreed amongst themſelues, yet all of them ſeeme to bee willing to entertaine the motions wch I hav made unto them, & promiſe a faire Complyance to heale the breaches which keep them & us at a distance; Mr Allen telles me he hath written to you concerning his Scruple, which also he hath imparted unto me, whereof I purpoſe to let him know my mind; aſsoone as I can get spare time, to demonstrate yt the want of ſuch a forme of Baptiſme as they take up, ought not to bee a barre of Holy Communion between true believers, & oblige them to stand at a distance, in all the other parts of our Chris profeſsion & practiſe wherin there is a reall agreement. The tye wch wee have to the Catholick Church, & to Christianitie as ſuch, must not bee cast off for the want of a forme which is questionable, or for the difference of iudgement in a Question which is disputable, where there may bee an Error of infirmitie, & not pertinaciously & wilfully or rather schiſmatically maintained. Mr Lamb ha alreddie declared himſelf in this matter as he told me the other day. the matter is worth a cleer diſcuſsion as it is propoſed by Mr Allen in writing unto me.

I have not as yet made any application to my Ld Protector about my buſines; becauſe I will have things ripened a little more before I lay it before him, & then I shall desire a reference from him to ſome of the Counſell whom I shall name who may consider upon the Information which I shall give them what may bee fitte for him to doe in it? how farre to appeare for the encouragem of the worke? in what way hee should aſsist it at hom & abroad? how farre to owne me, or without taking notice of me (which I think were expedient) to owne

the buſines.

the busines ſo as may not give any State Jealouſie to theſe yͭ will bee startled at the full appearance of a reall Unitie amongst us.

As for the Parliament, if a Synod may bee Called; I deſire you to Cooperat towards your freinds, yͭ this busines may bee peculiarly recommended unto it: but if there will bee no Synod called (for except they fully agree amongst themſelues & with the Protector it is not likly yͭ it will bee) then I shall deſire yͭ ſome committee may bee appointed to looke into this busines & ſee wͭ progreſſe is made in it; & wͭ may bee fitte for the Parliament to doe for the encourag[illegible]t of it.

I haue divers other [illegible]s to impart unto you, but I must differre the Communica[illegible]ion therof for a while; concerning the Correspondencie to bee entertained to carry on the worke; & concerning ſome taſkes to bee Elaborated &c:

I leaue my letter to Mʳ Beale open yͭ you may ſee it & ſupply the defect wherof I complaine therin; if God aſſist me with competent meanes to print wͭ is neceſſarie for communication, I shall let you & him ſee many things, which will ſet your thoughts a worke for the profit of all: but I must wait Gods time for this, & I know in his owne way hee will bring about all what is requiſite to carry on his owne purpoſes & our wishes for his Glory; to his Grace I commend you & rest

your most affectionat Brother
& ſeruant in Christ

John Durie

Iames house
this 20th of Xber
1658.

For the Reverend his Loving
freind Mr. Richard Baxter
preacher of the Gospell of
Christ
at
Kidderminster

with a
packet of papers

(No 28)

Reverend Sr

By the great favor of my Lord Chancellors reprehension I came t understand how long a time I have suffered in my reputation with my superiors by yor misunderstanding me, & misinforming others as if when I was to preach before the King I had scornfully refused the Tippet as a toy: when as the searcher & Judge of hearts doth know I had no such thought, or word. I was so ignorant in those matters as to thinke that a Tippet had bin ye proper insigne of a Dr of D & I verily thought you offered it me as such. & I had so much prid as to be somewhat ashamed when you offered it. yt I must tell you my want of such degrees, & therefore gave you no answer to yor first offer, but to ye second was forced to say. [it belongeth not to me Sr] & I said not to you any more; nor had any other though in my heart, than with some shame to tell you that I had no degrees, imagining I should have offended others & made my selfe ye laughter or scorne of many, if I should have used that wch did not belong to me: for I must professe that I no more scruple the wearing a Tippet than a gowne or any comely garment. Sr though this be one of ye smallest of all the mistakes that of late have turned to my wrong & I must confesse yt my ignorance gave you the occasion & I am farre from imputing it to any ill will in you, having frequently heard that in Charity & gentlenes & peaceablenes of mind you are very eminent. yet because I must not contemne my estimation with my superiors, I humbly crave yt favor, that Justice of you (which I am confident you will readily grant me) as to acquaint those with ye truth of this businesse, whom upon mistake you have misinformed, whereby in relieving the innocencie of yor Brother you will do a worke of Charity & Justice, & therefore not displeasing unto God, & will much oblige
Sr

June 12o — (62)

yor humble servant

Ri: Baxter

I have the more need of yor Justice in this case because my distance denyeth me accesse to those yt have received those misreports & because any publicke vindication of my selfe, wtever is said of me, is taken as an unsufferable crime, & therefore I am utterly uncapable of vindicating my innocence, or remedying thos mistakes //

LETTERS.

fol. 99. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

1.

99

For the Reverend & much
Honored Dr Earle Deane
of Westminster these

Reverend & much Honoured Sr

That you may, if the lord see meet, put a finall issue to these 2 cases, vouchsafe I beseech you to veiw them over, that noe objection may arise for want of that, as allsoe that wch formerly I writt in retourne to yrs, togeather with those other considerations here inclosed. and what the lord shall, if it be his good pleasure to a poore creature to deliver him out of the dark, direct you to, I earnestly crave yr assistance in. if that the ways the poore creature is in, both that of marriage & the other of the ministry, be waies well pleasing unto god, he would be informed what the matter is that damping fears gett not off? when under the ordinances, or ministring in them then they are apt to damp & sink, as in such cases where in universall obedience is pressed or the like, as if some secret lust were still retained. and Rom: 14: of acting doubtingly, that is apt to trouble. whether the conscience be doubting or scrupulous only, this would faine be knowne. according to Mr Richard Allins thoughts, it might be the expedient of settlement, whoe about the time he gave his papers in the case, apprehended to this purpose, that you being sought unto, might soone doe that wch might determine the conscience as to its being doubting or scrupulous only. whether after these means for peace as to both cases (especially that of marriage) fears & doubts & damps remaining, yet the soule may notwithstanding them goe on in the waies both of the marriage state with Caja & of the ministry? & as to this case of marriage may adventure to fix conscience & goe out into eternity on that of sticking to the certaine marriage & preferring that before the uncertaine? and though duties & ordinances should be still attended by reason of those damps with uncomfortableness & deadness, yet to hold on still? I beseech you Sr vouchsafe yr thoughts as fully & as speedily as you may, in all these particulars, & in what is offered in the inclosed, or whatever else in yr judgement you shall by the assistance of god determine to be expedient in order to releif, ~~[illegible]~~ I ~~[illegible] pose to write further~~. and let it not be offensive I beseech you, seeing it is a soule wch lies a bleeding. I am allready engaged to you for yr great favrs wch I retourne you my humble cordiall acknowledgements for. ~~and~~ this will be one of the highest obligations you can put upon me

Reverend & much Honoured Sr

Londō November 16th
1671.

yr thankfull & much obliged servant
John Berry.

if you please Sr to direct
yrs for me ~~to~~ be left at ye
Bookseller Mr Nevill Simons's,
where I ~~[illegible]~~ inquire.

Sr I beg yr earnest prayrs at the throne of grace on my behalf that light & direction may be given in as to both cases notwithstanding the lying open of things soe before

LETTERS.

fol.101. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

1st Case.

Cajus & Julia are contracted in private p verba de psenti: Cajus afterwards growes remiss & neglectfull
of Julia, & secretly adulterates. Julia on this his neglect (as for his adultery aforesd, twas secret & she
knowes not of it) goes and marries Titius. afterwards Cajus goes and marries Caja. after
this Cajus falls a doubting whether he may safely enjoy Caja.

Quer: Whether he may safely doe it?

1. The Contract was p verba de psenti, as is supposed in the aforesd case. the worst for safety ~~[illegible]~~ sake is supposed.
2. He gave the occasion by his unkindness & neglect, to Julia's adulterous marriage with Titius; &
3. He was secretly guilty of adultery himself: & then the rule is paria delicta mutuâ compensacone tolluntur. soe as seeing he is allsoe guilty, as beeing by his unkindness & neglect the occasion of her adulterous marriage as aforesd; & likewise guilty himself of adulterie, by this his guilt he seemes still bound to Julia, & not free to enjoy Caja.

Mat: 19: 9: is desired to be consulted, & the case brought to it. he wch puts away his
wife, except for adulterie & marries &c: but Cajus neglected Julia soe far, as she
marries another. & must he take the advantage of that adulterie wch he occasi=
oned? by or saviors law, seemes it not, that in case a Jew should act contrary
to his determinacon, things were to retourne to their former state, & the
mans putting off his wife, nor her adulterie by marriage to another free
them the one fro the other:

Cajus his feares or doubts in this case remaining, what is he to doe in respect of Rom: 14:
he wch doubteth &c?

2d Case.

A:B: is ordained by a Bishop privately, none being psent but the sd Bp, one presbyter, &
the sd A:B: at wch time of ordination A:B: wanted time as to his entering into the
24th yeare of his age. the Bp before he proceedes to ordinacon, questions the sd A:B:
touching his age, whether he were 24 yeares of age ano currente, wch was the Bps=
expression as well as A:B: remembers: A:B: answers the Bp in the affirmative
though falsely. afterwards the Bp ordaines him Deacon & Preist.

Quær: Whether the sd ordinacon be valid soe as there needs not or may not be a re=
newing the sd ordinacon, if conscience may not else be satisfied in=
order to A:B:s proceeding on in the exercise of the ministry? & whether
A:B: may proceed on upon this aforesd ordinacon, as validly as others=
upon theirs? that wch is much stuck at is the lie. whether that doe not
nullifie the act, as in some cases ~~[illegible]~~ falsificacon about ~~[illegible]~~
age may it not seeme to doe? whether it did not incapacitate? or what other
effect might that falsificacon of age aforsd have on A:B: to render his=
ordinacon null? whether there were a nullity of consent in the church &
Bp as to that act by reason of the delusion, & soe a nullity of the=
sd ordinacon by reason of the want of that consent, in wch the
validity of the act seemes to be founded?

Some retourne to Mr Baxters letter of the 12. of September. 1667. to wch there was noe
answer received. — to this purpose somewhat.

That he does psume upon a further trouble, soe very desireous is he to have the foundations sure
on wch he is to build the great comforts of his daies; & on wch he may with an holy boldness
pass over into eternity. that that rub of marriage has proved & dos prove soe sadly in=
=fluentiall on the spirit, as that when he is engageing in duty, or to act for Christs interest, if
his thoughts doe but look out that way sometimes, what damps & flattnings doe arise
sometimes? now that yet some further help be given —

he reflects thus on what has beene said. [if there were noe plaine expresse marriage in priva
and if it were not absolute & concluding &c] now this is but supposition he saies: & his confi
cannot be greater then the verity of that: soe as long as he trembles & feares & doub
as to the being of such an indissoluble union twixt him & Julia, whether there wa
such a one or not, soe long his feares & doubts are like to remaine; soe as here Sr
craues yr assistance as to these 2 Queries.

1. What confidence can he haue that there was never such an indissoluble union betwee
them: Julia & him? whether Julias denyall may be considerable to begett that confid
& what to be considered or done that he may rest on it? & what his non assuran
his feares & doubts least there might be such an union & bond betweene them, ma
doe in order to the confidence that there was never any such?
2. That in case the doubts about the being of such an union remaine, yet seeing th
latter marriage of Cajus with Caja is certaine as to matter of fact, what b
he may haue to fix conscience on, whether that viz: præferri debet posterius matri
=mium certū priori dubio, & the lawfullnesse of acting notwithstanding a specula
doubt as about possessions as Amesius de consc: dubia, & whether th
such a doubt, whether such consideracons as these may be a firme basis fo
him in this case?

As to the 2d case about the validity of the ordinacon, he saies, that you say that yo
doubt not but the Bp will tell him, that it is repentance & not reordinacon wch is h
duty; but he would likewise understand whether you judge that it is repentan
not reordinacon that is his duty? & whether you judge him de esse that he is a
minister? againe he saies, that though it may appeare that there was noe consent, n
nought else wanting as to the validating the act of ordinacon at least as to th
essence thereof ex parte ordinantis — yet there is a doubt wch arises ex parte ordi
[Mr Hughes of Plimouth formerly now with the lord, his answer to the Querie wa
A: Bp ordinacon carried a nullity in the face of it or to that purpose somewha
the lie touching the qualificacon of age is that wch is stuck at. & as to this whether
lie or as such a lie specified by its object matter the age aforesd, togeather with its circ
=stances comitted in re sacrâ et circa rem tam sacram, it did not frustrate or vacate th
act of the ordainer (or what ever other notion or consideration it may be concieved to ha
either before it could or after it did take effect on the ordained? (if soe to speculat
may be admitted.) or whether it did not work by way of incapacitating the party t
be ordained, from receiving ought by that act of ordinacon? or what other kind of i
& efficiency it might haue in the nulling & vacating the sd ordinacon: he craues yr help
yr thoughts about it, & soe to diue into this affaire soe farr as the ordinacon is feared
nullity ex parte ordinati, that he may be extricated, & haue a firme unshaken b
to proceed on in the work of the ministry as far as on his part the sd ordinac
concerned as to the validity thereof, (supposeing as aforesd nothing wanting as t
validity ex parte ordinantis. Allsoe whether, if after these endeavrs for satisf
yet feares & doubts & damps retourne and remaine, he may notwithstanding p
on agst them, in the lords work on the aforesd ordinacon? a fixed peace o
=ence is a choice & pretious jewell worthy of great care & paines in the procur
keeping. the doubting person craues yr earnest prayrs & yr pardon for thi
=ted trouble —

in the margin thus.

1. Suppose the qualificacon & the condicon about age was not essentiall to the ordi
is that a good reason to proue the validity of the ordinacon?
2. seeing there was not only the want of the qualificacon but a lie togeath
it, did not this nullifie?

3. may not an act be come null by vertue of a lie about a condicon that is not essentiall as=
to the reception of what is to be conferred by that act?

Some further consideracons as to the case of marriage aforesd.

The Evidences wch may at present
appeare for the being of a mar=
=riage twixt Cajus & Julia.

1. This is to be supposed that there was reall & deep love betwixt them.
2. I will be faithfull, & yrs till death as sup=posed interchangeably expressed betweene them in letters.
3. Great & sensible working feares, or doubts upon Cajus, of the being of such an union. for wch feares thus it is urged.
    1. The lord may be in these feares or doubts for ought Cajus knowes, by them to drive him to the forbearance of Caja; as a sin to approach her.
    2. The lord by his soveraignety may take what course he pleases to guide his creatures, either by plaine proofes, or feares & doubts sett up in the consci=ence or however it pleases him. noe man can say to him what dost thou.
    3. Little or noe feares on the other hand as to the forbearance fro Caja. these on this hand seeme to be the only prevailing feares.
    4. There may be partiality on the other hand. love of Caja may blind & prejudice, conscience acts on this side affections on the other..
    5. noe self interest that he knowes in these feares, or doubts, but that they are such as make exceedingly agst that, as tending to the forbearance twixt him & Caja; soe the less to be suspected. & when it is for ought he knowes to the contrary purely [redacted] feares of sinning agt god.

The Evidences wch may at present
appeare for the not-beeing of a mar=
=riage union twixt Cajus & Julia.
yet a negative hard to be proved.

1. Noe perfect assurance [redacted] as far as Cajus is at present conscious of, of expressions or actions signifying and constituting such a marriage union betwixt him & Julia. it is supposed about 19, or 20 years since the transactions betwixt them.
2. Julia denyes the thing. A paper [redacted] desired ~~she was to put~~ her name to, wherein was expressed the denyall of a contract (?). but this she refused to doe.

Quere: as to these 2 evidences, how may they be inforced & strengthned?

6. another consideration urged on the behalf of these doubts or feares, from the effects they have. 1. damping the heart & that in duty. 2 and that when the soule lookes towards spiri=tuall concernments, & apt to damp & weaken the soules love if any unto god, & to keep it off from god. & is there not a contrariety then twixt the one & the other? & is the lord loath to have the soule come in & love him? this is not soe. but this wch damps, [redacted] may it not seeme to be the very sin for wch the lord may drive him off as not willing to embrace [redacted] him till it be left? 3. and this not=withstanding advice & prayr. & would the lord leave the soule to delusions that is willing to learne. (supposeing there be indeed a willingness, & void of hypocrisy.) 4. soe as these feares or doubts seeme they not in their effects & consequents to be like to, & to have the very sad effects & consequents of reall sin [redacted]?

7. And that peace & solid settlement may not be with held for keeping back & concealing of somewhat wch may give light, [redacted] and if [redacted] the mind of god may be found out) some kind of corporall distemper there has beene at least some times, as somwhat an alloy to the conjugall enjoym: since these doubts & feares at least, wch whether it might be the same wch might take its rise from that abomination when in the university about 16 years agoe as in the 1st case hinted, & it may be lying dormant somewhat since the marriage state with Caja, till since the feares & doubts arising it might revive againe and stir as it has done though as it may be supposed, but in a gentle way; or whatever else it may be, this he dos not determine. What light may be gathered hence Qu.

is not
unwarrant
any Ca=
it, but
ye self.

8. Some relaxacon found once or more on the soules willingness to part as to conjug: enjoym:

9. And why has not the marriage state with Caja beene more suppressive of the stirring of that corruption to the wch as one of its great ends it is designed?

10. Cajus's Conscience charging him for unfaithfullness to Julia on his understanding after marriag
to Titius.

11. There are 2 persons if yet alive, wch Cajus has not as yet inquired of, the one Julias mother, the
another relacon of hers, whether ever Julia discoursed unto them the being of a
contract or at.

These
For the Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter
minister of the gosple,
Liveing in
Tottridge.

[illegible]

Deere Sr

I received yours in London, but had not time till this houre to
reade itt: Nor have I now time to answer it according to yr desire and
my owne, without the omission of unavoidable worke. ~~And~~ therefore I
must crave your pardon for ye brevity, though it hinder yr satisfaction.
1o you must allow mee to suppose all said which hath been said heretofore
2o To suppose that ye contract was per verba de presenti
as the safest way when it is not true that this is knowne, is a false
supposition: It is not the safest way if not the truest.
3o Tis probable that in case of such affections, a present marriage would
bee remembred: 4o There are other difficulties that cause uncertainty
at the bottom. Som few divines say that christ speaketh only agt
putting away & not agt parting by consent uppon weighty causes
butt more are of K James his mind, yt a marriage is not so farr
perfected by bare words, with out actuall congresse, but that thay
may disoblidg each other on weighty causes; but yet more think
that secrit words of actuall marridg without witnes or publication
do not so oblidge before congresse, butt that thay may disoblidge
each other as aforesaid: because were itt ~~[illegible]~~ meerely a right
given to each other, one might have given away their
owne right: & because marriage is ~~[illegible]~~ a divine ordinance for
regulating generation education & converse & ord o is medium
ad bonum ordinali et aliorum and giveth place to ye
end where inconsistent; which made itt a duty to Adams sons to marry
their sisters, by the very lawe of nature. I speake nott this as my owne
iugment, but to prepare for this conclusion: That having read all yr
reasons, it remaineth my opinion — 1o That all things sett togethe
you are att present on the surer side, And should so with peace &
quiettnes continue. supposing a repentance for the first contract
and a mutuall remission and discharge. 2o that all the feares doubts
and their ill effects on one side only, which you suspect may bee of
god, are occasioned 1o by the deepe impresse of such thoughtes & passions
on the fantasie and spirits heretofore 2o and some degree of melan-
choly thereuppon; both which the tempter hath a great power to
to lay hold on & use as his instruments for yr disturbance. 3o And
that if yo should take another course it would not end yor troubles, but
turne them another way; unlesse ye tempter find yt quiettnes would
~~[illegible]~~ better make you a sinner. 4o That without Cajas consent Cajus
cannott putt hir away or deny hir conjugall offices; And if hee do quantum
in se hee causeth hir adultery, for shee cannott marry another 5o
~~that if hee~~ Et si Cajus laboraret impotentia coeundi cum Caja
natura et necessitas hoc dubium solverent. 6o Though Caius
sinned first, had he bin openly marryed Julia's marriage
would have bin equall to or cause of a divorce & left him free
to marry another, though under penitence for his sin. //

I know this giving you my opinion without answering all you
say, is nott a satisfactory way: but I can doe noe more nor would
the other way end your scruples: // As to the other case it hath
lesse ~~of~~ difficulty, and an easyer issue. 1o the ordainer doth nott
give or convey ye office from himselfe but only ministerially invest
the person in it (as in my disput. of ordination I have fullyer shewn)
2o Therefore if nothing essentiall to the office was wanting in
the receiver, it cannott make itt a nullity, Because there was
materia disposita quoad capacitatem quamvis non ad bene esse.
3o yett as to the lawes of man and publick order, ye ordainers
consent is necessary in ordered churches, 4o you have bin
with the ordainer and tryed whether hee consenteth.
5o If hee did not I doe not think a hypotheticall reordination
in case of unsatisfiednes to bee any sin: formaliter the
ordination is butt one, but materialiter only two, And I do
not beleeve any Bp would reordaine you formaliter butt
only hypothetically as thay rebaptize psons whose baptisme is
uncertaine. There is more stir made about Rebaptising and
Reordaination then there is cause for. Dedication to god in the
ministry is the essence of ordination. Mutuall consent are the
fundamentum ~~[illegible]~~ relationis: gods consent is
signified 1o by his institution 2o with his qualifying and disposing
the person 3o by the world and churches nessesitys 4o by opportunity
where coms in a peoples call or consent, 5o And ordinis gratiâ by
ordination as a servants delivery of possession, your owne consent is
signified by yr profession and practice, Had you lyed att marriage as
to your age, itt would nott have nullified your marriage 6o Butt
if you bee a nonconformist you suppose that you cannott now bee ordained
by a Bp uppon lawfull tearmes. And if so, their reordination will not
bee nessesary. And were it to do de novo you must come in at some
other dore. You have leasure to scan over all these things so
distinctly as to require a distincter answer. Butt if you were
with mee & knew my ~~occasions~~ avocations I am confident you
would pardon this defective returne to

your willing freind

Nov. 27. 1671

Rich Baxter

BAXTER
LETTERS.

fol. 105. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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not by a bare covenant or promise; An ordinance unrepealed must be by precept, or statute

that slender work) than your late antagonists (and writ

108

In the booke intituled The Life of faith by Richard Baxter part [illegible] pag. [illegible]
these words

49

Direct. 14. Especially take heede lest you be cheated into infidelity by the Dominicans metaphysical doctrine of necessity of Gods physical predetermining promotion as the first total cause, to the being of every action natural and free, not only in generall actions, but also as respectively and comparatively exercised on this object rather than on that. I add this only for the learned, who are as much in danger of infidelity as others; and will use it to the greater injury of the truth. I will meddle now with no other reasons of my advice, but what the subject in hand requireth. If God can and do thus premove and predetermine the mind, will and tongue of every lyar in the world to every lye (or material falsehood) which ever they did conceive or speak, there will be no certainty of the Gospel nor of any Divine revelation at all: seeing all such certainty is resolved into Gods veracity that cannot lye. And God speaketh not to us by any but a created voice: and if he can thus predetermine others to those words which are a lye, rather then to the contrary which are true, there would be no certainty, but that he may do so by prophets and Apostles: and let them tell you what they will of the greater certainty of inspirations and miracles then of predeterminations, it will be found upon trial, that no man can prove, or make it so much as probable that any inspiration hath more of a Divine causation, than such a premoving predetermination as aforesaid doth amount unto; much lesse so much more, as will prove that one is more certain than the other.

This doctrine therefore which undeniably (whatever may be wrangled) taketh down Christianity and all belief of God or man, is not to be believed meerly upon such a philosophical conceit, that every action is a being and therefore must in all its circumstances be caused by God. As if God were not able to make a faculty, which can determine its own comparative act to this rather than to that, by his sustentation and universal precausation and concourse without the said predetermining premotion: when as an action as such is but a modus entis, and the comparative exercise of it, on this rather than on that, is but a modus vel circumstantia modi. And they leave no work for gracious determination, because that natural determination doth all the same thing (equally to duty and sin) without it.

52

Having read lately at Brodley this passage upon my return to Sarisbury I read Alvarez his 3d book de auxiliis Divinae gratiae, and finde his doctrine of Divine predeterminations and premotions either such as might be deduced from Acts. 2. 23. and 4. 27. 28. Rom. 9. 17. 18. Exod. 4. 21. and many other places of Scripture, or not much different from them, and therefore conceived it unnecessary for you to warne the learned of the doctrine of the Dominicans as you doe, which I finde not much different from what in my younger dayes I conceived to be the doctrine of the Contraremonstrants, and which I iudged orthodox, and in my lectures at Magdalen hall about Gods attributes his will and the rest I delivered in Oxford in the yeare 1629, nor do I yet see cause to recede from it, notwithstanding your reason against it. For what though God, as you speak predetermined thus Zedekiah 1 Kings. 22. 24. yet there was certainty of Michaiahs revelation v. 28. and though it be said Ezek. 14. 9. that the Lord deceived the prophet there meant, yet there was certainty in Ezekiels prophecies. Other rules God had given whereby to distinguish a lye from a Divine revelation, as Deut. 13. 2. Isai: 8. 20. Luke 16. 31. 2 Peter. 1. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. nor do I conceive any of the arguments used by Christ Luke 24. 26. John. 10. 25. & 14. 11. 12. by the Apostles, or those holy teachers ancient or modern, amongst others by your self in your book of the unreasonablenes of infidelity, and elsewhere invalidated as insufficient to demonstrate the certainty of the Gospel by the Dominicans doctrine, which doth not impeach Gods veracity, nor make him to lye. By the texts alleged we are directed to iudge of Divine revelations, and of the certainty of the Gospel without inquiring into the controversy between the Dominicans and Jesuits, Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, or by examining any pretended inspiration whether it were by such a predetermination premoving as you mention, or by any other way of Gods manner of speaking a priori, which is alwayes secret, and indiscernible to another then the person whom God moves: but by such signes a posteriori as those texts alleged direct to, and other arguments, which right reason doth use to finde out truth. Such premoving predetermination as Dominicans teach, being as well to truth as a lye proves neither the one nor the other. Nor is such speech to be termed Gods voice because of such premoving predetermination, nor God to speake by any by reason of it no more then he is to be said to pray or curse by reason of it. Nor do I conceive any truth in your dictates, that it will be found upon trial &c. or that the doctrin you except against undeniably takes down Christianity and all belief of God or man. Nor is the doctrine taught upon meer philosophical conceit, but many such texts of Scripture and arguments as I yet adhere to, and if it were not true I discern not how Gods prescience and providence can be vindicated. And yet there is work for gracious determination notwithstanding the natural determination the Dominicans teach. As for your words of an action being but a modus entis, and the comparative exercise of an action (which I doubt is not good sense) on this rather than on that is but a modus or circumstantia modi it is to me strange philosophy or Logick. For these reasons I wish you did retract this passage

106

Nor do I think it unseasonable to minde you afore you dy of retracting your book of baptism, and either disowning it as you have done so much in your holy Commonwealth as you disclaim in the end of your life of faith, or shewing me after my many answers to your books how you make good your figment of a mediate discipleship of infants though you often in your writings make a believer and a disciple synonymous, and baptizing such disciples, though in my [illegible] de se and elsewhere I prove your own grants and proofes evince baptizing of such not to be according to Christs institution or to be done. And as for your other figment of an ordinance of infants Christian visible church membership unrepealed it is such a fancy, as (in my apprehension) is without all colour of proof obtended on people. You say it is by Gods covenant, which only assures a futurity (if there were any such covenant, as there is not) whereas visible church membership importing a thing discernible by sense, and so in actual existence is by a fact of Divine providence and so not by a bare covenant or promise. An ordinance unrepealed must be by precept, or statute [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] slender work) than your late answer to [illegible]

108

not Covenants or promised, are said to be repealed or unrepealed that is cease or continue to oblige to
doe or not to do, to be observed or accounted as our duty or granted to us, or on the contrary. which makes me
yet to conceive that your assertion about it hath neither sense nor proof, nor any proof of infant baptism in your books
which in mere positive rites of the new testament can have onely force from Divine institution by precept or example of
Christ or his Apostles. As for other arguments they onely shew what we think Christ should have done, but prove not what he
hath done, and this shews in us ~~rather~~ an accusation of Christ or his Apostles as omitting what they ought to have done,
and an arrogant presumption of taking on us Gods or Christs authority ~~of~~ by imposing Lawes on mens Consciences by our
reasonings, and do both tend to justify or at least excuse Popish and prelatical obtruding ceremonies of hu-
man invention upon supposed analogy with mosaical rites antiquated, and thwart the plea against them from
non-institution, which tends to make reformation needles, and the solemn Covenant against them rash. How they
that uphold infant baptism and have sworn to endeavour reformation in worship according to Gods word can
be free from perjury, how they that practise it and yet pray that they may rightly and duly administer Gods
holy Sacraments can be free from hypocrisy I yet see not. What injury you have done by your writings
for it to the truth and church of God you might perceive by the preface to the 3d part of my Review and many
other wayes, as also to my self in diminishing the credit of my labours in ~~preaching and writing~~ the ministry
by preaching and writing: which I am the more sensible of by reading your preface to Dr Bryans Sermons,
by hearing one Mr Hurst sometimes a preacher in Friday streete in London, and fellow of Merton Colledge in
Oxford at the Act there July 1669 at table in Mr Wights chamber tell me to my face that you had thrown
me on my back and many other wayes. I deny not your candour in sundry testimonies of my writings and person:
but I write these things that you may consider whether you have yet done what you ought to do afore you die for
reparation of these injuries. As for your ~~answer~~ printed answer to my Animadversions I finde it not upon
review sufficient, and therefore intend to reexamine it and either in a writing by it self or some other way to
vindicate my Animadversions. Having imparted these things to you I leave them to your consideration and
commit your labours and person to Divine guidance and [illegible] still

Sarisbury at my house in
Castle streete August 10 1670

Your loving brother and fellowservant
in the Lord

John Tombes

For mr Richard Baxter these/

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LETTERS.
Fol. 108. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Reverend Sr

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I am utterly a stranger to your person, but I thank God well acquainted with your works; and because ingenuum est agnoscere per quem profecisti, I freely acknowledge the great benefit I have received by your learned writings, not only those that have been applauded by ye common vogue, but even those that ye angry world hath peevishly quarrelled with, being too tenacious of ye traditions of their Fathers. I had lately ye opportunity of half an houre conference with your adversary Mr Hinkley, who was pleased to let his passion and prejudice have ye reins, while he ran down ye aphorisms of justification; I desired to know what points he did except against; but I soon perceived that ye man spake evil of he knew not what, for all ye answer I could get, was, that there were many strange doctrines there delivered, and besides ye Authour of it had now revoked it; wch made me wonder at his inhumanity in fighting with ye dead. Among other talk we had some discourse about ye letters that passed between your self and him, concerning which he told me (triumphantly enough) that he had proposed his desire and intention to print those papers, but you refused; and to convince me by ocular demonstration that he spake ye truth (for I confess I did ἐπέχειν) he shewed me ye letter you sent him about ye middle of January, which was ye last (as he said) that he received from you. Sr, I am very sorry for your negative vote, partly because I am sure you can easily fathom that Authours depth, for one whose plumbline is inexpressibly short of yours can do it; for when he had tragically declaimed against you for not conforming, I told him that ye terms were very hard, and though some could assent and consent with such plerophory and subscribe to all things without a titubating conscience, yet an understanding man might boggle at many things required, if there had not been any such antecedaneous declaration; moreover I minded him of what you have published in your Confession against subscribing to ye Synod of Dort or to a word, that none should be permitted in ye church that could not do it. all ye satisfaction this gentleman gave me was, that indeed some things might not have been imposed so strictly as they are. But is this man fit to be a perswader to conformity, who can no better defend ye impositions of his Church? or did he think that any inconformist doubted of ye truth of that concession? I am confident you would have as much recreation in an houre dispute with this zealous son of ye Church, as you could have had with Father Malpas. I know this man is cryed up as an excellent preacher, and I have no mind to detract from his popularity; but he is no formidable adversary when he is out of ye pulpit. partly because I know it hath been desired that you should give ye world an account of ye reasons of nonconformity, especially since you have expressed your readiness to do it (si lex tolleretur) in your first reply to Bagshaw. The reasons which you alledge again[st] it in your letter seem not cogent unto me; For your sharpness in private, which you judge not fit to appear abroad, I presume you might have interposed some such mollifying passages, as I find in ye second leaf of ye preface to ye disputations of justification; I am sure the Authour of ye treatise of imputation of righteousness was a person every way better qualified (though he lost himself much with ye judicious that slender work) than your late antagonist; and with s

27.

time I
ressing
ent or

false, I think those letters might pass as well as those. 2 For ye printing
of your papers piece-meal and mangling them which you suggest, he
professed they shall appear in an entire body without ye cutting off of ye
least limb or member of them yea he seemed to be offended that you
should suspect him inclinable to a dishonest clipping or changing of your
words. 3 For ye matters contained under this head, I am ignorant of them
viz that ye Episcopal party were ye chief if not ye only instruments of
ye late most unhappy war; but if they are guilty, let them bear their
burden also and repent as well as others: I know not why ye saddle
should not be put on ye right horse. Your hopes of concealing this, lest
they also be rendred odious by it, are altogether vain; for if you doe not
consent to ye printing of your papers, your adversary will publish them
on ye house top: he told me he had already shewed them to several persons, who
unanimously advised ye publication of them all; ye last week he journeyed
hence to Oxford, and no doubt he will open his whole pack among those
that trade in ye same commodities as himself. 4 For ye exposing of your
self to suffering, I am very far from desiring it, though I sometimes ca
to mind what you wrote in your letter to Ludovicus Molinæus p. 40, 4
50, 51, 52. I put Mr Hinkley in mind of your own expression of thrustin
your head into an oven that is red hot. I askt him whether he would be
a screen to keep you from being scorched. He readily answered, that he
would undertake for your indemnity, and knew that he could procure
Sr these things being laid in ye ballance, I hope may preponderate with
you for ye alteration of your former purpose. Having done with your adve
sary Mr Hinkley, I thought it would not be unacceptable to advertise you
a passage or two concerning your old friend Mr Hotchkiss, who hath twice
expressed his dissatisfaction at two things in ye defence of your principles
of love, ye one is, that you should forbear ye receiving of ye sacrament
of ye Lords supper for so long a time and that when you were convinced
not only that it was lawful but a necessary duty, there you bound to negle
your duty to save others from ye punishment they may incur by ye neglect of
theirs. The other is, your opposing ye Authour of debate; whereas Sha
it is most evident, that he wrote against ye same persons only, as Mr
Baxter hath. This worthy person having professed his willingness to follo
all difficulties in ye matters of conformity, I made him my confessour and
acquainted him with my scruples; I shall not trouble you with a rehearsal
of all his answers; in brief he told me, I did much wrong my self by a
mistake of ye thing to which assent and consent is required, which is only
to ye use; that I mistook ye meaning of ye 35th Article touching ye homilies
and so doth Mr Baxter also (they are his own words) as appears by his book
stiled now or never pag. 91. May not I approve ye Homilies as I doe the
sermons of any honest man as containing godly wholesom doctrine, fit to
be read and yet not subscribe to ye truth of every passage therein? I have
no more to add, but crave your pardon for ye trouble I have given you
with my hearty prayers that God would continue you long on earth as an
instrument to propagate his truth, I am

Sir

Your most respective friend and servant

Hen: Blake

Faringdon
July 8th
1672

For the Reverend and most
Honoured Mr Richard Baxter

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Sr Oct. 20 1687 51

The consideration of what you desired of me in writing, directly moveth me to tell you, That wt I said to you hath this 30 yeares bin my judgment as to our living in Love & peace with men as men, with Christians as Christians, & in speciall familiarity with good men above the comon sort, & for seeking none further than they make it necessary for so much of our own Defence as God maketh by nature not only lawfull but our Duty: But what I said to you about the means of our mutuall peace & safety at this time, was not in any hope that any such thoughts of mine should be used to any publike good, but meerly to satisfie yor desire, lest you should thinke yt ye concealmt of my demanded judgmt should signifie any unwillingness to have my judgmt understood, as if it were such as I must fraudulently conceale. It hath bin my suffering, but is not much my shame, if my heart hath bin so neer my mouth, & one end of my tongue bin loose ~~in my mouth~~. But I consider 1o yt you can tell what I said to you without describing it; 2o That I said to you but part of wt I would say, (especially for saving us from perfidious Juries, & granting an Appeale from two Romane Judges in case of Life, estate & Liberty to 4 Protestant Judges, & some such next things). 3o That I have 38 yeares resolved of any medling in matters of publike Governmt, & have sent my thanks to ye University of Oxford for burning my Political Aphorismes, & am by resolution & age unfit to meddle with politiks any more. 4o That I converse with few yt can make any use of my sentiments herein: But those few I deale as plainly with as I did with you. 5o Gentlemen thinke us ministers such fooles in Politiks yt they will disdaine to be told by us wt to do. 5o Litera scripta manet, & I am uncertaine when it's gone out of my hand who shall see it, & wt use will be made of it & of what consequence it may be to me. I abhor insinuatings to seek any [illegible]. But I find yt I am not yet trusted out of ye fetters of my bonds to the behaviour, & therefore must not be presumptuous, under the same power yt I suffered by [illegible] in it. And pardon me for saying it, You yt promised to take off my bonds have not performed it, & now only bid me silence them: & therfore sure would not have me breake them: I say not Quia me vestigia terrent, for I thank God I honour Rulers in Conscience to God, but I dread them not for any worldly interest, which with me is allmost at an end. I rest

Your obliged openhearted servant Ri: Baxter

To Sr John Baber

To my Reverend & worthy friend Mr Baxter at Kederm

52

Sr I received ye underwritten lines (among other things) from Mr
Samuell Langley, the excellent son of old Mr Langley, Mr
Balls great associate, now of Middlewich. Mr Hopkins knowes h
being well. I pray you deny not his desire, if you can grant it

Yor servant. J. C

I desire you also to send me Mr Baxters Christian Concord now by this
bearer, & ye price of his Apologye & confession of faith. The truth is
I am highly taken with all his peeces yt I have seen, & I looke on
him as one of the most usefull men now living in England. If I had
any acquaintance with him or knew any friend of mine yt had
interest in him, I should (giving him hearty thanks for his happy labo
allready undertaken) further make bold to intreate his further paines
in answer to Dr Hamonds conceit about Presbytery, wch he takes
notice of in his Christian Concord (pag. 79 the beginning of it) &
saith it were easy to overthrow. It would much I conceive help
forward his most Christian desire of Concord, if yt were done.
ffarewell Yor lo: friend

Sam: Langley

Newton near Middlewych
Apr. 12. 1655.

To Mr C

Sr I much respect Mr Langley for his fathers sake, (whom I rightly knew)
& would ~~glad~~ gladly do wt I well could to gratify his desires. But 1°
my multitude of businesse forbiddeth this. 2° I am so pestered with con
troversie allready, yt you canot blame me, if I take warning, & thrust
not my hand any further into this fire, were ye case never so plaine
I must expect to have large returnes of words, wch will take with
yt will not strictly examine. Though I know yt learned & Reverend Dr
whom he mentioneth, will avoid ye reproach wch others comonly use
3° There are so few even of ye Episcopall men of yt Drs mind yt I consider
ye worke allmost needlesse. 4° Dr Owen tells us yt he is in hand with it
5° But yet I shall so far satisfye his desires (& some other mens)
as in or next monthly Disputation (or ye next yt will afford us
opportunity) I will deliver my thoughts of Episcopacy, & there I
shall necessarily have occasion to deale with ye strength of that
wch yt Dr maintaineth (though but briefly); though not himselfe;
a controversall way I have no mind to deale. For I much value
the Dr for his Learning, Industry, & Sober temper, & so have no desire
to contend with him. You may signifye this much to Mr Langley

Yor lo: friend

Rich: Baxter

August

J Casaub. Ep. [illegible]

~~[illegible]~~

Theod. B[illegible]

Regensb[illegible] p. 462

J Hall's mod. [illegible] 1613 [illegible] 72 [illegible]

Freher. V. 1. p. 179. 181. 182

Galatin. p. 24 [[illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ Geffray p. 102

Philip. [illegible] Euseb. 6. c. 34

Primis autem Ecclesiae partibus Orientis, seculo Eusebii et antecedenti et sequenti credidit Christum natum 8 Eid. Januarii Theophaniorum festo. Eodem enim tempore baptizatum [illegible] habebant ex ~~[illegible]~~ Lucae, quod explicatum est Scal. [illegible]

Vid. et in Append. de Emend. Temp. et in Canonibus Isagogicis. [in Eus. p. 144.

Cum major pars veterum Christum die Epiphaniorum natum, et eodem baptizatum p. 305. 306. 7. [illegible] venit ex eorum sententia, in die Epiphaniorum ~~natum, et eodem baptizatum~~ 8 Eid. Januar. anno 45 Juliani Christus natus fuerit. Atque in hac sententia est Eusebius. De- proinde Natalis Domini in eidem civiliter celebrem inventum plus minus: Diem de [illegible] [illegible] Dei est, non hominis. Hic [illegible] Nazianz. Epiph. [illegible] Catholici [illegible] Cassiani ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] Omnes enim Ecclesiae tam Orientis quam Aegypti die Epiphaniorum et baptismum Christi et natalem ejus una celebrabant p. 308

Dow. 24 Burton p. 53. [illegible]
[illegible]

Dockling p. 40. [illegible]
p. 43. [illegible] [p. 44 [illegible]
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LETTERS.
fol. 113 of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Reverendo plurimum
Domino
Richardo Baxtero
Servo Jesu Christi fidelissimo,
Fratri venerando
S. pl. dicit
Antonius Brunsenius
Ecclesiastes Electoris Brandenb.

A multis annis studia tua, quibus Christi regnum quæris, veneratus sum. Noluit Anglia tuam mihi præsentiam ante annos octodecim indulgere, quo tunc impedimento, colliges ex præteritorum temporum memoriâ. Scripta tamen legi tua, nostrisq; commendavi, quia non tam Scholæ contentionis quàm vitæ sanctificationis parant animos. Annos ante paucos, quem Pauperibus destinasti pium laborem transtuli, quo fine verò publicaverim, effigiem præfixerim, luciq; publicæ commendaverim, narrabit Lator harum Duglaſsius, qvi non ſolum tradet Exemplar hujus Editionis, ſed et, qvod deſperavi ferè, tibi literis innoteſcere, Subſidiarias has offeret curas, et exponet ex iteratis de Te Tuisq; Studijs inter nos ſermonibus varia, qvæ non capere poteſt hæc pagina. Præcipuè me delectat illud pacis, qvod veneror in Te, ſtudium. Qvid mage neceſsarium poterit efflagitare Salus Evangelicorum, ſeu ut aptius ad noſtrum ſtatum nominem, Proteſtantium? Diviſit illos infelix Nominum, non neceſsarius opinionum diſſenſus, qvin novitatum pruritus. Nihil perniciosius hoc divortio, cujus ſi ſenſu præteritorum, calamitate præſentium, metu futurorum meminerimus, horret animus, qvod iſtiusmodi contentionibus diſjungantur animi, qvos jungere debebat amor Evangelij, ſtudium piæ vitæ, ſpes hæreditatis in coelo. Conniveant ad Fratrum ruinas, cùm ſibi tamen non aliud niſi ordinis beneficium ſupereſse videant. Hæc ſcribo Sileſiæ calamitatibus edoctus. Ultimus fui

Minister Religionis Reformatæ, qui proscribebar ex illis oris. Initio Lutheranis omnia tuta videbantur, nunc verò serius experiuntur, Se nostræ calamitatis fore socios. Utinam Palatinatus ad hoc tam recens saperet Exemplum! Serenissimus noster Elector, quem vidit Duglassius, et in se sensit gratiosum, præcipuè tenetur quietorum consiliorum desiderio, nec senij majorem post tot bellorum trophæa quærit gloriam, quàm pacis hanc et concordiæ Protestantium. O nos Beatos, si penes omnes idem sensus idemq; desiderium! Conticescerent odiosa nomina, non legerentur virulentæ scriptiones, Pietatis exercitia, charitatis studia radices agerent firmiores. Discerent ut homines à brutis, ut Christiani à Gentilibus impendente præsenti metu coälescere, siq; non unum sentire queant, unum tamen velle! Opinionum dissensus non tollere deberet animorum consensum. Errent nobis alij, non irascamur erroribus, cùm nihil tam sit catholicum quàm errare; Sed mites simus in errantes, non illos odio ſed amore proſequamur. Hâc συγκαταβάσει ſi mutuò ſe ſupportarent Evangelici cum omni manſvetudine et longanimitate, referret Orbis Evangelicus primævam Ecclesiæ faciem. Angitur animus oppoſitis obſtaculis, et fervet in Evangelicorum vulnerum remedia. Si non media videntur tam propinqua, non erit niſi gratum Deo nos mutuis precibus ſtudijs et conſilijs ſolicitare gratiæ ſuæ revelationem. Tuum veneratus in his deſiderijs animum literis his ambire volui ſtudiorum precum et amoris uſurpationem

Reverentiæ Tuæ

Pottsdamij 27. Octobr.
1687.

in Christo addictus
Frater et Servus
Antonius Brunſenius.

Mr Bell

You have here sent mee a note (though I take little of it for yours being as I credibly heare yt you are but a poore pen man, or rather none at all) wch has butt little of substance in it, whether you take it in abstracto or concreto, or if you would understand mee, whether you take your note, or with it what you soe demurely shutt up in it. You would have sent (or rather hee who writt this) Dr Challenors Credo &c: doe you think I have not seene those goodly bookes? I would you knew as well their workes you would not more speake of them. Butt for Mr Baxters winding sheet I take it to bee much more fitt for a Baker, (or as yt Idiott saies a Baxter) to wind a Cake in, from thence forstooll to the best place for it, then that it aimes att; Alas this is not the first by 1000 wch has beene made ready for Popery, though the most course of all sheets yett seene or known. But when shall wee see her* so ready? til then what shall wee doe with a winding sheet. Nor Mr Baxter is like to find a winding sheet, & himselfe wound up in it, and many better after him, before yt day bee seene, before wee see hir wound up; shee has too firme a piller to uphold hir, for him to beate down; too great a Patrone to defend hir, for him to trample hir under; shee has a *2 promisse made hir wch can never (till wee all faile) faile hir. What must wee doe with a winding sheet? doe not wee blush for feare you see Mr Tombs sent in a reply to his Tombe, if not ere longe you have cause for it, though such answers as usually yours give, deserves noe reply att all, butt onely serves to lett poore Idiotts see they would faine for credit sake say somethinge, though nothinge, or att most nothinge to the purpose. But I pray [illegible] whoe has answ.d the other which makes your ministry wth soe much shame null? If a minister bee null, is not every word hee speaks (as minister) a null? & what are his hearers then? not faithfull, butt all such good stuffe empty. If you will credit S Paul, faith comes from hearinge the word, whoe comes the word from? from the minister; what makes him a minister? his Mission *3. Butt if your ministers can find noe mission, they must needs be noe Ministers; noe Ministers must needs follow noe word; noe word, noe hearinge; noe hearinge noe faith; noe faith nothinge good att all. Either know then that you have good Ministers amoungst you; or else you are forced to see what good stuffe, or good faith you soe cry up, til you cry it to nothinge amoungst you. Now for these silly Mr Baxters, or rather Mr Baxters silly reasons, I need not make any reflections on them, butt rather judge him weake who writt this, that knows not what they are already made upon his whole bulke against Popery (out of which this is a poore silly Epitome) and more full then I can give them in this short paper, since they are soe comon & commonly called Novelty repress.d in a reply to Mr Richard Baxter. But perhaps hee would not have you know this, or hee must needs bee as weake a Baker as the other. I never yet saw a printed sheet (unlesse printed bables) more weake then this, where wee have nothinge but his bare word, & assertions against us for reasons; Are wee soe weake, or soe poorly rationall, as to take his asserted untruths for solid assertions, or his rude raylings for reasons, you will not find us soe. Hee first begins to tell us that none has heaped up such multitude of errours nor troubled the church soe much as wee. I desire to know what church was troubled with us, when there was noe other church butt ours for 1000 yeares as your most Learned Protestants* Confesse. And likewise what errours those are which you have but Mr Baxters bare word for. for hee shows but few proofs none att all; butt bring you a minister you conceive your selfe bound to credit his assertions; yett if your suppositions bee denyed what will follow then which must needs bee denyed by all who know what a minister is, for wee are sure theire wives & they are equall in mission soe equall in ministry. If this you find your have good reason to slaunder, soe that that

* Church

*2 Math. 16.18.

*3 Heb. 5. 4.

*4. See Hospinian Epist. 141. White Def: c. 37. p. 136. Bennet Norton in his treatise of the church p. 145. Bancroft Censure. 4. Jewell Sermon on Luke 11. Chamierus Epist. 49. Calvin Instit: l. 4 c. 18. par: Bala Centur. 1. p. 47. 65. with almost all you have the Arguments ad hominem every one knowes are the best.

Evangelii cum omni mansuetudine et long

that booke you have, with this I send, and many more, if those serve not, which I shall send; if you require more. where or when I pray you have wee forced any Christian Princes to destroy you, as Christians unlesse as Rebells; If wee taugh any such thinges should not our sheep heare what wee teach, as well as you heare what yours teach you? Make any meanes you can to know when any heard any thing of blood from us or murder or rebellion, but rather all inducements motives to peace, love, charity and union. If any can tell you any other, wee wish them not spare the truth, but lett it bee known to the full, you will Imagine that which hee brings in from the Latteran Counsell Con. Latter. sub Innoc. 3. Can. 3. sufficiently testifies all this att full; I must tell him, you, or any other yt (as theire usuall mode is to deceive their poore Idiotts) hee tells you there the decree, butt hee would have you know nothinge of the occasion given for that decree; If you will please to heare the truth from hence (if truth begett not hatred) it came, The Albigenses then beganne to bustle, trouble and as much as in them lay to annoy the church of god, Insomuch that all the Christian Princes sent to the then present Counsell for some redresse against these giddy headed spiritts, and from hence came that decree, how can hee for shame tell of a force from the Counsell, when that first motion came first from the Princes themselves, & not from them til they were forced by their rebellious subjects; would not any Prince have done this, if hee had noe other course to suppresse his rebells. what was it butt either malice, or ignorance that would not lett as many see this occasion for the decree. yett more; what malice made him put this word vs to destroy vs. In when this decree was made above [illegible] 300 yeares before hee or his received their first breath; Then was a Protestant never thought of, much lesse a Presbiterian wch is but a younger brother, then all these novelties had noe beinge at all; unlesse hee make all his, wch make foule faces against theire mother and like foule vipers out hir bowells; then must hee needs hould their tenetts? Then must hee with the Albigenses hould all marriages to bee unlawfull and all thinges begotten ex coitu to bee uncleane. S. Bernard homil. 66. uppon the Canticles. Then must hee hould two godds, a good & evill and the evill god made all* visible; Then must hee reject the ould Testament. Rogerus Hovedon ex actibus Tolosanis An. 1178. and Rainerus C. 6. if all bee his, confusion must there not bee, that hee ~~that~~ must not bee forced to hould. Now if the Albigenses tenetts bee not his, what has he to doe with them, if not, what has this decree to doe with him, or his, when it decreed onely the Albigenses heresies hir death? what has hee to doe with vs in that place then; will you not see his malice then? will you not see how willingly hee would make vs odious, if it lay in his odious power. will you have a reflexion on his ignorance; for I can suppose noe other, but that hee has this place of the Counsell from some other as ignorant as himselfe, for hee sure never read it there himselfe, ffor that which is not there can never be read there. Hee tells, Latter. sub Inno. 3 Can. 3. yt the Latterane Counsell under Innoc. 3. in his 3 Canon gives this decree, how can hee lett the world see himselfe soe ignorant as to manifest & publish this fro the 3 Canon of yt Counsell, when if any will butt read that Counsell they may plainly see that Counsell has noe Canon, nor runnes on the course of Canons, but chapters; how can wee say then that hee ever read it; is not here then a manifest, of a manifest ignorance, Though this therefore bee the best soun=inge allegacon, you can find against us, putt butt it owne & noe other false habit on, & it is worth nothinge or nihil ad rem against vs; And this basis ruind, this whole fabricke is quite ruind with it. If hee had had but one ounce of blood in him when hee writt this, noe doubt but it was then visible to tell us of a forced Cruelty against rebells or rebellious subjects, and see soe much of force in himselfe against Princes, even his owne Naturall Prince. was ever Prince brought to soe unnaturall

I suppose you never read the bloody reformations or deformations rather made by Luther in Germany by Zuinglius against yt Romane kinge where Zuinglius was the first man slaine: By Calvin in ffrance and Beza. by Knox in Scotland by Lutherans in Swedland.

* [things] Even in noe place they began their reformations without much blood. And yett you can tell vs of Cruelty.

unnaturall an end? Did ever the eare heare, or the eye ever behould such a bloody spectacle may not all cruell records ever written give place to this? I pray you tell me, was not your ministers the setters on to this unparalled tragedy; Does not his bloody Judges tell thus much? Has not Hugh Peters and some others (for all ye rest) felt soe much? Have you not yourselfe heard such cryes and clamours? I heare too many say they are too fresh in their eares yett, How can these but fetch a blush, to tell us of yt they can never prove, and lett soe much cruelty lye at home, even agt those whom both the Lawe of god, and the rules of reason commands us to love & obey, and never felt heard nor seene, nor spoken of; when every child, & all ages yett to come will cast it in their faces to their perpetuall ignominy and shame. was not your authour here thinke you one of those high showtinge ministers? yes & soe higher, and well holds on, for as yett wee see his study is more rebellion then religion; Is this censure my owne thinke you? This sounds a rash Judgmt youl say? I feare it is not rash, & I am sure it is not my owne; I have it from the Kingdomes intelligencer, wch I suppose will cast noe publiq calumny uppon any, butt those who publiquely deserves it. Read then the Kingdomes intelligencer published by authority from Munday January 20. 1661. to Munday Jan. ye 27. and in the advertisements for books, youl find this testimony for your Patron. I here give it you, because I rather thinke you would take noe paines to seeke yt youl take noe pleasure to read when you have found. Mr Baxter (a person who hath soe much troubled himselfe and the Church of England for divers yeares last past) lately printed a booke called (the mischeifes of selfe ignorance and the benefit of selfe acquaintance. In the addresse of wch booke to his dearely beloved the inhabitants of Kederminster, hee hath soe many untrue & undutifull passages relatinge to the Lord Bishop of Worcester yt a letter from his Lordshipp to a freind for vindication of himselfe from Mr Baxters calumny is now published (and to bee found by Tymothy Garthwait att the little north dore of St Pauls church) where the reader may behould what a seditious false brother this Mr Baxter hath beene, and how brimfull of treason and rebellion his booke is wch hee falsly calls the holy commonwealth, yt is fit only for the hand of the common hangman. Is this your Apostle? Is this your Patron? is a tongue made for rebellion, well tuned for dishonesty in religion; are you not ashamed to owne him? I know you are unlesse the same keyes please you; blush you not to send such a pittifull Patrone, where nothinge but malicious lyes patronized wee find in him; and dare your soules trust a rebell to teach you religious truths, can such teach soules good principles? the matter is weighty, And if you suppose you know what case you are in, I am sure your private spirit will deceive you; for the best spirit tells wee know not any of us what case wee are in, or how wee stand *5. Looke then to the principall. However I hope heel speake noe more of cruelty to subjects, when the world sees him such a rebell even to his owne Prince. I hope he may well lett rebellion rest. His first reason yt Popery is a notorious schisme butt hee never tells us (nor can) from what body wee are cutt, lett him shew another body before ours or else to tell us of a schisme, is their ordinary way of tradinge in nonsense. Does hee know what the word Catholiq imports? if hee did hee would be ashamed to name himselfe one; If not Ile tell you? It is hee who professes the faith of christ taught in all places & att all times. I pray you tell me what nation knows what christ is, yt knows not who a Papist is. I can, and truly tell you, of many yt never are like to know what a Protestant is, where has the Spanish kingdomes any in them? where are the Italian confines troubled with you? whose is the greatest part of the Empire? what are the Poles? whose are the Indies as large as all these? where have you towne in the large dominion of France? where have

*5.
Eccles: c.9.
Justi et sapientes &c:
There are just & wise,
yett their works are
in the hands of god.
man knows not whether
he deserve love or
hatred.
why will you be confide-
nt in your unknown
spirit, when ye holy gh:
tells you know neither
yt you must, or might
not be chosen.

where have you a whole kingdome? wee have many wch have not any of yors in;
butt name mee one of yours wch has none of ours in. why doe you not blush
then to claime this infallible marke; and hee then to take that improper name;
its want of shame makes him soe, you take yt universall name. All nations
whatsoever thou hast made shall come and adore before thee. psalm. 85.9.
All nations shall flow unto it Isay. 2.2. Goe yee teach all nations &c. Math: 28.20.
Their sound went over all the earth &c: when will your uncatholicke ministers
make all the world know him and adore, as ours doe? when will they make all
nations flowe unto them? when will they teach all nations? are they affraide
of penall inquisitions? more shame for ministers who dare not for the good
of soules venture on theire penall statutes there, as priests doe on yours here,
even to the hazard of all, rather then soules should perish (as they must needs
if they had noe pastours) If this bee not the cause, why will they lett theire
neighbours (if they bee pastours) thus want helpe? why will they lett soules thus
perish? (~~as they must needs if they had noe pastours~~) why will they range ye
about to enlarge christs kingdome? why will they not Apostles like lett the word
bee knowne to all? why will they bee content to nestle themselves with theire
fine wives and breed at home? for noe other cause butt because they have
all at home they looke for. ffine lives, fine wives, fine rents, fine reverence
and all things what here are fine. Butt it is more fitt to say fye on such
fine carnall lives, in those whoe should bee spirituall ministers, and have noe
other butt spirituall wives. Butt they are lives suitable to their imployments.
If Catholiques have but a portion of the whole, how small is yours then. Nay
lett him or any other if they can, for all theire usuall boasts tell us if the
whole world (as far as Christ was knowne) before first false Apostle broke
of from us did owne any other name or notion butt of the Roman Catholicke.
*6. what a rabble, or ramble is his 2 Lye wch hee would faine have you take
for reason, that wee robbe Christ of the greatest part of his flocke, which hee
supposes to bee his. when his owne tells him all was ours. wee know yt Christ has
purchased a peculiar people to himselfe Titus 2.24. and wee know yt he purchased
and washed a church with his blood; butt why does hee not make yt purchased
people knowne to bee his? why does hee not make the washed church his; and
make it otherwaise then in bare surmises appeare his; ipse dixit, and yt
hee thinkes must serve for all; his authority is still too weake to make an assertio
good of yt consequence. what if wee say the Romaines bee these peculiar
people, what then? youl stammer, or rather stampe; if the Romaines
have or bee his Church, then they nott you are washt (And if S Paul
tell you thus much, youl give a frowne for benigne for kind unto them.
Heare then more for them, then ever hee can find for himselfe soe his. Rom. 1.
ffirst I thanke my god through Jesus Christ for you all yt your faith is spoken
of through the whole world Does hee nott here tell you, thus vaunting agt.
the Romaines, yt the faith of the whole world, is ye faith of ye Romaines
yt is of ye Church of Rome Psalm. 2.8. Aske of mee & I shall give you
the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy
possession. In whom has these promises beene verified butt in the church of
Rome or Romains faith; who has the heathen for theire inheritance butt
they? what faith ever had, or yett has the whole earth for theire possession but
the Roman faith. Therefore by promise the church of god ought to be uni=
versall; and wee see the Romane is onely such a church. If hee should tell
us shee was the Mother, butt now runne into errours ~~[illegible]~~
this 4

6.
*See Bennet
Norton as cited
above. The
whole Christian
world knows that
before Luther all
churches were over
whelmed wth more
then Cymmerian dark
nesse. Brochard
on ye 2d Thess:
p. 41. Whitaker
in times past no
religion butt the
papisticall had place
in the church.
Contro. 4. q. 5
c. 3. and all ye
rest who had
occasion to speake
of it.

*7. See S Augustin in his booke ~~booke~~ de fide, et operibus c. 15 to 4 [illegible] will tell you what faith without good works is; And read the
25 of S Math: and then you shall find all condemned for want of good works without any mention of ffaith att all.

this of ~~mine owne~~ I know hee can tell more lyes as large as this, though this as great as any can bee tould; and untill I heare where, when, or into what errours shee is fallen Ile take this for noe more but another Ipse dixit; I know there has beene many tamperinge att it, butt yet never any that could shew it. when hee can bringe mee an Evidence for a protestant, as S Paul gives us here for a Roman, Ile bee noe more a Roman butt a Protestant againe. butt this will bee when wee find Eternity spun out. Hee tells us wee bringe theire indifferent soules into doubt & dislike with theire teachers; Not wee, butt hee himselfe and such others bringe ~~such~~ into doubt when many has tould mee, yt goeinge severall Sundayes to severall parish churches, they have found as many contradictions as ministers; whether I pray does the doubt then begin with us or with yourselves att home; and are not these petulant differentses amongst them sufficient motives for jelosies and feares. How can teachers changes doe anye other butt worke changes in the audiens. Their raylinges likewise wch was never more ordinary then now; alas what must poore men doe, butt when they want stuffe at home, why should they not range abroad to seeke; when they cannot find it in theire owne parish church, why should they not jumpe to Rome for it. If want of matter were the whole raylinge cause, itt were lesse matter, butt some feare it is butt the inadequate cause, and the lesser, they aime high, they would faine usher in another hubbub; and seeinge by act they dare not touch the kinge, yett they will goe as neare as they can; or any course they would take to bringe theire rebellious aimes on. Doe you not see this in your Mr Baxter above. How should theire owne then butt dislike, how should they butt runne away from them. what eyes are those of his wch can see soe much of rash judgmts in others and cannot see soe much more then ours in himselfe; has hee noe petty shaver to helpe him of with those hawkes, wch soe diminish his light & sight. His continuall judging raylings or raylinge judgmts against us are noe-thinge his brawles are but playes att balls; His continuall damning & damninge, are not rash judgmts because they are soe habituall, they are neither seene, felt, nor heard in him. Butt doe wee give any other judgmt but what the Scripture gives Ephes: 4.5. One god, one faith one baptisme, if but one, what, or where are all ye rest. Iff ye same tell us the Romaines enjoy that one faith, why may not shee ~~well~~ give all other contrary faiths a checke Does not S Athanasius (in termes passed by you) tell that whosoever will bee saved itt is necessary before all thinges yt hee hould the Catholicke faith. why may not this faith curb all other faiths beinge but fained ones, leadinge soe direct to hell, when onely one leads a direct path to heaven? And does hee not shame all who ownes him to tell yt in judginge him & his, wee judge the greatest & best of his church; will not the Protestant, the Antinomian, the Brownist the Quaker as well as wee tell this lowd Presbiter yt these are two of the loudest lyes in the whole packe. what poore Clamours are all which follows yt what ~~which~~ Papists judge is agt gospell. whosoever beleeveth in christ shall not perish but have life everlastinge John 3.15. 6. 18 &c and a great number more to small purpose, but what beleefe is this *7 of yours, you beleeve in god? you beleeve all revealed, wch I know you doe not. The Devills beleeve thus much James 2. and will you not on wth them, wee'l leave you there & find worse company if wee can. All then who beleeve must not bee saved, unlesse it bee such faith as S Paul gives us notice of in the 1. Cor. 13. 2. ffaith then soe bare as yours will not ~~serve turne~~. S Augustin tells us lib. de fide et opibus c. 14. that this was an heresy in

the

*7. See S Augustin in his booke booke de fide, et operibus c. 15 to 4 ~~[illegible]~~ will tell you what faith without good works is; And read the 25 of S Math: and then you shall find all condemned for want of good works without any mention of ffaith att all. will not the Chapter terrifie your bare ffaith.

Evangelisti cum omni mansuetudine et

[illegible] time. you may well then declare them your selues auncient. Lett him shew you
or us or any Catholique author this false proposition. yt wee beleeue in the Pope of Rome, I
am sure noe more, then that hee can find in our Creed, or true in his owne. I beleeue
In the Catholique Church. would euer the least boy in lowest schoole english these words
Credo Ecclesiam Catholicam. I beleeue in the Catholique church. Hee may then begin at
the lowest schoole againe. The Papist cause is carnall; Its against all Christianity; Its a
Novelty and late invention. what haue wee for these butt his bare words, why should wee
for rotten fruit returne good againe. lett us see then whether hee & his companions,
or ours haue more carnall breed to looke to, to releeue, to mantaine, to feed, how must
these carnall creatures be provided for, butt from some carnall interest; what is it butt
this wch make ministers for covetous, or more then others, what but this makes min=
=isters leave theire best friends for better benefices? wch indeed they esteeme theire
best friends, where are ours troubled with such heavy Clogges; wee haue noe other
butt our selves and soules to feed. whether then looke or serve they or wee more
for carnall interest? against Christianity bec. the Scripture is nott knowne to be gods
word, nor Christian doctrine true butt on the authority of the Pope or church, Has
nott the church this authority given Math. 23.2. The Scribes & Pharisees sit in Moyses
seate, all therefore what they bid you obserue, yt obserue & doe. where were his
eyes I pray you when wee might haue seene christ comand us here not onely in
matters of faith to haue recourse to some what else beside the written word
(to witt the Pastors) but bids us moreover obey them & yt in all without distinction
Luke. 10. 16. Hee yt heares you heareth mee, & hee yt despiseth you despiseth mee, and
hee yt despiseth mee, despiseth him who sent mee. Is nott here the authority of his
Pastors equall to his word. Then are wee not tyed onely to the written word. what
then agt. Christianity here? How must wee know S Math. Gospell &c: to bee gods word to
bee Canonicall, The word tells us nothinge of it, who then must end these doubts? Lett
then his feeble errours. It is a Novelty. Risum teneatis amici? Did ever any yett call
our religion New, as every child may yett heare yours constantly called. Hee's nott
ashamed to putt the triall to Scripture and askes when Jerusalem. Corinth. Galatie
& Philippi had any comand to obey the church of Rome. Lett me aske him a=
gaine where were these cities, in this or in an unknowne world, if in this had
they nott the Romaine faith, how could the Romaine faith be knowne the whole world
over & nott knowne to these cities; to 3 of which hee writt himselfe and tould the
Romanes yt which I tould you above; how could they then butt haue relacon to that
church theire faith came from; How could but the whole world know hir when
they received theire faith from hir. The Papists profession is made of contradictions; &
hee thinks hee gives it home when hee tells us of these contradicting Counsells. The
Latteran Counsell as there quoted defines a Pope to bee above a Counsell, and the
Counsell of Constance defines a Counsell to bee above a Pope. I must tell him that
hee knows nott what hee writes, or else hee would keepe the truth from you. They
were never owned by us for Oecumenicall decrees or definitions And suppose they were
the Latteran defind the pope above a Counsell wthout a Pope or not approved; And
Constance defind a Counsell approved by a Pope, to be above a Pope wthout a Counsell.
I pray you then where are these contradictions. Alas he never read these Counsells.
Or else he was in his old Malitious pathway. All his other Hopperies ~~[illegible]~~ wch follow
after are nothing in substance, but these & such like over & over againe without
any proofes at all, yet hee will make them good if wee dare putt him to the
tryalls, I am sure hee who has already given him a reply to his great booke
has already

has already putt him to it, I am affraid he will come off (as his beloved brethren
alwayes doe) with shame; the cannot butt returne on him againe unlesse at last he
find his eyes open, and give by silence yt right to truth which you would have us
give to forged untruths, & nonsense. Hee then had found noe experienced man,
hee has now found one & when he pleases may find a number ready to stirr &
quicken yt blacke spirit wch workes soe in his soule & frightens him soe from yt
darke path, wth his weake light & sight thinkes the easiest take. All this time
I have esteemed almost as little as all lost, haveinge noe other things to looke
on butt raylings; nothinge but aspersions (without proofes) for reasons, and
god would have him at the end confesse soe much, to lett you & others, see his weaknes
ffor if hee had had them, would hee not have taken paines to give a sheet of
proofes as well as a sheet of charges against us. Alas hee had them not. Does hee
deserve any other reward then hisses. If I should in any Court give you a chardge
for your estate, and give many faire glosses to make my chardge runn currant
on, I might make many ignoramuses beleeve yt I had more right to yt I
looked for, then you have; Butt when the Court comes to give audience lookes
for proofes & evidences to make my querets good, and bring none in; what will
they doe but hisse: & what after but with a Clamorous shame out mee Court,
& declare mee unfitt for any good society at all. Is not this case his: Does not
he chardge the Roman church, for his right, would not hee make the world
beleeve yt shee is not the Mother church; Does not hee tell you yt shee is fallen
into a 1000 Errours. Now when Audience is given him, he tells hee has noe proofes,
what can the world doe but hisse him, what will the sentence bee but to out
him, and iudge him unfitt for any society but his owne. But I will not doe soe
with you; wth this Letter (wch is more large then I intended) I sent you
one who not long since was your owne; but for those Motives hee gives
his Brethren hee deserted them; now if his motives butt bee good, they may
make others doubt as well as him; they may bring others home as well as him:
If nott why does his brethren not tell him wert they are weake; Alas they cannot.
Looke here well Mr Bell, and youl find another sorte; youl here not find
railing for reason, but reason for raylinge. and good proofs for his reasons. I
hope this may satisfie for what my sheet wants, though it have more, then I
could well have spared time for, as you may see by my hast. yett well bestowed if
it gaine its wished effect, a right knowledge of the Catholicke church in you &
others, & how far she is from those Errours her adversaries give out against her
The which I wish he who gives all yt is good, may give it you wch shall be ye wors
I shall wish you whilst I remaine knowne

by these poore Elements

118

Tho. Hughs = Somme

I can show you wn this is read well over,
another and another, and many others
fallen lately fro you upon better notice
of your Ministers deceipts against ye
Church of Rome. And as soone as I
can gett Mr Baxters reply fro London
(if you have it not) you shall have it
or I may better say ye reply unto
Mr Baxter.

I forgott to make mention of his abuse of ye Counsell
of Trent yt ye Counsell added to ye Canon, wch is
false for the third Counsell of Carthage approv
of all ye same bookes excepting Baruch, whom
they approved wth the Prophett Jeremy 1200
yeares since. Alas he never read any of
those Counsells. These are all ye proofs
he has —

8.

errantes, non illos odio sed amore pros

[illegible] [illegible] si mutuo se suppo

Evangelici cum omni mansuetudine et

To mr Thomas Hughson these wth speed deliver.

Sr havinge a booke called a Manuell of Controversies; writt by one of yor faction come to my ha
whether by your meanes or by some other of yor Bretheren I know not, I thought go
to lett you know that it is answered by Mr Tombs, wch answer I could send y
(if you have a mind to reply) uppon good warranty of a safe returne of ye same.
to save yt I have sent you herein enclosed a sheet of paper writt by Mr Baxter
wch you may (if you can) confute, but not by silence, for then I shall conceive yo
grant all yt is asserted therein to be true, & it will alsoe be some shame to your
reputation. Sr I could have sent you Dr Challenor Credo Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam
Alexander Cookes abatement to Popish braggs, wth severall others of Larger volumes; but
I suppose this is large enough to put you to a stand, if done Judiciously and to the
satisfaction of any reasonable man. See expecting yor speedy answer I rest

Ishipp April 21. 62

yor neighbour
John Bell

These ffor Mr John Bell at his house at Ishipp.

Mr Bell

I received a note yours in name, but I suppose anothers in re, (some thinge
in it wch you believe is full of reason, though you shall see (if you will yo
shutt eyes open) nothing but rumbling rayling instead of reason in it, it is
the product of all those poore things you had to send, could to any rationale
[illegible] be sent, though wee heare you have proclaimd us unable to
answer. I noe sooner received it, but I begunne as your nearest relacon
the next morning after, & had intended this very day to have sent
you my reflections of it, had I not in ye meane tyme beene called aw
day & night to better imployments wch makes mee by force make a demur
more large then I first intended however you shall have a little tast of
before you know whether it will be a good feast or noe, because (though
the thing deserve noe answer at all) you tell mee silence will give
you all as granted; I hope before yt time to have some spare day
when some spare houres will serve for a greater business then this
Til then noe more but yours in him in whome we all should bee

Thos Hughs
Ap. 28 — 62

9.

[illegible] must Appear within [illegible]
Some of those Many Errors in your Writings, wh
rance, or the Totall Obstruction of the Course of Chri

In the Second Part of the Book you call Catholic
you have these words: " To Forsake some smal Sins, tho
cessitate præcepti, I think is not necessarie to saving Co
epentance, & necessarie necessitate medij to Salvation.

By such a Thought you miserably Deceive your se
thing it you say a Scandal, or Stumbling=block before all
o are not sufficiently Aware of your most Erroneous Confid
ey will be in great Danger to Fall into the most Profound
remove this Scandal It is most certainly your Duty to
the World an Assent to this, or some other Proposition Equ
erunto, That 'tis Impossible that Any man should be in a Sta
o Frequently Does any thing which he Knows to be Sinful, or
Doing of what he Knows to be his Duty towards God, or to

In your Book Of the Life of Mrs Margaret
2. You have these words: " He that should meditate, read, ye
Intensely as to Distract him, would do it Overmuch. Her
ppose that a man may Love God so Intensely as thereb
make himselfe Mad. What Ugly Conceits have you of
the BEAUTIE of Angels, & Immortal Souls! Does no
sed Apostle to Prevent all such Extravagant Conceits
xpressly, that " This is the Love of God that we Keep his C
ments. Can a man be Overmuch Inclin'd (so as to grow Mad
cted by such an Inclination) to Do what God has Command
Doe, or Too Averse from Doing what God has Forbidd
Doe? Is it possible that any man should grow Mad, or Distra
his Zeal, or the Intenseness of his Will Bent upon such A
other Principle than that of Divine Wisedom, he is Dire

In the Book you Entitle " Dying Thoughts p. 69
Far be it from us to Think that Christs Glorified Spiritual
such in parts & dimentions, as his Earthly Body was: Th
nds, Feet, Brains, Heart, Stomach, Liver Intestines, as on
e You Expressly Deny that the Glorified Body of Our Blesse
Hands, & Feet: & Implicitly you Deny that it has a
s for the Internal Parts that you mention
[illegible] Prophane Boldness, if [illegible]
[illegible] that [illegible]

ce In the Manner
[illegible] that wrangle about
ce, & confusion by those other words of the Blessed Angels
er. In your Book Entitled Everlasting Rest
cially concerning the Love of God, & in all yr other Writ
there is some Resemblance of those Ill-Favoured Conceptions
set forth at large. " Long have I been poaring, say you, whe
of Grace, & so the Difference between an Hypocrite, & a true
do consist in the Nature, or only in the Degree: whether it
or Specifical Difference: And I never durst conclude that it
Degree; because of the seeming force of the Objections, wh
even Answer. And secondly because of the constant contr
nt of All those Divines, which I highliest valued. Can you Reflec
rds, & not be Conscious to yr selfe of being Monstrously Selfe-conceit
Declare to the World that you Prefer your own Private Conceit
Judgement of All those, who even in your own Opinion are
pes! I Pray, Sr, Reflect on this Senseless Composure of words, whi
ure upon a Pretence of maintaining yr Paradox, viz. That
of Grace
the, & so the Difference between an Hypocrite, & a True Chris
nsist in the Nature, but only in the Degree. Poar a little
ange Phrases of yr own: " I say a Moral Specifical Di
founded in a Natural Gradual Difference. If you confound the
ecifications you will lose your selves in this Poynt
" Furthermore observe that I say that Syncerity of Gra
ing lyeing in the Degree not Formally, but as it were Materi
These following words I think not unworthy of an Answer.
o God, & special Saving Love to God are both Acts of the Will. An
ever the Will, or Spiritual Appetite, is truly & syncerely Exerc
d, in that Act it so Adheres to Him, that it Loves, or Adhere
e Object, but in Reference to Him, the One Infinite Good.
I confidently Aver that what you say concerning Common
Fiction. You expressly Affirm that a Choise of Christ,
that he shall be ours, together with his Benefits is consistent wi
enerate State: which Affirmation of yours is so Notoriously
shall make no other Reflexion on it, but only to Beseech you to con
ause you have to Boast, as you do how many Books you have Publ
hown yr selfe so Detestably Erroneous even in that Book
much Applauded. " He may Will, say you speaking of an Unre
, Choose, Accept, or Desire Holiness, & Glory in a Second P
st Palpable Contradiction: For the Nature of Holiness is To A
M [illegible] the Supream Love, which is Due onely to the Infinite
ke 14, 26. By Hate in this place we are not to understa
as you confidently Assert but that we must not Lov
[illegible] LORD, or For CHRISTS sake: We must
Degree [illegible]

BAXTER
LETTERS.
fol.12[illegible]. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

[illegible] Salvation [illegible] you Exhort [illegible]
on & His Necessarie Vindication p. 1. You conclude
of Repentance thus: "[illegible] in any [Sin] the
the Predominant Love of God, & Goodness. These words have
Smell of those two most Loathsome opinions, that to Forsake (such
some smaller Sins is not essentiall to Saving Conversion, & Re
And that some Degree of Love to God may be in that Heart, when
dominant; which is so Evidently & Unquestionably False, as it is
words are a Part of the Holy Scripture: "This is the Love of God
Keep His Commandments. They that Love the Lord Jesus in Syn
Renounce, Forsake, Abhorre All Known Sin Directly & Formally
Sin Unknown Consequently & Virtually, in as much as they Steadfastly
Forsake any Practice, tho they have been never so much Accust
ever they shall be Convinced that it is any way Sinfull. p. 66. "The
say you how some Foul Sins that have got advantage by Custom
with some Degrees of Grace." Well may you call the writing of
Booke as this an Unsavourie Employment, as you doe p. 85.
But since you were Conscious to your selfe that it was Unsavourie,
would you Publish it, to the great Dishonour of God, Giving
so great a Scandal to so Many poor Souls, whom you so En=
courage to Raile at their Superiours, And to Conceit that some
Foul Sins may Consist with some Degrees of Grace. [illegible]
You shew that sometimes you have Good Inclinations:
Pray God you may have more of them, & that they may
not be as the Morning Cloud, & as the Early Dew that passeth
" While I lived in St Giles's, say you p. 41. I went Mornin
the Parish Church to Common Prayer & Sermon, & Communicated at
the Rails. By these words of yours, I am Animated to Speak to you thus
His Holy Angels. I Beseech you By the Mercies of God
would most seriously Consider, whether you had not Done Well, & as
honest Man, & a Syncere Christian, if you had bestowd your
constant Endeavour to Perswade All sorts of Non=conformists
cate in the Publick Worship of Almighty God with the Bishops, & the
of the Gospel that Officiate Under them; And not in Endeavouring
defend & Encourage them in a Contempt of those Ecclesiastical Con
which they are Enjoynd to that Communion which by your
Practice You have Declard to the World that you Judge to be
=sive to a Pure Conscience. The LORD give you Understanding
All things: So Prayeth

Your Servant

Edmund Ely

in Devon
9th

[illegible]

[illegible] whipt in youth by Reverend Hughes and [illegible]
And since by Creditors thrice tripple Cord:
A busy Fool in print you will me find;
See! Rodds nor years can cure so dull a mind.

10.

These
For Mr Richard Baxter

To be left with Mr Thomas
Parkhurst at the Bible & Three
Crowns in Cheapside near
Mercers Chapel

London

I thanke you for yor paines &c 66. As to yor Questions I suppose you expect me
to answere but to ye Arguments on one side, wch yet I need not doe, if you have im=
partially read & understood, but Daile's Apology & Davenant's Dissert. wch you mention
And because they have spoken so largely, I must crave yor acceptance of my neces=
sary brevity, or at least yor pardon of it. //

Ad 1m Negatur et Major et Minor prop. Mors Xti et ejus Intercessio non sunt ejus-
dem latitudinis: Intercessio enim eminenter sic dicta, nec pertinet ad impetrationem
(ut vulgo loquuntur) beneficiorum, vel ad satisfactionem vel pretium, nec ad com=
munem applicationem vel collationem beneficiorum; sed ad specialem illam ap=
plicationem electis propriam. 2o Nec tamen dicendum est intercessionem Xti
esse simpliciter pro solis electis, quia communis quædam est intercessio pro bene-
ficijs communibus (inter quæ numeranda est Conditionalis Justificatio etiam non-elec-
torum); quod probatur et ex scripturis et ex eventu et naturâ rei.

As to yor arguinge a majore its vaine, bec 1o It is Gods revelation of his will in his
word yt must tell us to whom he will give his benefits; but if without ye word
we will presume to conjecture, yea peremptorily conclude from ye magnitude of
one mercye, yt God will certainly give another, we shall be wise to or owne shame.
I pray you answere me these like Questions, & yn answere yor owne. 1o was it not
a greater mercy for God to make ye Angells such glorious creatures, givinge ym such
a beinge, holynes & felicity, so neere to himselfe, yn to give ym one sparke of assisting
confirminge grace, yt might have kept ym from loosinge ye glory wch they had? If you
say, No: you may as well say, Xts dyinge for a non-elect person amonge others was
not a greater mercye yn givinge him ye Spirit. If you say [yea] yn you must confess
ye weaknes of yor consequence. 2o Q. Was it not a greater mercye to Adam & all
mankind as in him, to be created in yt excellency, & placed in yt dignity, & holynes, wth
a promise of eternall life upon obedience, yn to helpe him by grace, but to keepe what
he had, agt such a temptation as drew him away. The death of X doth yt for the
world in one way, wch God by creation & ye first Covenant did in another. God
made all mankind in Adam capable of Happines, & gave mankind in Adam a pro=
mise of eternall life, on conditions most meet for a sinlesse man: But yet it was
never his purpose yt either all mankind or Adam himselfe should eventually attaine
ye Life promised in yt Covent, by ye fullfillinge thereof. So Jesus Christ hath by
a generall sufficient satisfaction, purchased a new Dominion & Empire over them
yt were lost, & hath brought ym under a better Covent, yt pardoneth ym, & promiseth
ym Life on gentler Conditions: but yet it followeth not yt he must needs save
all yt by his blood he bringeth under this Covenant, any more yn God must needs
save all, yt by ye bounty of a Creator, he brought under ye first Covenant. //

As for yor quorsum, 1o Its too presumptuous a Question for a creature to put in
order to his tryinge of ye truth of such a point, & ye English is [Lord I will not
believe thou hast done it, unless thou wilt satisfye me of ye Reasons why thou
hast done it.] 2o But yet God hath not left us here to seeke altogether.
1o Quorsum Deus creavit Angelos in tantâ et gratiâ et gloriâ, quos tamen a lap-
su et æternâ miseriâ non est preservaturus? 2o To what purpose did he ye be-
fore mentioned for Adam & all mankind in him by ye first Covenant? 3o It
is far from vaine, wn Christ hath ye Glory of ye very Purchase, & offers, and
Preachinge of his Grace, & ye Glory of his comon mercyes: And even ye Saints
ymselves shall glorifye him for his generall mercyes to ye non-elect; As the
Son himselfe gives glory to ye Father for beinge good to ye evill, & causinge his
Sun to shine on ye Just & unjust. And ye world shall glorifye his Justice in
Judgment, & ye Consciences of ye damned shall confess his Righteousnes, & his
mercy wch they abused, to all eternity. Even ye damned will glorifye him by
confessinge ye great mercye to ym, wch disputers now deny to his dishonour.
And its pitty yt ye damned should outgoe so many godly teachers, in honouringe
ye fullnes of yt grace of Christ. The passage John 17. [I pray not for
ye world] speakes not of all Xts prayers; but of wt he was yn usinge.
No man can prove yt all were saved yt he prayed for on ye Cross. To use
yor owne medium: The benefits of Xts death are conveyed to none without
some sort of his Intercession: But many benefits of Xts death are conveyed
to ye non-elect: Ergo for ym he intercedes (in tantum). // Where you say [Inter-
cessio non est si credant, sed ut credant] I answere, Intercession is as [illegible] had
be
ever
[illegible] stated Laws & Ordinances of God, & (as I have allwayes understood it) ye Ser-
vinge ministry is but to teach those Laws, & use those Ordinances; & not to make

sire as ye benefits conferred. It is a great benefit to have a Conditionall pdon & guift of Xt & Life, granted to all in ye Gospell: Therefore Xt Interceded for yt mercye, yt is, yt grant of a Conditionall pdon &c. It is a great mercye to have all ye offers, means & helps, wch they have, to provoke ym to believe: so Xt Interceded to procure ym those means, &c. Christ intercedeth absolutely for his Elect yt they may beleive: & he intercedeth for means & comon mercys to others, & for this Conditionall guift of himselfe wth pdon & Life to ye world. And though he say not, si credas, orabo pro te, yet he saith, I have Interceded for thee, yt thou maist be pdoned & saved if thou wilt believe. If you aske where? I say, in ye very grant or pmise.//

To yor 2d Argument I answere. It is ye most plausible yt can be [illegible] forth from Scripture for ye cause, & one yt I have publickly used for it myselfe long agoe; but I am satisfyed yt it will not serve. ffor 1o It must be noted to wm ye Apostle speakes, & yt is not to all men but to ye pdestinate & called, yt had ye Love of God. 2o It must be noted wt it is yt ye Apostle would hereby prove: even ye very Proposition expressed v.28. yt all things shall worke for good to ym yt Love God: or yt God will certainly bringe his pdestinated, sanctifyed ones through all their troubles to everlasting glory & pfect wt he hath begun: or yt he will give ym all things. i.e. wch yet they want. 3o It must be observed wt is ye Apostles medium, by wch he would prove this. And yt is ye givinge of Xt both for ym wth yt speciall intention or Love as he was given for ye Elect, & to ym in union. So yt 1o ye unbeleivers are not here spoke to. 2o The givinge of faith or ye first grace is not any pt of ye [all things] yt ye Apostle meaneth: for they had yt before. 3o It is not meere givinge up Xt for men with a comon Love or Intention yt ye Apostle argueth from. For you may note yt ye text mentioneth 1o a givinge of Xt for us, 2o a givinge him to us, expressed in ye words [with him.] 3o A givinge of all things to us yt are after necessary. Now if Paul argue thus [you yt are pdestinate & Justifyed & Love God, may well beleive yt he will deny you nothinge else yt is good for you, wn he hath out of yt speciall Love to you both given up his Son for you all, & given him also to you to be yor head. you have no warrant hence to argue thus [God will give all things, even faith itselfe to those unbeleivers for whom he gave up his son, though Xt be not yet given to ym in union & though he were given up for ym, but as for comon men.] If you object, yt ye Argument beinge a magnitudine doni, will hold as well for one as for another; I answ. 1o If it would, yet Xt given for us & to us is a greater guift yn Xt given for us only. 2 Xt given for us eminently with a speciall resolution to save us, is a greater guift yn Xt given without ye speciall Intention. 3o we must stretch ye Argument no further yn ye Apostle doth: for or owne conjectures may faile us & are no Scripture. Sometimes God yt had given a greater guift, denyeth a less, not because he thought ye less too great, but because his wisdome saw it meet to deny it, of wch man can require no further reason. God hath two sorts of mercyes: some, wch he gives as meere absolute Lord wthout any entitlinge foregoinge pmise, such is faith, & ye degrees of grace and glory, & many ordinances & outward things in pticuler. some, yt he hath secured to us by ye word of his pmise: And these last are they yt ye Apostle here speakes of, & not ye former. q.d. [he yt hath freely given his Son for you (& so founded ye Covent of Grace in his blood) & also given him to you, who is ye great guift of ye Covenant, will sure give you all ye rest yt he hath pmised.] But yt it will not hold as to any of those mercyes yt God gives as absolute Lord arbitrarily

without preengagement, is past doubt from experience: for else ye text should
be false. ffor God gave Xt for all ye Elect: but he giveth not to all ye Elect
1° either yt high degree of habituall grace, as to some, 2° nor yt degree of
actuall holie. 3° or of Comunion wth him in yt sort of fruition yt here we
are capable of. 4° nor preservation of ye degrees of Grace once received
5° nor yt degree of Glory hereafter. And if it be certaine yt all this
must be excepted out of yt [All things], why not ye guift of faith
1° wch is no more promised to yem yt have it not, yn these; & 2° wch ye persons
had allready wm Paul directeth to draw this conclusion from ye death
of Xt. // As for Davenants exposition of this text, you mistooke him. He
doth not tell you yt in ye first clause [pro nobis] is larger yn [nobis] in the
last: for he takes pro nobis omnibus in yt text to meane only de electis cre=
dentibus. //

Ad 3m. Yor 3d is a meere mistake of their sence of [dyinge for men condition=
ally]. The word [conditionally] either referreth to ye death itselfe, or the
benefitts of it. As to ye first Xt dyed for all men actually & not conditi=
all one as to say, he did not dye for any that performe not the condition: wch
onally, for else it were a yeildinge ye cause to ye opponents. But it is as
to ye benefitts (& yt not all, but ye notable benefitts of pardon, justificn, Adoption
glory) yt he is said conditionally to Redeeme yem: yt is, he dyed for all men
whether they beleive or not: but he dyed to procure a conditionall
promise or guift of pardon & salvation to all men, if they will Repent and
beleive. And thus I have breifly, but I conceive sufficiently, answered
yor Arguments; wch accept in hast from

Yor Brother

Ri: Baxter.

March. 6th.
1656/7

To Mr J. D. of Vniverſall Redemption.

unavoidable busynesses have hindered me till now to answere yor last, & now you mu
beare wth ye fruites of hast. // To yor exceptions agt my first answere ad 1m I say
1o A speciall Intercession for faith & actuall Justificn & life, & a comon intercession for
ye offers of grace, conditionall pdon & other comon mercyes, are not all one: nor doth
it follow yt either of yor propositions were to be granted, till you distinguish: one being
false of intercession taken in ye large & unrestrained sense; & you added no restriction:
yt [Xt prayeth for none but ye Elect] is thus false: but if you take [Intercession]
for yt wch is speciall, eminently so called, yt it is false yt [Xt dyed for none, but those
he prayed for.] But you want proofe of a comon Intercession. 1o He prayed for
ym yt putt him to death, without restraining it to ye Elect: ye Scripture doth not so
restraine it: ergo neither must you. If you say, ye benefit prayed for [forgivenes] leads
a restriction to ye Elect, I answere by denying it. The Scripture oft makes some forgive-
nes comon to ym yt perish. To forgive is to remitt ye penalty: God doth not inflict ye chiefe
pt of ye penalty on ye wicked here, & in ye meane time, he gives ym a conditionall
pardon of ye whole [I forgave thee all ye debt &c] 2o Christs Intercession in hea-
ven is ye procurement & conveyance of benefitts to sinners from his father upon ye me-
ritorious account of his sacrifice & obedience: But Xt doth procure & convey benefitts
to ye non-Elect from his father upon ye meritorious account of his sacrifice & obe-
dience: ergo Xt doth intercede for ye non-Elect. The major is granted comonly, ye
minor may be easily proved at large 1o by enumeration of ye benefitts, 2o by
proving yt they come from ye merit of Xts sacrifice &c And whereas you call for
more explication of my answere to yor text, I know not how to speake my mind
plainer yn againe to tell you, yt ye text speakes not of Xts prayers in generall, but
of ye prayer wch yn he was putting up. It was a prayer yt suited not ye con-
dition of ye world. As he gives not speciall grace to ye non-Elect, so he prayes not
for it for ym, wch was ye nature of ye prayer in hand: yea it was specially for their
unity, preservation & perseverance. There is nothing for you in Rom. 8.34. To say
yt Xt maketh Intercession for us yt we may not be condemned, is no proofe yt he
makes not Intercession for others yt they may have ye offers of grace, & a con-
ditionall pdon, & many guifts of ye Holy Ghost &c. The same I say of Luk 22.32.
Heb. 7.25. & 9.24. wch say nothing to ye cause. Do you thinke Xt did give ye comon
guifts of ye Holy Ghost to Judas & abundance more without any prayer or Intercession
Or yt he healed ye diseased without any inward prayer or intercession? or yt all
were Elect yt were healed by him? Hath Xt no prayer nor intercession for ye
visible ministry, of wch many are not Elect? Do men tast of ye good word of God
& ye powers of ye world to come, & are made ptakers of ye H Ghost & have received
ye grace of God, without any intercession of Xt at all? Take ye word at your pleasure
Sure I am, it is not without his gracious procurement & conveyance, even by ye price & meritt of
his bloud. He teaches his people to pray for ym yt hurt & psecute ym Math. 5. &
will he not do it himselfe? will he have us outgoe him in extent of or charity?
And it is not only ye Elect enemyes & haters & cursers & persecuters yt he bids us
pray for & blesse & love &c: for as we know ym not, so ye text extendeth it to all. I have
sometime admired at ye difference betweene ye plaine doctrine of Xt & some pious
Divines: wn they take it to be some kind of injury to God & ye Redeemer to make him
ye author of a comon grace: & wn Xt maketh its Gods perfection (for so he speakes)
& comandeth us in this to imitate him, & be perfect as or heavenly father is perfect
& to shew ourselves his children who maketh his sun to rise on ye evill & on ye
good & sendeth raine on ye just & ye unjust Math. 5.44.45.46. & doubtles it
shineth & raineth on more yn ye Elect. It is like Xt to pray for ym yt despite-
fully use us, whether elect or not. You canot prove yt all those children were
saved, yt had ye imposition of Christs hands wth prayer Math. 19.13. // But suppose you
could prove yt all Xts Intercession by prayer is prop to ye Elect (wch you never will) yet
still I deny yt ergo his death is only for ym. As to yor answere to wt I alledged agt yor
reason seeming a fortiore (yt if Xt do ye greater, he will do ye less) I reply yt yor
answere overlooks my Instances. Did not my instances containe meanes yt were in order
to ye same end, in ye comand & their tendency? Was not giving Holyness to ye Angells & to
Adam & giving ym yt persevering grace, by wch they might have kept it agt temptation
as much ejusdem generis as those in question? The rest on this argumt needs no reply: & the
other you forward. Pardon this in great hast & so curt & imperfect, from

yor Brother Ri: Baxter.
June 1657.

+ 123

ye sealed Lawe & Ordinances of God, & (as I have allwayes understood it) ye stan-
ding ministry is but to teach those Lawes, & use those Ordinances;

To Mr J. D. of vniverſall
Redemption.

LETTERS.

fol 123. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Inevitable busynesses have prohibited me till now to answer yor last, & now you must beare wth ye fruites of hast // To yor Exceptions agt my first answer ad 1m I say 1o Speciall Intercession for faith & actuall Justificn & life, & a comon intercession for ye offers of grace, conditionall pdon & other comon mercyes, are not all one: nor doth it follow yt either of yor propositions were to be granted, till you distinguish: one being false of intercession taken in ye large & unrestrained sense; & you added no restriction: yt [xt prayeth for none but ye Elect] is thus false: but if you take [Intercession] for yt wch is speciall, eminently so called, yn it is false yt [xt dyed for none, but those he prayed for.] But you want proofe of a comon Intercession. 1o He prayed for ym yt putt him to death, wthout restraininge it to ye Elect. ye Scripture doth not so restraine it: ergo neither must you. If you say, ye benefitt prayed for [forgivenes] shews a restriction to ye Elect, I answer by denyinge it. The Scripture oft makes some forgivenes comon to ym yt perish. To forgive is to remitt ye penalty: God doth not inflict ye chiefe pt of ye penalty on ye wicked here, & in ye meane time, he gives ym a conditionall pardon of ye whole [I forgave thee all ye debt &c] 2o Christs Intercession in heaven is ye procuremt & conveyance of benefitts to sinners from his father upon ye meritorious account of his sacrifice & obedience: But xt doth procure & convey benefitts to ye non=Elect from his father upon ye meritorious account of his sacrifice & obedience: ergo xt doth intercede for ye non=Elect. The major is granted comonly, ye minor may be easily proved at large 1o by enumeration of ye benefitts, 2o by provinge yt they come from ye merit of xts sacrifice &c. And whereas you call for more explication of my answer to yor text, I know not how to speake my mind plainer yn againe to tell you, yt ye text speakes not of xts prayers in generall, but of ye prayer wch yn he was puttinge up. It was a prayer yt suited not ye condition of ye world. As he gives not speciall grace to ye non=Elect, so he prayes not for it for ym, wch was ye nature of ye prayer in hand: yea it was specially for their unity, preservation & pseverance. There is nothinge for you in Rom. 8.34. To say yt xt maketh Intercession for us yt we may not be condemned, is no proofe yt he makes not Intercession for others yt they may have ye offers of grace, & a conditionall pdon, & many guifts of ye Holy Ghost &c. The same I say of Luk. 22.32. Heb. 7.25. & 9.24. wch say nothinge to ye cause. Do you thinke xt did give ye comon guifts of ye Holy Ghost to Judas & abundance more wthout any prayer or Intercession or yt he healed ye diseased wthout any inward prayer or intercession? or yt all were Elect yt were healed by him? Hath xt no prayer nor intercession for ye visible ministry, of wch many are not Elect? Do men tast of ye good word of God & ye powers of ye world to come, & are made ptakers of ye H Ghost & have received ye grace of God, wthout any intercession of xt at all? Take ye word at your pleasure I am, it is not wthout his gracious procurement & conveyance, even by ye price & meritt of his blood. He teaches his people to pray for ym yt hurt & psecute ym Math. 5. & will he not do it himselfe? will he have us outgoe him in extent of or charity? And it is not only ye elect enemyes & haters & cursers & persecuters yt he bids us pray for & blesse & love &c: for as we know ym not, so ye text extendeth it to all. I have sometime admired at ye difference betweene ye plaine doctrine of xt & some pious Divines: wn they take it to be some kind of injury to God & ye Redeemer to make him ye Author of a comon grace: & wn xt maketh its Gods pfection (for so he speaks) & comandeth us in this to imitate him, & be pfect as or heavenly father is pfect & to shew ourselves his children who maketh his sun to rise on ye evill & on ye good & sendeth raine on ye just & ye unjust Math. 5.44.45.46. & doubtles it shineth & raineth on more yn ye Elect. It is like xt to pray for ym yt despitefully use us, whether elect or not. You canot prove yt all those children were saved, yt had ye imposition of Christs hands wth prayer Math. 19.13. // But suppose you could prove yt all xts Intercession by prayer is proper to ye Elect (wch you never will) yet still I deny yt ergo his death is only for ym. As to yor answer to wt I alledged agt ye reason seeminge a fortiori (yt if xt do ye greater, he will do ye less) I reply yt yor answer overlookes my instances. Did not my instances containe meanes yt were in order to ye same end, in ye comand & their tendency? Was not givinge Holynes to ye Angells, & to Adam & givinge ym yt preservinge grace, by wch they might have kept it agt temptation as much ejusdem generis as those in question? The rest on this Argumt needs no reply: & the other you forward. Pardon this in great hast & ergo curt & imperfect, from

yor Brother Ri: Baxter.

June 2[illegible] 1657

123

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ye sealed Lawes & Ordinances of God, & (as I have allwayes understood it) yt savinge ministry is but to teach those Lawes, & use those Ordinances;

sealed Lawes & Ordinances of God, & (as I have alwayes understood it) [illegible]
[illegible] ministry is but to teach those Lawes, & use those Ordinances;

Honored Sir,

By this I returne you many thanks for your booke against Popery & about the Sacraments wch since I began to write came to hand wch you were pleased to direct to mee by Mr Underhill, as also for your paines in concerning the Question mentioned in my last. quos libros lego, relego, perlego. The discovery of any truth, especially that wch is circa res divinas is exceeding pleasant to my understanding, & the information of my judgment in the great truths of the gospell is that wch I doe endeavor after. & though I have beene unsetled a great while about this controversy of the universality of Xt Redemption & the extent of his death, & have sought for resolution, yet I ~~[illegible]~~ stile suspensus haereo. I have sometimes thought how can I in my constant preaching offer Xt to the worst in my congregation & promise ~~him~~ him eternall life upon his beleeving & Repenting if Xt never [in noe sense] dyed for him, that wch is commonly retorted is noe satisfaction to mee, viz: wee doe not know who are elected & who are not, & therefore propound it unto all, but let us proceed ex hypothesi & that wch is also probable. that in a greate large full congregation there might be one Reprobate that never shall be saved. though I know not the person, might I now to a Reprobate say, if thou beleeve thou shalt be saved, would this be a true proposition or noe, supposing him to be non-elect or passed by, though I doe not know it, for I suppose my knowing of it would not alter the truth of the proposition, now how can I preach this, & assure ym in the name of God be hee who hee will or wt he will if he beleeve he shall be saved. upon wt rationall grounds can I thus preach if in noe sense Xt dyed for ym. for to mee it would be an untruth, for though one should beleeve (si esset possibile) for wm Xt dyed not, yet he should not be saved, for it is not ye faith but the death of Xt that is the cause upon wch as meritorious the successe of our salvation is layd. The opponents say it is impossible that they should beleeve for wm Xt did not dy, to wch my thoughts are yt it is not impossibile absolute sed ex hypothesi, that god hath not ordained ym to eternall life & therefore not to give ym faith, & then such ~~[illegible]~~ an hypotheticall impossibility must be allowed of in disputes, for the holy-ghost himselfe doth, concerning Caine, whom he knew, & wee also ex eventu to bee a Reprobate, [if thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted] yet it is an impossibility that Caine should doe well omnibus circumstantiis being hee was past by by god & yet this was true if he had done well he should be accepted, & yet it would not be true if he had done well if the death of Xt in noe sense was to be extended unto ~~[illegible]~~ Caine. for not his doing well but the death of Xt applyed to him must be ye ground of his acceptance. //

I did not in my last mention those on this side expecting your solution of ym, but yor thoughts concerning ym, for my better information of my judgmt in it. How can god require faith from Reprobate cum Xtus pro ipsis non mortuus. [illegible]

Besides that wch I mentioned in my last as it was there formed, I cannot understand how god should require faith in Xt from Reprobates (wch certainely & without doubt he doth, & [their] sin for wch hee will damne them shall be their unbeliefe) if Xt in noe wise dyed for ym. — Besides the many scriptures wch seeme to have a tendency this way. — But yet I am not quite cleare on the otherside, & there is something in your ~~[illegible]~~ last ~~to~~ be pleased to pardon my weakenes, for I had rather charge the fault upon the lamented weakenes of my poore capacity than want of evidence of the truth of the Question wch it may be appeare more clearely unto others.

1. To the 1st argument you denyed the major & the minor both. the one that the death of Xt & the intercession of Xt are not of the same extent & latitude, & yet to mee adhibita distinctione you make ym of the same latitude. you say that the intercession of Xt eminenter sic dicta est electis propria so I suppose it is yor judgment (if I mistake pardon mee) for I conceive of Davenant it is so. that the death of Xt speciali quodam modo est electis propria. for he contends that Xt did not dy for the elect & ye non-elect in the same sense. for the one out of a speciall intention of the application of his death, for the other that Xt did not dy out of a speciall intention of an actuall application unto ym, sum enim non assequeretur finem, quem intendit. Breviter, non-electis applicabilem esse, electis certo applicatam fore mortem Xti. Davenant ait. pa. 31. in solutione ad object: 12. φιλανθρωπίαν & ευδοκίαν distinguendo, illam omnibus, hanc solis electis distribuendo.* then they are commensurate, speciali sensu.

& pa. 76 in solutione ad objec. 17. & pa. 28 in sol. ad objec. 8.*

2o. you say the intercession of Xt is also comon pro beneficiis communibus & see she extendes for the non elect, soe also you say that the death of Xt is also extended unto them, but not with that speciall intention of conferring the benefits upon ym, but as he dyed that they may be justifyed if they doe beleive, soe you say expressly that Xt intercedes for the non elect, I have prayd that thou mayst be pardoned & saved, if thou wilt beleive. Ecce commensurantur & adaequantur etiam in communi & quodam generali sensu. soe that you make ym commensurate & yet you sayd both propositions were untrue & that they were not ejusdem latitudinis. this is ad hominem. Sir if it doth not become such a yongman as I to write to you I beseech you excuse mee, for it is out of a desire that I hath ~~[illegible]~~ to be informed in the truth, for you blame young students for taking things soe much upon trust from the bare authority of others. — As for my selfe I cannot apprehend that the intercession of Xt should be for the non-elect wn he sayth I pray not for the world, & all that you say to yt was, that Xt speake not of all Xt prayers but of yt he was then making. Desideratur aliquid ad uberiorem explicationem. — wt is not that a pattern of Xt intercession in heaven. did not he leave yt upon purpose for the comfort of his Disciples & of all beleevers yt he ~~went~~ went up to heaven upon their account for their benefit. & ~~[illegible]~~ if Xt sayth he prayes not for the world in this prayer wch he was ~~[illegible]~~ then making, how shall I understand that this must necessarily be referred to that particular prayer exclusively, & not ~~[illegible]~~ to the constant worke of his intercession, especially wn I finde not Xt saying [he did, doth, or shall pray for the world] in any other place. only you seeme to point at another place, where Xt prayed upon the crosse, you say noe man can proove that all were saved that he prayed for on the crosse. & who can proove the contrary. nay I doe beleeve that all that Xt prayed for that they might be pardoned were pardoned. for he blessed his father that he heareth him alwayes. & though he prayed for the remotion of the bitter cup of his death, & yet it was not, & yet then I beleeve he was heard in the thing he feared, yet he put in this [if it be thy will]. but in the other he doth not.

Besides where shall I finde the intercession of Xt for the non-elect. the scriptures that I know & make wth about it doe appropriate it to the elect. Joh. 17. 9. 20. ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρωτῶ· οὐ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου. where the distribution inferreth a distinction betweene ym for wm he prayed & for wm he doth not pray. but you will say that is his prayer only & not else. yet what Rom. 8. 34. ad justificationem intercedit, pro electis. Luc. 22. 32. of Peter. [illegible] Heb. 7. 25. πάντοτε ζῶν εἰς τὸ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. [illegible]

+

And yet in some places it is sayd that he maketh intercession [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] that he might give them grace & yet deny [illegible]
opposite to the present case, if I doe a greater thing for any, & yt wch I [illegible]
the purpose or to the obteinment of that wch should doe him reall good, excep[illegible]
tell as necessary in its place, that hath reall tendency to the accomplishment of it. [illegible]
a Kings son shall dy for the ransome of twenty malefactors & lay downe his life for their
freedome, will not he also desire (that he undergoeing & suffering death for ym) that their
Chaines shall be Knocked of, & their fetters removed. if it may be sayd that he dyd soe very
for them ~~[illegible]~~ though I know not how the other scriptures will be answered. How can
it be thought that the intercession should be thus conditionall, that they should be saved if they doe
believe; can he know the booke of life as mediator [illegible], & for that they never shall
believe 2° if it be soe, where doth god in his word make it knowne. you say in the promise or
grant, but I doe not understand it. This is in answer to your returned answere to the
first argument taken from the passion & intercession of Xt. I would proceed to the
rest but I ~~[illegible]~~ doubt I have rather cause to Apologize for thus interrupting your studyes
& causing you to spend time in Reading of my empty lines. then to detaine you any longer.
only yt you will please to put a good construction upon wt I have done concerning this, for I
doe it for noe other end but to be better informed. I hope, Sir, I have still a share
in your prayers at the throne of grace, that I who have beene soe much cared for by you
who have beene the greate instrument under God for my education for this worke, I hope
shall not bee turned out of your prayers. Especially this that god would keepe mee from
pride & despondency, to both wch I have temptation at severall times. sometimes when I consider
the weightiness of my worke, & the littlenesse (oh Lord how little is) my strength for a good
conscientious discharge of the same, I then thinke I would I had beene any calling rather
then a minister. at other times on the contrary, temptations ~~to~~ pride, that great sin wch is
soe fast rivetted in my heart. But god hath given mee abundant encouragement in my
worke, by giving mee roome in the hearts & affections of the people to whom he hath sent
mee & others in the city. Even to mee who am not worthy of the society of the people, &
wch is more, & the other I looke upon as ground of better hope of obtaining the second, viz
successe in my worke & causing my doctrine to fasten upon the hearts of many. Sir,
I speake it (oh deceitfull heart doe not deceive mee) that god may have the praise
from you as well as from mee, & for the refreshing of your soule, whose end was
this in doeing wt you did for mee, that I may, wch god hath made mee to bee an instru
ment in (now yet) fewer yeares time to bring some severall soules to god. oh yt yet
I may bee more profitable in the place where I am. oh yt this might be the end of my
living to honor god & to win & build up soules, that I may not make sure only of my
owne salvation, but also may get as many to heaven along with mee as I can,
That I may, bee pleased wth Love at the footestoole of mercy to remember
him whose best requitall that he can make you, for yor many kindnesses is, that he
should be continually praying for you, that you may be more & more instrumentall
for the good of many as you have beene for his

Who is

Sir,

Yr obliged.

Tho: Doolittle.

I Remember in one of your letters you told mee you had a Catalogue lying by
you of good authors, wch if it bee not to troublesome to have ym written faire
(by any) I wish I had. because I intend to furnish my selfe more, & I would
that those I buy should be choise, yt I may not spend time & paines for noe profit.
& those that you especially esteeme for ecclesiasticall History & polemicall
Divinity to have noted with an Asterisme.

as also for the choisest expositors & commentators upon the scripture.

May 9

11.

To Mr Rh: B. of universall Redemption

11

These are
ffor the Reverend, & his much
honored ffriend Mr Richard
Baxter att his house
in Kiddermister

in Worcester shire

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Worthy Sr

My necessitated hast must be my excuse, yt I answere 4 letters so briefly in this one viz yor two with Mr Davis, & Dr Ellis. Of ye former Controversy being so well agreed, I shall say no more, but only this, to ye passages in Dr Ellis letter. I had told you yt I remember none before Greg. Nazianzene yt write of ye Nativity day as kept. Dr Ellis saith yt Cyprian, a good while before, about 240 did it. But 1o I remember no word in yt Tractate of Cyprian yt speaks of ye day as a festivall, but only of ye nativity itselfe, wch we remember solemnly every Lords day. 2o There's little Reason to thinke yt Tractate to be Cyprians, or any of those 12 tractates of wch its one. Possevine, Joh. Hesselius, Bellarmine peremptorily reject it & say [falso tribuitur Cypriano] [Cypriani non est] [sunt Authoris antiqui et docti, sed Cypriano, imo et Augustino sine dubio posterioris: Bell.] [revera non est Cypriani] Bellar. proves by many Argumts. Erasmus saith [hoc opus non esse Cypriani, stylus arguit, nec habebatur in Exemplaribus manu descriptis quibus usus sum]. Dr James saith In Bibliotheca Omnium Animarum Oxon. reperitur tractatus iste de Cardinalibus Xti operibus sub nomine Arnoldi Bonavillarensis Abbatis who lived about 1000 yeares after Christ. // for the short Responsalls, I grant yt some of ym were in ye auncient Liturgies: but there were some hundreds of yeares past after Christ, before any of those Liturgies now knowne to us were compiled. Some few convenient Responsalls in ye Laudatory pt of worship, I would not be against: but I much desire yt ye minister may be in ye maine, ye peoples mouth to God, as he is Gods mouth to ye people, & yt there be nothinge contrary to ye gravity, seriousnes, understanding yt is required in so great a worke. // I pray you returne my hearty thanks to Mr Davis for his great paines in ye matter of ye Lights. I have communicated his paps to divers ministers, & they comonly aske me these Questions 1o whether people use to see of these Candles when ye psons are livinge, or only after their death (ordinarily). 2o whether they do not passe by many yt are seene, when no such death ensues, & mention only those yt are followed with a corps. And to his application, I must needs yeild, yt Satan knows not future Contingents of himselfe, no more do not good Angells: But as good Angells may know ym by divine Revelation as they are executioners of God, so evill Angells may so know ym, wn God employes ym as executioners of wrath: & God can reveale it to ym as long before as he pleaseth. I remember once 6 or 7 of my friends Gentlemen of quality, havinge visited me overnight, & invited me to meet ym three miles off at ye sea side in Devonshire ye next day, they told me yt as they went home in a storme for a miles ridinge, their horses eares were on fire, & their rods ends, & they could feele no heat when they toucht ym. I heare also of a place where ye horses breath in ye night time hath such a fire, at their mouths frequently: Its comonest neere ye sea. I perceive you only see many of the candles in ye houses, but not goinge to ye graves. // But to let passe all those matters, I am most desirous to treat with you about a Colledge with Academicall Priviledges for Wales: And I am glad yt you & Dr Ellis favor it. I did ten yeares agoe propound it to Col. Mackworth, but succeeded not. Halfe a yeare agoe I propounded it to Maj. Generll Berry, who promised me his best assistance: but the want is money. Till we see a probability for yt, its in vaine to get Authority. I heard of a Shrewsbury man livinge in London worth 40000l yt had no child to leave it to, & wrote to him (though a meere stranger) my strongest Argumts to move him, to bestow on such a foundation: but could not prevaile. If you could but get 5000l stock to build so much of a Colledge as would containe an hundred students, & but 200 or 300lb p annum at first laid to it, I say if you could first procure assurance of this much either from one yt shall be ye founder, or by contribution, I make no doubt to procure Authority from ye Protector & Parliament & some hundred pounds p annum addition from my friends, perhaps many. For many will give to such a worke when they see it in a hopefull way, yt will not begin it, as not knowinge who will helpe it on. I conceive Shrewsbury ye only fit place in many respects. 1o Its a capable place where may be sufficient accomodations, & a place of some name 2o A little within ye verge of England is best, yt yor sons may learne English.

X

[illegible]

X us yt sealed [illegible] ordinance of God, & (as I have allwayes understood it) a fur-

3° Its a place of strength, if warre should arise, yt students may be secured.
4° Its a strength, where they may live without military entanglemts. Ludlow Castle
will not be trusted to schollars, at least unless they turne soldiers, & ye Towne
would not secure ym, nay ye Castle will draw ruine on ym. 5° It is a health-
full seat. 6° There is a gallant free schoole allready to prepare for ye Academy.
And I know no reason but one or 200l p annum might be allowed out
of ye now superfluous maintenance of yt schoole. If any Gentlemen by ag-
reemt will doe any thinge considerable for a beginning, I shall gladly
joyne wth you for an addition & for Authority. I pray you stir among
ym & try wt will be done, & ye Lord succeed you. Sr I remaine

Yor much obliged friend & servt

may 5th
1657.

Ri: Baxter.

As to ye Popish Books wch Dr Ellis would have me answer,
I think it needless after such abundance yt is said to them
allready ~~on other occ~~ by abler men. And yt wch I thought most
usefull I have done lately in some Disputations agt Popery
wch I should gladly have sent you if I had had a fit bearer.
I think yt Generall way then taken, is more usefull than the
confuting of yr particular words or writings of these men.

To Mr John Lewis at Glasgrug

Most honored Sr

I am very thankfull for yor lovinge expressions, & sorry I have no time to answere you, as you meritt, beinge wholly in ye study of ye Scriptures, and other ministeriall acts. I hold Mr Baxter a geme in ye Churches crowne. He is unus e millibus: an excellently argumentative man against ye adversaryes of ye truth, as appeares in his defence of ye Worcestershire petition, ye Quakers Catechisme, & other treatises ——. His pious intention & moderation is manifest in a book entitled, Christian Concord & others. I wish he or some of us did answere severall Popish bookes, newly sett forth, as Dr Vanes Lost sheep, Hugh Paulin de Cressys Ἐξομολόγησις, Dr Baylies end of Controversyes &c. I have cursorily looked over ye letters betweene you approvinge of his purposes & practises. I thinke we are of ye same mind in substance, if not in every circumstance. You are happy, yt God directs you to inquire of such matters, & makes use of you, as his instrument, for his Churches good! Gregory Nazianzene made an oration upon ye feast of Christ Nativity, & Basill his fellow student a sermon. But Cyprian a good while before ym, about ye yeare 240 made a tractate of ye Nativity, so yt ye beginninge of this famous feast, kept by ye whole Church &c. it had beene in use before. The short Responsalls alsoe, were for certaine in ye primitive Liturgyes, & such ejaculations, agreeable to Gods word, are usefull, if pronounced with consideration & devotion. I have no time to expatiate, scarce so much as to write a note upon my owne orations. God will blesse you for excitinge others about ye Colledge. If we canot have it nearer amonge ourselves, I wish it were founded at Shrewsbury, Ludlow or some such place no further distant. I thanke you for the offer of Mr Baxters bookes, but havinge some of his, & little leisure to peruse other, I will expect an opportunity to buy more of ym, sparinge you. I have sent you my answere to Mr Kiffin, with his pap. though in mind, beinge cordially though not corporally present with you, wishinge you a flourishinge house & all happynes in Christ, remaininge

Dolgelly

Sr
yor most respective honorer
John Ellis.

Dr Ellis letter to Mr Lewis

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X

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Mr Lewis

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Sr I thanke you for yor favorable acceptance of my free & rude expression
I gave you my thoughts beinge willinge of any light yt may reforme ym in w
they are misguided. As to yor last I alsoe crave yor acceptance of this plai
& briefe returne. // I have heretofore read Mr Hooker, but ye booke is not no
at hand. But as to his Argumts & Peter Martyrs, I still distinguish of Ceremonyes
[Those yt are but meere Circumstances pformed with a Solemnity answerabl
to ye Holynes & weight of ye worke, beinge necessary in genere, & left to huma
determination in specie, pro statu populi, temporis &c, as beinge not fitt to be
an Universall fixed Determination, & so unfitt to be ye matter of an Universall
standinge Law] (I pray you marke my description) those doe I allow, & ha
use without scruple: though as to ye maner of Determination much Caution m
be used, (as 1o yt no Ecclesiasticke power pretend to determine ym with mulcts or
Corporall Penaltyes on ye disobedient. 2o Nor yet lay more necessity on ym yn ye n
ture of ye things requires: & so not lay ye Unity & Peace or Comunion of Christia
on ym: 3o And yt ye Magistrate enforce ym not with greater Penaltyes yn is agre
able to ye measure of their usefulnes & necessity &c). But as for such Cerem
onyes [as are primarily doctrinall, Symbolicall or Sacramentall, by an Insti
tuted significancy to edify ye Soule in Grace, yt are not necessary in genere
(besides those yt Christ himselfe hath Instituted) nor left to man to Institute, (
ought I have yet seene proved), & which are imposed universally or fixedly
men, & so might have beene ye matter of Gods universall fixed Law, if he ha
meant to have ym imposed on his Catholicke Church, & are no more necessary
one time or place yn for another] those I dare not yet allow, especiall
because of these two Reasons (to reduce ye 20 into a narrower roome), 1o Be
I am not able to make ym consistent with ye pfection of Gods Law: And if I ta
not ye Scripture for his pfect Law, I must take it for no Law, or but for a
pt, & find out ye other pt, wch I could never yet doe. I agree with ye Romanists
yt all is to be received yt comes to us in a certaine way from ye Apostles as the
word of God: but I could never yet see proofe yt anythinge but Scripture,
than ye Scripture
hath so come from ym. Could they shew me ye records of such tradition, I am
heartily willinge to search & see ye truth. 2o For an Universall fixed Law
must be made by an Universall Soveraigne Power: And I canot be satisfyed
yt there is any such but Christ: either Pope or Generall Councill (wch are ye onl
pretenders). Were I taken off these two Arguments or grounds, I thinke I shoul
seene quitt ye Protestant cause. For Scripture sufficiency, & ye nullity of any
such Universall Soveraignty, are in my Judgment, ye two legs of or whole Refo
mation. // Now to yor Reasons. 1o To yor first I answere, The Sacramen
comprehend the whole substance of Christian Religion in their signification, a
I could seeme manifest. 2o If they did not, yet God yt hath Instituted those
mysticall Rites to represent Christs Passion, & or benefitts thereby, I thinke do
not allow us to Institute ye like to represent ye creation, Preservation, ye desc
of ye Holy Ghost, ye 2d cominge of Christ, or other pts of Christian verity. If w
may make representinge Sacramts or signes for all these, I know not ye warra
for it, nor when we shall have done. // 2o To yor 2d I answere yt you m
use ye Lords supp as frequently as you please. The Primitive Ch: did it often
yn every Lords day: If you thinke yt will have inconveniences, yet I thin
it but a bad pretence to make new Rites, bec we use not this so often, whe
God forbids us not, but we may as well use it oftener as devise more. // 3o To yor
I answere 1o not only ye Apostles but Christ before ym, & Moses before yt, forba
Additions of ye nature of Gods Institutions, & not only Ceremonyes ~~[illegible]~~ typifyin
Christ. 2o If ye Apostles would allow us to make new Sacraments, or Institute such
representinge signes as aforesaid, doe they not give us ye same Authority, as they ha
ymselves, yea as Christ ~~instituted~~ used in Institutinge of Sacraments? And who b
they yt have yt Authority, & where is it given ym? The Apostles were to deliv
X us ye sealed Laws & Ordinances of God, & (as I have allwayes understood it) yt
ordinge ministry is but to teach those Lawes, & use those Ordinances; but not

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more Lawes & Sacraments as they (or rather as Xt) did. Otherwise we may m
new Canonicall Scriptures, bec we are their successors. 3° And yn ye Christian Religion
will be a most mutable thinge, in continuall growth, & we shall never know when it
come to pfection, & when we have it all: ffor every Age may adde what Sacramts or
Rites or Scriptures they see good. But still my two first Argumts in ye begininge must
stick with me. 4° And if ye Apostles were so willinge as you thinke yt we should ex
cogitate more solemne Sacramentall or Representinge signes, me thinkes they should some
where in all their wrightings have told us so: wch it had beene a small matter for ym to have done.
4° To Justin Martyrs wordes I say 1° Its one thinge to hold Comunion with ye Ceremonious
& another thinge to allow their practice. 2° In some respect a Jew usinge Ceremonyes of
Gods institution before he knowes ym to be repealed, is more excusable yn he yt will
make new ones of his owne head. // 5° To yor doubt whether at ye last day the
rigid Imposers, or ye Opposers shall be more blamed, I answere you come now to the
quick of my dislike of such Impositions or Institutions of Rites. This is ye Cause why
I would have ym let alone. Who ever is most to be blamed, ye Institutors might have
prevented all if they would. If you must have such Rites, will you not expect Unifor-
mity in ym, & a Comon use of ym? I beleive, you had rather be without ym yorselfe, than
one Church should use ym, & another refuse ym: for yn you would say, they occasion divi-
sion: Much more if in ye same Assembly, one use ym & another not. What ever now
may be said, there is no hope yt this should be endured. They yt must have Ceremonyes
must cast all out of their Church, if not out of ye Kingdome yt will not use them.
And is it not more pbable, yt ye Churches should agree in a few necessary Divine
things, yn in many & unnecessary & humane. Nay is it not as sure as yt ye Sun will
shine agayne, yt all ye truly Godly People in ye world, will never be satisfyed in Consci-
ence to submitt to such Institutions? And are they not yn certaine Engines of Division
yea & of leadinge ye dissenters into a heavy guilt, if it be true as you thinke, yt for their
dissent, they must so answere before God. Was not ye Church well as ye Apostles left it?
Are more Ceremonyes of necessity? If they be, ye Apostles would have instituted them
or Comanded others to doe it: If they be not, would you have ye Ch: broken, & non-con-
formists destroyed by ym body & soule? As ye Ld ffalkland in his Papers against Infal-
libility tells ye Papists: had it not beene more mercyfullnes in ye Pope to have made fewer
or dutyes & sins ~~de~~ fewer, yt poore soules might more easily have avoided ye guilt, yn
to make so many, yt there is no hope to escape? So I may say here. It is (it seemes
by you) in ye Ceremony makers hands whether ye poore Non-Conformists shall be guilty
in ye Church, & phaps whether saved or not! And is it not more mercye to leave out the
Ceremonyes, & suffer ym to stay in ye Church, & so to be saved? ffor if they must so hea-
vily answere it, I know not how they can helpe it ymselves, wch others may easily doe.
ffor to my knowledge many of ym were as Learned, Godly, able men as any I ever knew;
& as impartially did they study to know ye truth (it beinge like to cost ym so deare)
as earnestly did they Pray to God for Light: & wt more to doe they could not find.
Paul would not have us ye servants of men. I would know of yorselfe, whether yor
Conscience have any stint or gage in ye number of such Ceremonyes or not: If not,
yn what a worship would you pforme to God? If yea, yt there be with you a ne
plus ultra; what if men should institute some more after you had yor stint, would
you not take it ill? & had you not rather they would forbeare, & thinke ye Church
might be better without ym? So Judge of ye Nonconformists, who have no stint
or gage but ye Law of God. As to ye abuses or corruptions of ye ministry you mention
in yor pts, let it lye on ye guiltye: yts nothinge to Ceremonyes. // ffor yor modera-
tion expressed, yt you desire not supfluity, but a few with those yt can well
beare with them. I answ. 1° they yt have Authority to impose ten, may for ought
I know impose 11, 12. &c. And its hard to know where to stop, when we leave
ye Scripture. 2° As is said, Ceremonyes will never stand without violence against
ye dissenters. 3° yor moderate way will keepe all dissenters from yor Comun-
or else you must leave off all, as soone as a dissenter comes amonge you, or
of yor Comunion turneth a dissenter. 4° ffor Circumstances of order & Decency
I am for ym as well as any. // As to Calvins wordes, ye Chapter you cite is well
worth ye readinge. & ye words ymselves doe plainly allow of ye few before (in
Austin) & after mentioned, ye Ceremoniæ nobis divinitus institutæ, paucæ, et minime
laboriosæ, quæ præsentem Xtum demonstrent; & of no other. ffor those words expresse
ye former. yet I doubt not but Circumstantialls for Order & Decency he would
allowe (as fitt, Time, Place, Pulpitts, Cushions, Cups, Carpetts, ffonts, Tables, &c

comely & grave vestures, choice of fitt texts, chapters, Psalmes, Tunes) with many ye like wch are necessary in genere. And of such he exactly expresseth his meaninge in ye description you mention § 28. wch I wholly consent to. But those are Ceremonyes of another species, as in ye begininge I distinguished ym. I would yt chapter of Calvins might decide ye Controversye in all or Churches. The 27th § also I read as you desire, & I have in print & preachinge oft said ye same allready. E.g. I lately Preached agt sittinge at Prayer; for ye comelynes of beinge uncovered, all ye time of Gods worship, except in such necessity, where God will have mercye & not sacrifice, (& when I had done though I weare 5 fold of caps on my head, I tooke a dangerous cold, & was faine myselfe to use my hatt agayne when I heare, though when I am speakinge I feele no great misse of it) & for such a Relation of ye Place to ye worship yt may warrant ye callinge is Holy &c —— // As to ye formes you mention for Heathens, we are agreed yt we should doe ym all ye good we can, & yt we should direct ym to worship God. But 1o Our first worke is to Preach Christ to ym, & to bringe ym to beleive, & till this is done, we have nothinge else to doe in prescribinge ym formes; nor is it like yt they will receive or formes yt reject or faith. God yt will not be pleased without faith, hath not himselfe thought fitt to prescribe any formes to ym yt beleive not. 2o much less Church formes: for they are no members of ye Church, nor to joyne with ym in their worship. // To yor last I yeild, yt all men are not to be forced up to ye heighths of some; yt is, to be forced in wordes to goe beyonde their hearts, or to be dealt with in wayes above them. And therefore worship is fitted by ye Institutor to ye Comon state of ye faithfull And if any of higher stature have a peculiar portion, it must be so as shall not prejudice ye rest. But this makes nothinge for ye Institution of Representinge symbolls. // I thanke you for yor further Comunication about Apparitions. I wonder at ye comonnes of ye candles you mention, when it is not so in other pts of Wales. I should be thankfull if you would comunicate at any time any notable Apparitions with ye evidence. Do ye knockers you speake of in ye mines, ever speake to or meddle with any body? Did you ever see any of ye candles yor selfe? I am glad L. Coll. Bowen beleives there are witches for yt sure he beleives there is a God, & Angells, Devills or some Spiritts, wch I heare he did not before. If he be not utterly forsaken & hardened, one would thinke this evidence should doe somewt on him. Its marvellous yt those Spiritts keepe much ye like course as Psellus & ye old writers so longe agoe expresse, some Pigmies & subterranean, & some aereall, some pretendinge to be venereous, some furious —— O ye goodness of yt God yt preserves us from their constant appearances & tyranny —— Sr I remaine

Yor servant

Rich: Baxter.

Jan. 20. 1656/7

To the Worpll Mr John
Lewis Esq at Glasgrug in
the Parish of Llanbadornvawr
neare Aberystwith in Cardiganshire
These

LETTERS.
fol.131. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Revd Sr That little acquaintance by face and much more by yor workes which I haue of you, hath encouraged me to this addresse; wherein I importune you to nothing but what tends to the End which you haue alwayes proposed to yor selfe even Gods glory & mens Salvation. Having beene occasionally become acquainted with the wicked & prophane deportment of most whom their debts or crimes have confined to prisons; consuming their precious time in drinking, gaming, and such vaine exercises; And being desirous that Prisons should not be places of sensuality and intemperance, but of mortification and [illegible] repentance; I haue made some little progresse towards it, in providing a few pious books to be placed at the Prisons of Worcester Glocester & Hereford betweene which Cityes providence hath fixed my present station. The matter is so contrived, That there be a small presse affixed to the wall in some convenient place in the prison, with 2 or 3 shelves, And that there be chaines running on Iron barres (as in Libraryes) for their preservation; This if it be not large will not be very Chargeable, For the Presse Chaines & about a dozen of small practicall Treatises, with a Bible, may be had under 4li. But that which we are providing for the places beforementioned cost not so much. Towards which I have done somewhat my selfe, though I haue Children but meanely provided for, the rest I have gotten of some religious Christians who are Natives or inhabitants of these Countyes. And now Sir I earnestly request yor concurrence to so good a work, which may possibly be for the benefit of the present & succeeding generations. For I have this hope, that when there is such a visible thing sett up in prisons, some gracious Christians, that shall come after us, will renew the books when they are worne out. And that when this is done in some Countyes, others may in time follow this patterne, which may redound to the good of many.

That which I haue to request of you is

1 That since Shropshire (absit adulatio) doth challenge the honour of yor nativity, being (if I am not misinformed) the place where you first breathed, That you would bestow yor Saints Rest, & some other of yor most awakening books on the prison att Shrewsbury. And that you would solicite some godly Christians that are Inhabitants or Natives of that County, to concurre to the charge of making a Presse and chaines for them, according the modell above named, except you can contrive a better.

2 That since it is my hearts desire to haue it done in all the prisons in England, and something I hope is moving towards it in the Countyes where I haue any acquaintance as of Chester Stafford Oxford, That you would bee pleased to recommend it to such worthy persons in other Countyes with whom you haue any acquaintance. Not doubting but it will find acceptance with all such as haue a due regard of the honour of God, and the soules of men.

3 That you would favour me with the returne of a few lines, & that therein you would sett downe the Names of such books as you think most suitable to the condition of prisoners, & most beneficiall for them, That they might be added to some of ye books, which we have gotten already. I had once some thoughts of writing something that might be suitable to the condition of such as are ~~under~~ restraint, 1 In generall to ym all & 2ly in particular, directed to the Prisoner for Murder, 2 for theft 3 for Debt, either by constraint, or out of choise to defraud his Creditors

4 To him that suffers imprisonment through an erroneous conscience;
5 suffers wrongfully, through false accusations or adhering to the Truth &c
to give particular admonitions & directions to each; But teaching Schol
and preaching twice a week have so devoured my time that I could
project, but not performe it. But though this designe proved abortive
yet I am not without hopes of promoting the same end by books already
extant; and I earnestly desire you to putt yor hand to this work of the Lord.
If some are so irreligious as to disregard them, yet others may peruse them
profitt: If it be in vaine to some, It may be effectuall to others; If not
all times and places, yet in some; Or if it be not effectuall to conversion, yet
it may to a restraynt of sinne, whereby God will be lesse dishonoured, and
their soules lesse defiled: Therefore let us sow our seed as wide as we can
& not withhold our hands; since we know not whether shall prosper, this
or that.

Lastly I have this one request more, that you would sometimes make mention
of me to God in yor prayers, That He would make me faithfull and succe
full in my ministry, & beare me up against all discouragements both from
within and without. And indeed this will not be meerly an Act of Charity
but also of Equity on yor part, Since I am beforehand with you, and have
presented some requests at the throne of grace already on yor behalfe, And
shall continue (God willing) whilst we both live: more particularly on Mon
in the morning about 6 of the clock at which time, my method of Dev
God brings you into my thoughts. At which houre or any other if you by agre
in spirit shall aske of God the things abovementioned for me, I hope I shall
in some measure obtaine the desired mercyes, according to that encourag
promise of Christ Mat: 18.19. This is the conclusion of the Addresse from

Sr

Kewent. Jun: 14. -72.

Yor unworthy brother & servant in the

Tho: Jackman

Post Sc. Sr

I desire you to favour me with 2 or 3 words
from you. Directing it to T: J Minister of
Kewent in the County of Glocester
To be left for me with Mr Beniamin
Coxe at the Turks-head in Threed-needle-Street
in London

Directions to the Joyner for making a preſſe for the books to be placed in priſons.

Let a Preſſe about ~~at~~ 4 foot in breadth be made of firme oaken wood to be faſtned to ſome wall in the priſon. Let it be almost as high as broad, Let it be ſo deepe (that is as large from the wall outwards) as to containe a book in folio. Let it have 3 Shelues in it, one for folio's one for Quartos, & a 3d for leſſer books. Let there be 3 Iron Rods placed in it, for the Chaines to run on, and let the Iron Rods be made att one end like Curtaine rods, ſo as to be taken of att pleaſure that when any book is given it may be putt in without Trouble: Let the Preſſe have a Doore or lid to it, with a Lock & a Key or two, That ſo the books may be the better preſerved from duſt and violence. And that ſo the books may not all be expoſed att once, but only 2 or 3 att once to lye out on a Deſk, which to ſave charge may be ſo ordered that the top of the preſſe may be made in the forme of a Deſk. And that there be a Notch or ſlitt att the top of the doore or Lid for the Chaines to come through for the Books to lye out on the deſk whilſt the doore is locked. Or if any think it more convenient it may be made without any ſuch doore. But if there be a doore 'tis convenient that there be 2 or 3 Keyes to it, One to be kept by the Keeper of the priſon, the other by ſome carefull perſon in or neare it.

These
To the Reverend, his worthy freind
Mr Richard Baxter Minister
of the Gospell

present

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Sr
In answer to yors I shall first tell you my
judgment of the maine Cause, & then speake to yor last
Letters & Lastly say somewt of yor objections agt ye Scriptures. //
1o All yt God revealeth as True is true. God cannot Lie, because he is infi-
nitely powerfull, wise & good, & hath planted a hatred to Lying as part of his
image in our selves. // 2o Gods revelations are by Naturall Evidence or by
arbitrary, called Supernaturall discovery. These 1st Primary, or immediately (though
perhaps he may use an Angel as a medium, yet I call it Immediate as from God or his
superior messenger) 1. by Inspiration, 2o by vision, 3o by a Voice. 2o The Secondary
or more mediate, 1o To those yt see & heare ye Prophets. 2o To those yt
receive their words by mediate Tradition; 1o by word, 2o by signall action, or
3o by writing. And these are neerer in time & place, 2o or further off. //
3o The primary receivers need no other proofe yt it is of God than ye
Revelation itselfe; For by seeing we perceive yt we see, & by hearing we
perceive yt we heare, & by understanding we perceive yt we understand,
So by receiving Divine light they perceive yt it is light & Divine: All other
visibles must be seen by Light as ye primum visibile; but Light need
nothing to notifie it, besides ye efficient producing cause, but
itselfe, supposing a due recipient. // 4o This internall Evidence or Light
wch ye prophet, seer or Hearer hath, cannot itselfe be conveyed by him
to another. but his testimony wth good proofe must assure them how
he received it. And no man is bound to take his bare word without proofe. //
5o There was greater need of believing ye Ministry of Gods Legislation
or Covenants, on wch Life & Death eternall do depend, than of believ-
ing ye words of a prophet about some particular temporall action or event,
wch if it were not believed did bring but a temporall punishment,
& did not damne ye soule unlesse as it partaked of ye former sin
of unbeliefe. // 6o Therefore God never sent any such minister of his
Covenants or Legislation, without notable unmatched convincing mi-
racles: As Moses, Christ & his Apostles: But he sent many prophets without
miracles to tell particular events, & prophets & priests to command
ye obeying of former Lawes. // 7o yet some of these also had ye confir-
mation of miracles, when God saw it meet. // 8o There were then many
prophets, & Schooles of ye prophets, yt had ye discerning of spirits, &
were capable of judging of particular mens pretensions. // 9o The
Light & Law of Naturall Evidence was primarily of God, & antecedent
to Supernaturall Revelation; & so fixes a measure to judge of it
negatively, as yt nothing was to be taken for a divine revelation
yt did certainly contradict ye Light & Law of nature, in any point
wherein Nature itselfe was not changed, & consequently its Law. //
10o Gods standing Lawes & Covenants, confirmed by Miracles &c, were
such negative rules also, for judging of particular prophets
words: viz, yt they were not to be believed if they delivered
any thing as from God, wch was contrary to his certaine stated
Lawes. // 11o All Divine revelations are not equally necessary:
nor Evident as to intelligibility or certainty as to us. But they are
all equally True. // 12o Therefore we ought to believe all, but
can believe none beyond its degree of Evidence as suited to our
capacity. And many may be not knowne, & for want of dis-
cerned Evidence, not believed to be of God, & yet a person may
have saving faith. // 13o But every person yt will be saved must
believe 1o Gods Veracity as ye formall object of faith, 2o & all

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ye essentialls of ye Covenant of Grace or faith, wch is relate
to him. || 14° Christ proved his owne truth by antecedt prophecies fulfill-
& by its inherent Characters, & by his concomitant & consequent mi-
cles, resurrection, ascention, &c, & by his sending ye spirit of mira-
& sanctification, wth convincing effects. || 15° The Apostles proved
their doctrine by ye same evidences, prophecies, inherent Character
Miracles, & giving others ye spirit instrumentally & ye convincing
fects of ye word & spirit. || 16° The office yt Christ appointed his
these (& such other extraordinary ministers) to, was to publish
word wch they had seen & heard of him, & wch his spirit should
teach ym prophetically by inspiration: especially his life, death, re-
rection, ascention, his office, & covenant of Grace, & promises: And
call sinners to returne to God, by faith & repentance yt they might
be saved by ye merits, operation & intercession of their redeemer. ||
17° This publication was neither confined to words (ye narrowest
way of preaching) nor to writing, but contained both: as ye
sense of ye words & ye fact itselfe do prove. Had they not re-
corded Christs acts & doctrine as well as speake it, they had
not sufficiently & faithfully published it, to those through ye
world yt were out of their hearing, & to all ye ages afterwards to com
As any man may know yt knoweth ye frailty of mans memory
& ye lyablenes of words not written to be altered, & insuffi-
ly & fallaciously transmitted, unlesse they be very few & sho
& comon. || 18° They yt wrote on occasions then present, wrote
for ye continued use of others in times to come. || 19° Christ promi
his Disciples his spirit to lead them into all truth, & to bring a
yt he had said (wch was necessary to be transmitted) to their mem
ry: That so making him more disciples, they might be taught
to observe all things yt he comanded, to ye end of ye world. Mat.
28.20. || 20° Wt Christ promised he performed, in giving ym yt sure
guiding spirit: as was proved by ye forsaid miracles & effects. ||
21° Preaching & writing his Gospell, (Acts & Doctrine) being their
appointed office, if this promised spirit had not guided ym to
do it truly, & credibly & convincingly, & in a manner suitable to
ye end, viz, ye effecting of a saving faith & holynes, Christ
had not performed his promise to ym, nor had they bin sufficient
for their office-work. || 22° Christ did not promise, nor their
office require, yt he would free ym from all humane infirmity
or peccability, & set ym above ye state of man: Nor yt he would
make ym ye best Gramarians, Rhetoricians, Logicians, Astronomers
Musicians &c in ye world: nor teach ym so to speake, as yt no
men should have need of any other teaching, in Languages,
Logick, philosophy, arts &c: or yt he would not make som
fore-teachers excell ym in these things. But their office was
to reveale ye matter of redemption & salvation by Christ
in a manner suitable to ye Matter & to ye comon capacity
of mankind. || 23° Yea as Davids meannes & weaknes in
meanes shewed yt his victory over Goliah was of God (& yt ye
armour & skill & strength is still valuable for warr) so
ye weaknes of Christs disciples conquering ye sciences & ye
powers of ye world, was a proof of Christs power conque

by ym // 24. We acknowledge therefore in Scripture words, phrases,
methods, wch have ye innocent imperfection of men; but nothing yt
may render their messages or testimony suspected & incredible. //
25. Though a mistake in small circumstances by lapse of memory
would not at all disprove or render suspected ye doctrine wch they
delivered, ye lesse materiall circumstances, adiuncts or accidents being
not ye Matter of Christs Life, doctrine & Covenant of Grace, & ye certainty
of these may be knowne & proved without ye certainty of ye other; as
one may certainly record William ye Conquerors victory in England
yt mistaketh as to ye day, or as to ye number yt came with him, or ye
hist of a famous battle, yt knew not or mistooke ye just number
yt were killed); yet have we no reason to conclude or suspect any
such untruth or mistakes in ye writings of any of ye Apostles:
1o Because ye promise, & helpe wch they had was so extraordinary: to lead
them into all truth. 2o Because though it be not necessary ad esse
fidei, it seems necessary ad bene esse yt their doctrine spoken &
recorded be free from all untruth: The temptation else to doubting
(though there were not just cause) would be stronger than God would
lie weake men with. 3o A posteriori, there is not one untrue word
yt can be proved to have bin preached or recorded by them; wch
is enough if made good, to prove ye extent of their infallibility. //
26. The Apostles had ye same spirit guiding ym in all their
appointed works: But ye operations of this same spirit were various
as in severall men, so in the same man in ye severall parts of
his works. As 1o yt they might know infallibly wt Christ said & did in
their presence, they needed but a comon helpe of God, to guide sense
& intellect in their naturall offices, & to prevent all unreasonable
doubts, or misconceits. 2o To know wt was de facto written in the
Law & prophets, they needed also no more. 3o To know ye meaning of
any difficult words of Christ, or ye Law or prophets, they needed a speciall
illumination of ye spirit, yt they might be certainly free from error.
4o To believe ye truth of all these words with a true lively faith
they needed ye sanctifying illumination of ye spirit. 5o To remember
certainly all yt Christ had said & done, wch they were to publish, re-
quired a suitable assisting illustration & strengthening of their me-
mory. 6o To make ym so faithfull & honest as never through any car-
nall interest or malice wilfully to deceive & lie, did need a speciall
degree of ye sanctifying work of ye spirit. 7o To secure them from
falshood by carelessness, negligence, or ignorant oversight, required
an answerable helpe both on their naturall faculties, as such, & as
morally qualifyed. 8o To cause ym to work miracles, speak various
languages, & interpret ym, to foretell things to come, to expound words
infallibly beyond comon evidence, these & such other had the spe-
ciall extraordinary operation of ye spirit wch was suitable to
the effects: 9o To write & speak in apt expressions, & method, had
so much assistance as God saw meet, for ye ends of their office
viz: To edifie men, & glorifie his word & workes & him. All
these are workes of ye same spirit, wch all secure ye said things
yt workes ym selves much differ, & ye faculties need greater & more
extraordinary helpe or inspiration for some parts than for others. //
27. God will preserve so much of their records to ye continued use
of his Church as he seeth meet: But he hath not promised yt no

words spoken by ym, or no words, sentences or books written by ym shall
ever forgotten or lost; no more than yt all ye world shall be
heare them. || 28° Nor hath he promised ye same infallibility to
Translators, or expositors, or scribes, or Printers, or ye Keepers of these
books: Though so much as he saith necessary shall be preserved. ||
29° It is certaine yt we have not ye autographs of ye Apostles. And
as certaine yt ye Septuagints translation of ye old testament wch Christ
& his Apostles often used, in very many things differs from ye Hebrew
text; And yt there are great numbers of various Readings of ye new Tes
tament & old in ye Copies yt are now extant; & yt some of them are
wrong; & yt it is not possible for us without inspiration to know
in all points wch of ym is right; Though as to many differences a
very probable conjecture, if not a certainty, is possible. || 30° Though
unlearned Hearers may have a Divine faith as to ye Gospell history &
doctrine & Covenant of Grace, yet can they not know of any words
of a translation yt they are agreeable to ye originall, & a true trans
lation, by a Divine faith; but only by humane faith & by morall na
turall evidences, viz yt so many such men of contrary interests, princi
ples & dispositions, could not agree in such a thing to deceive by ye words
without detecting opposition. || 31° Though ye sense is not known
to us but by ye words, yet they may be sure of ye sense & matter in ye
maine by those words, yt are not sure of their sense in all ye particular
or compleative parts. || 32° All yt is truly essentiall to Christianity &
~~to~~ absolutely necessary to or salvation, is delivered to us by two wayes
1° by verball & active Tradition; 2° By writing in ye sacred Scriptures. ||
33° These essentialls are all generally contained in ye Sacramentall
Covenant, in wch by a Consenting practicall Beliefe or Trust, we absolute
ly give up our selves to God ye Father, Son & Holy Ghost, taking him for
our Beginning, Guide & End, our Creator, Redeemer & Sanctifier, renounc
ing ye Flesh, ye world & ye Devill. But because Generalls must be com
petently understood, ye matters of this Covenant, wch must be Be
lieved, Consented to, & practised, are summarily exprest in ye anci
ent Creed, ye Lords Prayer & ye Decalogue as used & expounded
by Christ. And this much ye Church hath uniformly received, by word and
& writing. || 34° Though it was next to impossible to transmit
ye whole Bible or New Testament writings from age to age by
such Tradition, as should secure it against all alteration & corruption,
yet it is more than possible to do so by summaries so short as
those aforesaid. || 35° It is certaine de facto yt even when
scarce few could read ye bible, yet these essentialls were common
ly delivered & became ye faith & religion of ye Church. 1° by ye con
stant practice of Baptizing; 2° by ye constant celebration of
ye Lords supper; 3° by ye constant practise of preaching Cate
chising & examining those yt were Candidates of religion; 4° by
ye constant profession of ye Assemblies on ye Lords days & other
seasons. 4° By ye constant profession of ye truth in Confessions &
defense of it agst Infidels & heretiks; 5 By ye writings of those times
& many other wayes wch I have elsewhere enumerated. || 36. These
same things with many more are delivered in ye S. Scriptures
as being ye Records both of ye Essentialls, Integralls & usefull
[illegible] accidentalls; though these still ye most
necessary things must be distinguished from ye rest. ||

37° What I have said of the Apostles may in their proportion be said of the writings of Moses & ye Prophets, & of Gods guiding them in their proper work. // 38° All is not to be taken for Gods word wch any man will call so: Odde fellows obtruded many spurious writings on ye ancient Christians (as ye Gospell of Nicodemus, ye Itinerary of St Peter, ye Testament of ye twelve Patriarchs, & many more such) but ye Church received them not: No more than the Protestants do Judith, Tobit, Esdras, Maccabees &c // 39° It is not necessary to us to know whether we have every booke, line or word yt was delivered of old, seeing we can prove yt we have as much as God judged necessary for us, & suff. Nor is it necessary to beleeve yt our comon bibles have no mistakes in ye Copies or translations, as long as we can prove yt there is no mistake in any matter necessary to salvation. // 40 Though ye learned & Pious Ludov. Capellus seem to me ungroundedly to collect from ye Septuagint, yt there were other Hebrew copies before Christ much different from yt wch we now use, & so to gather greater diversity in ye Hebrew copies than he had cause. Yet ye great variety of Readings even of ye N. Testament itselfe, wch cannot be denyed, is to be ascribed to ye failing of Copyers, scribes, & Printers, & not to ye first writers: For no man can think yt ye Authors wrote severall waies, as our Copies vary, unlesse they had written ye same booke or Epistle over severall times, wch is not to be thought. And it is a greater injury to ascribe ye undenyable diversity to ye Spirit of God, or to ye Apostles, than to ye Scribes & Printers. Though ye New Testament itselfe have some more various readings than ye old Copies of Cicero, Virgil, Ovid or many such heathen authors, yet is it a wonder of Gods providence yt there are no more, considering how many thousands used bibles, & how great a number of servants before printing was invented were employed in transcribing, & how each for pence in hast was to sell & get commend ye copies wch he wrote. And as to ye old Testament, ye Hebrew was understood by so few Christians, yt there were not many to looke after & correct a scriveners slips; The Jews being ye most carefull conservators there; who yet in some texts of prophecyes of Christ, have been by some suspected, though I cannot say upon just cause. // 41° He yt liveth where ye Bible is not knowne, or none can read it, or where through ignorance or ill designes ye Pastors acquaint not ye people with ye letter of ye text, but only teach ye Covenant of Christ, ye Creed, Lords prayer & Decalogue explained, & doth sincerely beleeve, love & practice this much, shall be saved though he never saw ye Bible or heard it, or heard of it. For ye primitive [illegible] yt beleeved shall be saved ye same way ere we came to it. // [illegible] Churches were gathered many yeares before any booke of ye new Testament was written. But it is a great helpe & mercy where ye same Scripture is fully possessed & made knowne. // 42° Much more [illegible] be saved yt hath but a part of ye Bible, wch containeth ye essentials, though he never saw or heard of other parts. // 43° And so may he yt by education, ye judgment of his teachers or other such impediments, receiveth not some such bookes of ye Scripture, As many Churches long received not ye Epistle of James, ye 2d of Peter, Jude, & yt to ye Hebrews, ye two last of John & ye Revelations. //

44 Words not understood though read or heard save not men. And there are many words in ye Scripture yt few understand, & thousands yt most understand not, & therfore are not saved by them. // 45° But every true believer is ready to receive any booke, line or word, when he is convinced it is sent from God, & to believe, love & obey it. //

46° The Churches to whom ye Apostles wrote their Epistles had not only evidence yt ye writers were endued wth ye Holy Ghost, but had ye Spirit in yemselves to savor & judge of ye things of ye Spirit, & had prophets among ym yt could better judge than other men. //

47° Christ & his Apostles bore witness to ye bookes of Moses, ye prophets & ye psalms, as they were used in ye Synagogues; And when they used ye translation of ye Septuagint, he ruled yt it contained ye saving truth, though in many places it be a faulty translation. // 48° There were prophets also among ye Jewes to judge of their sacred bookes; And schooles of ye prophets whose education prepared some to receive ye Spirit of prophesie. So yt if any explicatory historicall additions were made to ye first copies of Moses bookes, or other history, as ye ordinary priests & Rulers could tell notorious matter of fact, so ye prophets were well able to judge of ye certainty & like to be ye authors of them. 49 As Joshua, Samuell, Elias, Elisha & many other prophets had ye said bookes of Moses in their hands, & others those of later date, so Ezra was an inspired ~~[illegible]~~ & guided by Gods Spirit yt had ye restoration of all of them after ye Captivity. And if he illustrated any of ym by any historicall note, it was of God. 50° All ye old Testament past through ye hands of Christ & his Apostles, who were able to judge of ym; And all ye bookes of the New Testament were finally knowne to St John ye Apostle (to mention no other) who lived long after ye rest, & was very capable to judge wch were ye writings of ye Spirit of Christ. So much for my judgment of ye maine Cause (of ye Scripture). //

As to yor Letter I shall take notice but of these things: 1° I am glad yt you are not ye Man yt [illegible] wrote ye Examen Scripturae agt ye Bible (whom Dr Stillingfleet answered in some instances). // 2° I am glad yt you say you take Christ for yor Redeemer. 3° And yt you seeme to thinke yt some undervalue ye Scriptures. But wt meane you by a Redeemer when you deny both ye history of ye creation & of mans fall & of Christs Incarnation by a Virgin? And wt part of Scripture can I thinke you regard as ye word of God, yt deny these great & weighty parts of ye Creation, fall & Incarnation, wch are as ye Stamina to all ye rest. And wt will it do you to believe yt ye Revelation [illegible] is Gods word, when you deny yt wch life & death dependeth on. And indeed your particular self-suspicions seeme to deny so much, as yt I doubt you have left so little, as will not serve for yor welfare. And its hard to believe yt a rationall man can believe any of it to be Divine who denyeth so much, & giveth no better reasons of ye difference than you do. //

To yor first Qu. therfore I answer 1° If you cannot prove any of ye Scripture true, or know not wt part of it is true, you can be no believer of it: And it will not save you to thinke yt you prove some of it false. 2° If you prove errors in ye transcripts you do not thereby prove ye first writers guilty of them. // To yor 2d, You say Matters of fact may be written without revelation; I ans. 1° Yet it is matters of fact yt you deny. 2° That wch may be knowne without may be yet better knowne by speciall helps; And yt wch is knowne will be more certainly reported, if ye reporters have Gods speciall helps to save ym from forgetfullness, temerity & lying. // 3° The same I say to yor resp. of yt wch may be knowne by ye light of nature. // 4° But you grant yt wt is laid downe in Scripture not knowne by ye light of nature, but by revelation only, such as promises, threatnings, prophecyes, &c, these things are to be believed to be Divine revelation. // Ans. But I feare lest somewhat within you will say yt that yt will tell us unknowne things agt Common reason & ye light of nature (as you suppose ye Scripture doth) is not to be believed about things unknowne to us. 2° Can any one by ye light of Nature tell how ye world was made, or of wt, or how man fell, or how Christ was incarnate &c. And yet you deny ye Scripture in these. 3° You know yt there were false prophets, & it was not enough to prove ym true, yt they spake yt wch was not knowne by nature. 4° You deny ye Resurrection of ye same body & many other things on supposition yt Scripture speaketh falsly in things yt cannot be knowne by ye light of nature. So yt either you speake not as you meant in yor objections agt ye Scripture, or you speake not as you meane here, & so believe none of ye Scripture (for ought you tell me) to be Gods word; or else you see not yor owne Contradictions. //

§1. As to your large objections, 1° My conscience a which [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ me to spend so much of my little remaining time as ye larger & fuller answering of small difficulty will require, taking so much more necessary worke I ought to do. 2° And the rather because it would be but for ye view of one unknowne person when I am obliged in ye meane time to forbear any. For I dare not publish [illegible] be ye answers are [illegible] so good lest I put all thoughts into ye heads of ye ignorant, who are more capable of ye infection than of ye remedy. 3° Because ye worke you call for is done to yor hand by Commentators long agoe. Not [illegible] but [illegible] solid expositors answer all ye [illegible] Contradictions & other accusations in yor [illegible] //

To yor first Qu. ... Command they had from God to take all ye books [illegible] The same Command yt they had to hearken to [illegible] // Ans. [illegible] believe his prophets. Every prophecie, & every booke of a prophet had accompanying it such evidence of divinity as made it a duty to receive it: wch evidence was easyer discerned by [illegible] circumstances, than to us at so great a distance; And they had other prophets among them, even proved ones, who could judge. The books were neither written nor received all at once, but one after another in severall ages. Even as to ye New Testam^t. The Apostles proved their owne mission & qualification by ye divine attestation of miracles with ye rest of ye Evidences wch I have opened at large in my Treat. called The Reasons of ye Christian Religion & in my Unreasonableness of Infidelity. This being proved, with Christs promise of his Guiding Spirit to ym, wt need then any more Comand for ye reception of their words or writings, than [As my father sent me so send I you] & [He yt heareth you heareth me.] It being then a very easy thing to know yt men heard ym speak those words & yt they received from ym those writings, & to know who wrote ym & from whom they did receive ym, And wt need had they men of an universall Comand after to receive such & such books by name, when they had an universall Comand before, even in nature itselfe, to receive all yt came with Gods attestation & specially to receive ye testimony & words of these particular Comissioned men? & when thus one by one ye books were allready accordingly received by those Churches to whom they were sent. //

§3. But you say, 1o We know not who were ye penmen of many books. Ans. 1o We know who were ye writers of allmost all ye New Testament, wch give testimony to ye old. 2o They yt first received them knew from whom & who were ye writers. 3o The following Prophets received them as ye word of God, who discerned his Spirit: & yts enough to us, though we know not the writers. //

§4. You say, It is incredible yt those comonly reckoned ye penmen of many books were so. You instance in ye Pentateuch. Ans. That Moses wrote ye history of Genesis & ye Law is certaine; But whether it was he himselfe yt put ye last hand to ye history of his own acts & times, & spake of himselfe in ye third person, & named some places prophetically as they were after named, & prophetically mentioned his own death & buriall; or whether, as is more probable, the following prophets (Joshua, Samuel, or Ezra) or the Church of the Jews by ye Prophets Conduct, did adde up & down some historicall explicatory notes, & mention ye buriall of Moses, the matter is of small moment. There is certainty of sufficient authority. And ye books being well called, The books of Moses, not only objective as de Mose et Mosaica, but efficienter as written by him though others might (by propheticall authority) adde notes or explications fit ym to ye following times. //

§5. You say, Deut. 18.22 is a fallible rule to know ye word wch ye Lord hath not spoken (when ye thing cometh not to passe); for then Jonas was a false prophet, & Gods mutation is a mere repent to forbeare [illegible]. Ans. 1o You may well confound Absolute predictions with Conditionall Comminations. Jonas his message was plainly conditionall (Yet forty daies) That is, If you continue yet 40 daies in sin & impenitence. He gave ym yet 40 daies time to repent. And God suspendeth nothing but Conditionall threatenings or promises.

§6. You think It was not written by Inspiration because by Tradition
of things allready done, & Tradition is fallible// Ans. 1o You thought in
yor Letter yt things are to be taken as of Divine Revelation wch
canot be knowen by nature. And how could Adam himselfe or any
other know wt God did the five first daies, without revelation,
when as there was yet no man to know it. And how could they deliver
down wt they knew not. And was not Moses as capable of Revela-
tion as Adam. 2o It is likely yt there was Tradition of these things:
Adam knew ym & told his sons: wee need not doubt of it. But yet is
there not great use of Gods speciall helpe, to deliver only ye necessary
& certaine things, & put in no mistake wch Tradition might have con-
tracted. Even as Christs disciples had need of ye spirit to bring all
things to their remembrance.//
§7. That ye Jews received all these bookes not only as Good, but as
Divine & Certaine, appeareth 1o By their owne profession, who ~~the~~
distinguished ym from all other good bookes, reading ym in their Synagogues
as Divine & arguing from ym still as from ye word of God: And it is their comon
uninterrupted Tradition to this day, manifest in their words & practices
& their consenting writings. 3o And ye words of Christ & his apostles
do both shew yt ye Jews thought so & yt it was true: when they said
That in ye Scriptures they thought to have everlasting life Joh. 5. 40. &
yt All Scripture (then knowen to ym eminently by yt name) is of
Divine inspiration; And argued wth ym from ye particular texts as
not doubted of by ym or contradicted: yea betweene Christ & Satan
himselfe yt tempted him Math. 4 it was agreed yt ye Scripture was
true & of Divine authority: [It is written] was good proofe.//
§8 You say yt ye Jews before Ezra's time had no Canon of ye
Scripture// Ans. But you offer not ye least proofe: nor can it be
true: All you could pretend to be probable was yt ye Canon was
not compleate till then; because ye last prophet had not written,
As ye Canon of ye New Testament was not till ye Apocalypse was
written: But yt there are many testimonies yt they had before ye booke
of ye Law of Moses, & received other bookes as they were written:
That wch Ezra did was to translate ye Scripture into a knowen
tongue to ye people when by their captivity they had halfe lost
their ancient language; & to finish ye Canon, & perhaps adde such
notes in ye history as are aforementioned.//
§9 As to wt you say of ye Gospell Ans. 1o I find no bookes obtruded on
ye Church falsly in ye name of any Apostles, saving by Hereticks
long after ye Apostles daies: 2o If they had, ye living Apostles & their
acquaintance were ready to detect ye fraud.//
§10 As to 2 Tim. 3. 26: I answer you Comon reason will tell us yt ye
word [Scripture] is to be understood in ye sense of those to whom
he wrote: It therefore is neither of ye senses wch you mention,
yt is, neither for all writings, nor for yt wch was then no writ-
ing; nor yet for an individuum vagum, or a genus as
no where existing, viz, Not for All yt is of God, without any
supposed determination, wch yet is for no use would yet be to
any: But ye [Scripture] in those times was comonly understood
yt wch was eminently Scripture, even yt wch ye Jewish Church
received, & daily used as ye written word of God ~~//~~

You might as well have said yt If ye Scripture says God is omnipotent] all yt are called Gods must be so, or none: If it say [The Son of Man is Lord of ye Sabboth] Mat. 12. 8. [Shall send forth his Angels] Mat. 13. 41. &c. then either every Son of man, or none.//

§11. When you have proved any thing in ye Scripture inconsistent wth ye wisdome or goodness of God, wch is not ye meere mistake of a Scribe or Printer, I shall more regard yor supposition, & call it as you do, foolishness to charge it on ye Spirit of God.//

§12. 1° If yor supposition be false, it can be of no great use to yo
2° I think you utterly mistake St Paul: When he saith [Not ye Lord but I] 1 Cor. 7. its all one as when he then saith [I have no Comand & ye sense is but this [God hath made no universall Law agt marriages & I have no Comand from God to you forbidding it. (Els it would be unlawfull to all) But he having appointed you an End to wch all yor actions as meanes must be suited, & comanded yt all be referred to yt End, & ye matter depending upon various circumstances, marriage being helpfull to one & hurtfull to another wch prudence must ponderate & discerne, I therefore as having Gods Spirit directing me, tell you for yor present resolution yt unless necessity prevail, ye present difficultyes will make a marryed life a greater hinderance than helpe to yor maine End, & consequently unlawfull to those to whom it is so; because it is a chosen unnecessary impediment; though marriage marriage is no sin, nor is there any Law forbidding it.//

§13. As to yor exception agt ye argumt from miracles, I answer 1° That it much matters not to us, whether God work by a naturall Cause or without; so be it he so arbitrarily & extraordinarily dispose of naturall Causes, as may signifie to man his [illegible] attestation. I am not sure yt God used no second naturall Causes (extraordinarily disposed of) for ye raising of Lazarus, for ye curing of ye lame & blind by Christ: I know not wt superior Causes he may use wch I am unacquainted wth: If an Angel from Heaven should come to us on a message as from God, I know not whether God use any superior naturall Cause in his mission & his message: But I know yt God doth not oblige us remedilessly to any dangerous errour.//

§14. But you tell us who say, yt no great stresse can be laid on this argumt, since Scripture tell us of many miracles wrought by false prophets to confirme men in a lye] Ans. Both præstigiæ et miracles & strange things may then be done; & such as we cannot discerne from true Miracles: But till sinners provoke God utterly to forsake ym & leave ym to chosen deceit, ye just Governor of ye world doth ever either restraine superior powers from such temptations as are too strong for our sinlesse resistance, or els addeth sufficient controlling evidence, by wch they may be resisted: So Moses controlled ye wonders of ye Egyptians, to shew yt God was above ym & agt ym. And if a wonder be done to draw us from any more certaine Truth or Duty, ye contradiction is its controll & Confutation. But if we be deceived by uncontrolled miracles we shall have no remedy.//

§15. You come next to accuse ye Scripture of contradictions: And
ye first is Gen. 32.30 Jacob saw God face to face, & Exod. 24.10 &
Exod. 33.20. No man shall see me & live] And 1 Joh. 4.12. No man &c.]
Ans. Gods essence cannot be seen by mortall eyes, nor yt great
glory wch is likened to ye seeing one face to face, nor the
most glorious Angels wch shew his Glory: But such darker
glorys of God may be seen as are likened to ye seeing of a
mans back parts; And also Angels of lower orders, or as vailed
in assumed bodily appearances, & as seen but in night
visions: And so Abraham & Lot entertained Angels, &
saw in even one yt was called ye Lord: whether as many
ancient Fathers thought, it was Christ appearing in an as-
sumed body. Or as others (who fear lest yt will favour ye Arians)
some Greater Angel (as Michael, said by many to be Israels
guardian Angel). But certaine it is yt as God is said
to speak & write ye Law, when he doth it by an Angel,
so the Lords face was said to be seen, when an Angel
was seen, who is called The Lord. Yea in Zech. 3.2. The
Angel there mentioned (whether Christ or a created Angel)
is called Jehovah. These should not be confounded
for they are plainly distinct senses of [seeing ye Lords face]].
And as it is plain yt it is ye Angel yt Jacob speaketh of, so
if there had been all intended in ye texts, there had been no contra-
diction: viz [Angels in themselves are such glorious creatures, yt no
man can see them without danger of death, or it will be mortall to
any man of itselfe unless extraordinary divine protection
save him: As no man can be long in a fiery furnace &
live by it, unless he be preserved as ye three confessors were Dan. 3.]]

§16. Your next is Exod. 7.20. All ye waters turned into blood. yet 22.
ye magicians did ye like. And Ex. 9.6. All ye Cattle dyed, yet after
ye haile destroyed ye Cattle]] Ans. This is a mere vaine cavill:
As if it were a strange thing, how ordinary it is in all comon speech
to call ye Generality, or Multitudes, by ye name [All]. When it is said
yt [All ye world was taxed by Augustus] would any hearer yt knew
usuall speech have called this a lie. So when ye Divel Mat. 4.
shewed Christ All ye Kingdomes of ye world] & abundance such like: It
was throwout all ye Land of Egypt. And it endured but seven daies.
And it is not said yt it was done at all ye waters at once.]]

§17. Your next is Exod. 19.22. compared with Ch. 28. Priests were to sanc-
tify themselves before there were any priests.]] Ans. Do you think
yt there were no Priests at all till ye solemne ordination of Aaron
& his sons. Was Melchizedek Priest of ye most high God, & Jethro
Priest of Midian, & Poti-pherah priest of On: Had all Idolatrous
nations their priests, & had Israel none. At least ye seniors of ye
families: sure God was worshipped by Priests before Aaron, & ye
Hebrews had Governors before Moses. Though when they were made
a peculiar Comonwealth Moses & Aaron were ye first [illegible] Prince & Priest

§18 The next is Exod. 2. 5 & Ezek. 18. Gal. 6. 5. || Ans. If you read my two Disputations of Originall sin, you will see they fully answered. Ezek. 18 expressly speaketh of ye children yt seeing their fathers sin do avoid it & obey God themselves; (And consequently ye Infant children of penitent pardoned parents, yt yet have not done evill themselves: These are all pardoned through Christ, & shall suffer no other death for their fathers sin but wt Adam brought on all mankind, or at least no such destructive punishment there spoken of:) But ye 2d Commandment threateneth not such children as Ezek. 18 absolutely. ||

§19. The next is Num. 20. 21. with Deut. 2. 29 || Ans. 1° The Edomites had severall principalities: And though one King denyed them passage might not another grant it them. Therefore Deut. 2. seemeth purposely to speak of some part of ye Edomites yt dwell in Mount Seir, as of part of ye Moabites yt dwell in Ar, wch is but in ye borders of Moab. 2° And if yt be not ye sense, the text may referr only to ye allowing ye Israelites to passe through or by their borders & sell them victualls, though they would not let them passe through their land: wch is not denyed in Numb. 20. 21. ||

§20 The next is 1 Sam. 7. 13. || Ans. 1° This is a meer cavil: The words [no more] plainly & ordinarily signifie, No more in reference to a long space of time, They forbare invading them. 2° And ye very words of ye text it self expressly limit it to ye daies of Samuel [They were subdued & came no more into ye coast of Israel, & ye hand of ye Lord was agt ye Philistines (How long?) all ye daies of Samuel.] By ye like you will also accuse Solomons words of contradiction, yt bid ye sad of heart to drink wine, & remember his sorrow [no more] But sure yt [no more] had its limitation. ||

§21. The text accused is 2 Sam. 8. 4. with 2 Chron. 18. 4. || Ans. 1° It is ordinary to understand a substantive under an adjective: The word [Chariots] is left out; wch both ye Septuagint, Syriack, & Arabick all expresse; And you may clearly see ye like speech 2 Sam. 10. 18. And so many chariots containing ten men a piece make up ye just number in ye Chronicles. 2° Divers numbers in ye book of Chronicles is suspected to proceed of t from some fault of ye Scribes. But there is no great reason of it as to the present texts, wch are otherwise well reconcileable.

§22. The 8th text is 2 Sam. 17. 25 with 1 Chr. 2. 17 || Ans. 1° The Septuagint have [a Jezraelite:] And wt wonder if a Scribe should change one letter in a matter of no more importance. An Ishmaelite might dwell in ye city Jezreel. 2° May not ye same man be an Ishmaelite by birth, & an Israelite by Religion & habitation. Reason will tell us yt when Israelites were ye common subjects of [illegible], there must be some reason why this one man is called an Israelite more than ye rest if he were certainly so: Either because he was so but by Religion & habitation, or els it is miswritten an Israelite, for a Jezraelite or Ishmaelite. If you say It is a humane conjecture yt Jithra was a [illegible]: I pray you how know you wt any word in ye world signifyeth but by humane faith or mans report. & yet certainly. Is reason contemptible because it is but humane reason. You yt are ye accuser must prove your pretended contradictions & therefore disprove every consistent sense of ye words. ||

§23. The 9th is 2 Sam: 24. 9 with 1 Chro: 21. 5. a difference of
numbers // Ans. You may see ten solutions from Expositors in Pooles
Synops. Crit. not one of wch you can disprove: & our distance of
time make ye things strange to us, yt was easy to ym yt knew ye case.
Whether it was yt Jerusalem was at first unnumbred, or any of
the other reasons very possible for a variety [illegible]. //
§24 The tenth is 2 K. 15. 33. with ch. 16. 1 // Ans. might not Jotham
have 16 years to reigne, if he began in ye beginning of Pekahs
second & ended in ye end of ye 17th. specially when usually part
of ye first & last years of Kings reignes goes for ye years. //
§25. The 11th is 1 K. 16. 8. Ans. By ye 36th year of Asa in 2 Chron.
16. 1 wch you oppose to this, is meant ye 36th year of ye Kingdome
after ye division from Israel, wch was then Asa's Kingdome. Were
not this a probable sence as it is, yet ye Scribes mistake of a
letter were more probable than the first writers. //
th is 2 K. 25. 8. with Jer. 52. 12. one saith The 7th day. //
§26. The 12th Ans. 1o He came yt began his three daies journey
ye other ye 10th. /// Ans. 1o He came into ye Country to Jerusalem ye 7th day
ye 7th day, Or he came into & entred ye City & burnt ye temple ye tenth. 2o were there a
literall error it were to be imputed to ye Scribes only. //
§27 2 K. 25. 27. with Jer. 52. 31. Ans. Strange, yt [illegible] release
by decree, or sentence may not be two daies before ye execution. //
§28. The 13th (as you number) 1 K. 7. 15. 19 with 2 Chr. 3. 15. 2 K. 25. 17. //
Ans. 1o 2 Ch. 3. 15 speaketh not of ye height of each, but of both, as
having ye number of Cubits conjoyned: You will say yt A foot is
wanting of twice 18: No wonder, either because parts comonly of
measures, daies, years, in Scripture oft bear ye name of ye whole:
Or because half a foot of each pillar was [illegible] into
the Chapiter, & so was within it & its measure. 2o As to ye rest
I will not be so tedious as to transcribe ye satisfaction given you
in the Synopsis Critic. & many Comentators. You may there find
enough if you will read it. //
§29o Yor 14th is Math. 5. 43. It hath been said of old, Thou shalt love
thy neighbour & hate thy enemy. Now sure, say you, our holy master
could never have taught so, for ye words [It hath been said] refer to
ye Law: now we find no such thing taught there &c. //
Ans. 1o This is a great sin in many, & to be left to it a dreadfull judgment
of God on men yt by forsaking him are forsaken by him: for
a poor dark worme to suspend even a heavenly teacher rather than
his owne weak understanding, at every word wch he understandeth
not: If boys at schoole should do so, we would say they wanted
of how great use is selfacquaintance & humility. 2dly. Luk. 10. 29
tells you yt ye pharisees took ye word Neighbour restrictively. And
it was not ye Law, but ye pharisees false exposition wch
Christ here reprehendeth. Oh but ye Law is [illegible] two Protestant
Annotators [illegible] think it is ye Law itselfe yt is here meant [illegible]
reasonably. But then they think ye sense is but this, the
law allowed ye Israelites to kill ye Canaanites, & bound them
not to be so kind to their enemies, as I now oblige you. //

§ 30. Yor 15th is Mat. 21. 40. 41. wth Luk. 20. 15. // Ans. This
against is meere oscitancy & cavill. 1o Christ convinced them first
of ye justness of a severe revenge agt such as were describ'd; just
as Nathan did David. But when they heard [Thou art ye man]
& perceived ye application, they cryed [We said God forbid] //
2o But ye chief argt of ye same sermon tends to reform ye sin &
not ye punishment only. // As in Matt. 23. [If we had lived in
ye daies of or fathers we would not &c.] i.e. God forbid
yt we should kill ye son. And yet they did it. //

§ 31. The 16th is Mat. 23. 35. Zacharias ye son of Barachias.
But 2 Chron. 24. 20. he is called ye son of Jehoiada // Ans.
1o What a presumption is yt for a man to rise up so many hundred
or thousand yeares after, & censure writings for ye sake of a
name; As if he knew not how comonly then one man had
two names. 2o You find yt Zachariah ye prophet is said to
be ye son of Barachiah. And wch way can you prove yt he was
not slaine as aforesaid. 3o How know you yt an unskill-
full scribe might not put [Son of Barachiah] in ye margin
from whence it might come into ye text. // 4o Jerome tells us yt
in ye spurious Gospel of ye Nazarites ye name of Jehoiada is put
for [Barachias] 5o Dr Hammond tells you yt there was yet another
Zacharias of whom saith Josephus, yt he was ye son of Baruch
who might be ye same as Barachias, as Ananias & Ananias were.
& yt he was slaine by ye Jewish Zealots in ye midst of ye Temple
presently before ye siege of Jerusalem. And so yt ye Aorist is put by
prophecie for ye future tense. But ye former sense fully confutes you.

§ 32. The 17th is Mark 2. 26. wth 1 Sam. 21. 1. & 22. 20. // Ans.
1o The Greek words signifie [About or Before] Abiathar being
ye priest. 2o 'Tis wch Beza in loc. tells you, yt both ye father & ye son
were double named [Abiathar & Achimelech] // 3o Beza
tells you yt in his very old Copy these words are out, & so seeme
to have crept out of ye Margin into the text. //

§ 33. Yor 18th is Act. 7. 14. wth Gen. 46. 27. Exod. 1. 5. & Deut. 10. 22.
of ye number of soules yt went into Egypt, there being five different. //
Ans. 1o The Septuagint hath those five supernumeraries. And yt
text was then in common use. And Stephen was not now to
frame ye translation, ye matter being of small moment, but to
speak to ym wth their books contained (Christ much using
ye same translation because then commonly known). // 2o I will
add much wch Beza saith, because it containeth ye summe
of [illegible] whole discourse in locum. [I say against yt Gen. 46. 27.
was depraved out of the corrupted text of ye Greeke: wch yt no
man may wonder to be done, I say, yt with ye like audaciousness
or unskillfullness this same errour came into Deut. 10. 22
in favour of Gen. 46 whereas also (in Deut.) in ye Greeke books printed
in our memory there is mention of 75 soules; whereas Jerome
testifieth yt in his time ye Greeke interpreters there varyed not from

ye Hebrew verity. But if any aske, How this place came to be long agoe so depraved The conjecture of my most conjunct colleague at Geneva Bertram Cornelius throughly satisfyeth me, who thinks Luke wrote not πέντε (five) but πάντες (all); in particular also as most necessary most expressed ut εν ψυχαις εβδομηκοντα πάντες may be translated in all (ye i conjoyned) were seventy soules (yt is heads), yt is, Jacob wth them went down 66 being numerated wth this number, together wth Joseph & his two sons who did not goe down wth Jacob, but yet were found in Egypt & therefore are by Moses recited both in ye first & in ye last place. Nor should any one be offended at this obscuration of that narrative nor occasion it to question ye authority of Gods word, seeing that errour (as I have said) it may be amended from ye Hebrew verity, & yet may remain without the safety of ye credit both of ye doctrine & history. And ye matter of fact itselfe loudly tells us yt in more places there are, by ye injury of time, by ye sharpnesse of persecution, by ye fraud of ye adversaries of ye truth, by ye audaciousnesse of hereticks, & lastly by ye negligence & ignorance of ye pastors, ye notes of Numbers (in Scripture) are depraved & more dangerous things than yt may be brought into ye sacred Scripture. wch yt learned & holy men both by ye collation of other places & by ye analogie of faith, have partly noted & amended, & part left to posterity to be noted & amended by them: God who is Lord of ye church taking care yt although many whole books are lost, & ye errours wch I have spoken of have crept in, yet ye Church hath ye whole doctrine of salvation most truly & certainly comprehended in these books, & so will have it to ye end of ye world. To conclude the considerate of wt age each patriarke was when Jacob went down into Egypt, will easily find it can hardly, or not possibly be yt Jacob should be accompanyed wth such an offspring, when as ten sons are attributed to Benjamin ye youngest: Therefore this descent of Jacob into Egypt must be extended to his death, & these seventy were afterward ye heads of so many families, in each ~~[illegible]~~ ones proper tribe. 31 //

As to wt you say of St Stephen being ignorant of ye Hebrew, & ye Sept. being erroneous, I answer, yt Christ also & ye Apostles used ye Sept. not owning ye errors, nor because they were ignorant of ye Hebrew. But because they knew ye words are for ye sense, & it conteined all things necessary, & they spake for ye use of those yt by ye captivity had lost ye pure Hebrew, & received & used ye translation of ye Septuagint. //

34. Obj. 19. Acts 7. v. 16. wth Josh. 24. 32 ye Stephen contradicteth ye old Testament & Gen. 23. 16. & 50. 13. // Ans. For brevity I desire you to peruse but Beza & Hamond & you may find matter of satisfaction. See ye conjecture yt ye name of Heth is put for Hemor by ye scribes mistake, or ye name of Abraham instead of Jacob: & yt ye sense is yt some were buryed in one of ye places, & some (Joseph) in ye other. // I will again translate more of Beza's words. //

I would those overdoing men would consider these words of Beza, who having an ignorant zeal, have railed at us, as undervaluing ye Scriptures, for saying wt Beza saith. Like him yt damned ye preacher for saying yt Christ oft used the Sept. translation. How sadly doe blind zealots tempt men to infidelity, by denying notorious matter of fact, & so draw men to believe nothing, when they find such men in a falshood. Even about Scripture its overdoing blindnesse is undoing, & undermineth ye credit of Gods book.

" [But it is manifest yt Abram bought not ground of ye sons of Emm
" but of Ephron, not at Sichem but at Hebron. For my part I
" have long thought & still do thinke yt ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Jacobs
" name is from ye foregoing verse to be understood, for wch some one
" deceived by lapse of memory noting ye name of Abraham, su
" ing ye nominative wanting before ye verb ὠνήσατο, it th
" crept in to ye text. As in Mat. 27. 9 Zachary hath long b
" putt for Jeremy. And Hierom him selfe notes (lib. de opt.
" gen. interpret. ad Pammach.) yt in many books ye name of
" Esaias had crept in; for wch after ye name of Asaph wa
" substituted, wch are neither of ym now found there. And these
" errors in Numbers & in proper Names came not by ye auth
" fault, whose Mind & pen ye Holy Ghost in delivering these
" things most certainly guided, but partly by ye negligence
" & partly by ye ignorance of transcribers, or also by ye
" audaciousness of some selfconceited ignorant men. And
" by comparing other places they may easily be known
" yt they derogate nothing from ye credit of Christian doctr
" or of these history] Bez. in Act. 7. 16. // Though
many yt talke all on trust, & believe wt they would have
& not wt is, will censure even Beza for ~~this~~ confessing
visible matter of fact, I will not deale wth you so shamefull
nor lie for God, nor speake agt visible matter of fact //

§35 Your 20th is Act. 9. 7. with 22. 9. // Ans. Both ye expositions
of Beza & of Hammond, remove all shew of contradiction:
1° The meaning of λαλοῦντος before make it not improbable
yt it was Pauls voice yt they were said to heare. 2° And
yet ye τῆς φωνῆς signifying sound or thunder makes
it rather more probable yt ye meaning is yt they heard ye
thunder or sound, but not ye speech. //

§36 Your 21st is 1 Cor. 10. 8 wth Numb. 25. 9. One saith 2300
the other 2400. // Ans. How many reasons unknowne to us may vary ye
mention of ye number. And yt wch you note you answer not suffici-
ently, & wch if it were as (not only Lud. Capellus, but) Beza
conjectureth [ex emplarium fortasse vitio] perhaps by ye
faultyness of copies. Its more credible than by ye authors error. //

§37 To ye §37. p. 23 I ans. 1° As to Stephen & Paul I answered before.
2° St Lukes Gospell being written by one yt was specially assisted
by Gods Spirit, & received into ye Church by ye judgment of ye spirit
is testimony enough without his saying [I write by ye spirit]
wch many others said not yt yet did so. And surely his say-
ing yt it seemed good to him (an Evangelist yt had ye ex-
traordinary gifts of ye spirit) was like to prove also yt
it seemed good also to ye Holy Ghost yt helped him, than
needed it without such speciall helps, wch should tell him it was
good // 3° I am glad yt you confesse yt ye Apostles had undoubted

velations & unquestionable Myracles proving ye truth of Christs
being ye Messiah, as well as excellent morality. || §37. You say Paul
could without inspiration bid Timothy bring his Cloake &c. Ans. So
many words yt Christ spake & many actions yt he did (as eating
walking &c) might have bin said & done by one yt was not
Inspired: (excepting ye internall qualification of his mind in doing ym)
But yet all came from a Divine spring. And I told you before yt ye
same spirit helpeth men to do great things & small, yt is, in ye right
intention & manner as shall keepe out sin & errour: even as eating
& drinking to ye glory of God sincerely requireth more of ye spirit than
ye ungodly have. If God promise a man to guide him infallibly
in speaking or writing a booke, Is it not a weake cavill to
say (This speech or booke is made up of Letters & words (as this
& [And] & [You] &c; And a man may write all these Letters & speake
this word, & yt word & ye other word without ye spirit. And so
one yt is no Architect may drive a pegg: And yet an Architect
may use his true art in every pegg yt he driveth. ||
§38 You can hardly think yt ye foure Evangelists had all a
Commission to write. || Ans. They had all a Mission & Commission
to publish ye Gospell, & yt to ye Churches best advantage; &
writing is ye chiefe way of publishing. And ye internall motion
of ye spirit was their Commission when & in wt manner to pub-
lish it, & so to write. Surely such an Inspiration is a good Com-
mission. || You say St Markes Gospell is ye summary of St Matthew &c
Ans. I thought you would rather have still questioned ym for
seeming disagreements, than for agreeing. Tradition saith yt St
Marke wrote his Gospell from ye mouth of St Peter, long after
St Matthews was written. || You think yt ye paucity of bookes in
yt age made these good bookes admired. Ans. You might ra-
ther thinke by wt is said of all ye bookes yt Solomon wrote, & by his
words yt [of writing many bookes there is no end, & much reading
is a wearynes to ye flesh] & by ye number of bookes yt before
Christs time Ptolomie had in his Alexandrian Library, yt
there was then no such rarity of bookes as you imagine, but
yt ye world was then also a little sicke of my disease. ||
If you have read so much for yor satisfaction in vaine as
you mention, its strange yt after all you should expect any
from me: or thinke yt I should have ability or leisure to say
more or better than all those yt you have read. ||
§39. How farre these Lesser matters are or are not to be regarded
I shewed you at first in my propositions. ||
§40. You next come to your accusation of things Improbable
& Incredible. And ye first charge is agt ye story of ye fall of man
wch you say is fraught with so many incredible circumstances &c.
And so because man was Created in Gods Image in knowledge

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ec Righteousness & holyness, he could not be so easily deceived. //

Ans. 1° If his wisdome & holyness had been in ye highest heavenly angelicall or confirmed degree, it would not have been so deceived. But when it was but such as left him to ye Liberty of a mutable selfdetermining will, wt wonder is it. 2° Do you not see now how oft ye best men oft yeeld to poore temptations? And how many men accounted very wise, do sell their birthright for a morsell, for knowne vanity & vexation, for a shaddow, a dream! Do obstinately neglect their everlasting interest, & have not ye will to preferre God practically before a little pelfe, or before a forbidden filthy pleasure; nor to preferre a soule before a body yt must rot to dust; nor eternity before an inch of time. Do not ye temptations wch are confessed to be from ye Devil, still prevaile with a great pt of mankind, to ye grossest sins, ~~& [illegible]~~ & to their owne destruction, & to deny grace & quickness beyond words. //

§41 As to ye serpents speaking, 1° If you & I knew well wt change ye sinne made on ye dragon or serpent, we were better judges than you now make yor selfe. 2° Is it incredible yt an Angel or demon should speake by a serpent, when you can make musick on a dead lifeless instrument. & can teach a parrot to speake. 1° It is not to be doubted but man in innocency had communion with Angels: By whom God himselfe is said to walke & talke with ym. 2° They knew yt Angels were of severall degrees: 3° These Angels must appear to ym in some shape or assumed body. 4° God would not permit bad Angels to take ye shape of man till he had sinned. 5° The serpent was then ye most suitable instrument. 6° The woman its like knew not yt ye Devil was fallen into a state of malignity, nor had any enmity to devills, not knowing ym to be or enemies: For the enmity was after put into humane nature agt devills; And its like their fall was but newly done. If Balaam could talke with his Asse, & if ye heathens fame abundance of brutes & vegetatives to have spoken, they should not wonder yt ye Devil might speake in a dragon or serpent; especially when any modest wit would say, At this distance how many circumstances may be unknowne to me through ye change of things, & ye brevity of ye narrative, wch would perfectly satisfie me if I had knowne them. //

§42. Yor exception at ye abruptness of ye serpents speech is through your not considering ye scope of ye words (of wch see ye Synops. Critic.) yea & yt its like these were but part of ye words, ye text not pretending to tell us all, but so much as God saw usefull to us. //

§43. Yor objection about or first parents blindness, is a blind objection. None but a mad man would have supposed ym perfect, & such as when all ye creatures were brought, did give ym names, & did see yt ye fruit of ye tree was beautifull to ye sight &c, & yet suppose ym all this while blind, when ye brutes could see. Therfore you blind impute not only falshood but starke madness to ye writer of Genesis. But wt should tempt you to think it strange yt ye phrase [opening their eyes] should meane [ye eyes of ye mind] when ye phrase is so oft used in yt sense in Scripture & in all ordinary writers. They were not before sensible yt their nakedness was any matter of shame, & therfore tooke no such notice of it, till sin had made it shamefull to them; & a certaine sort of penall knowledge was made a part of their deserved & selfprocured punishment. //

§44. Yor exception agt ye supposition yt they grew wise by their sin, comes from yor not ascribing to [that ye phrase of knowing good & evill] among ye Hebrews, signifyeth, but [the knowledge of many things] or great knowledge]; As ye woman said to David 2 Sam. 14.17. as an Angell of God to discerne good & bad.] 2 That in much knowledge there is much sorrow, & yt there is a sort of knowledge yt is hurtfull & tormenting. Adam in innocency was as a child in his fathers house, yt had nothing to take care of but his duty, & to know Gods will & do it, & then know his goodness & love, to trust him, & rest in him: or as a patient yt had nothing to know or care for as to his medicines but only how to use wt his physician sendeth him. But Adam fell from God to himselfe, & must care for himselfe, & distrusting God (by unbeliefe) must trust himselfe, & so desire to know Gods part, even wt God will do by him & why & how he will make good his word; & so to judge of Gods meanes by his shallow understanding; like ye child yt must know daily wt food & raymnet his father will provide him & ye reason of all: or like a patient yt must know all ye ingredients in his physicke, & be satisfyed of ye reason of ym; wch breedeth indeed some increase of knowledge, but such as belongeth to sciolists or halfwitted selftrusting men, yt distracteth, confoundeth, tormenteth & oft destroyeth ym. If you did but know how much vaine philosophy, & trifling, dallying & pretended knowledge hath befooled & abused & confounded ye world, & how much more holy & joyfull a life they might live, if they knew more of God & saw him, trusted him & obeyed him in all things, & lived in ye love of him & of one another even as yemselves, & in simplicity & godly sincerity, & not in fleshly (or ludicrous) wisdome, had their conversation in ye world, you would say yt ye serpent beguiled Eve as pretended knowledge hath since beguiled many, in drawing them from ye simplicity yt is in Christ: & yt Satan hath set ye world as it were, to count ye piles of grasse, or ye pebbles, & play with uselesse quirkes & vanityes to keepe ym from feasting on ye love of God, & ye delightfull hopes of life Eternall & in holy peace & concord sweetly hastning to their glorious home. And yet there may be somew of an Ironie in it too, wch you confesse not. //

§45. Yor fifth exception, as if God had walking motion & ignorance where Adam was, is from want of our considering yt 1. ye word may signifie ye voice passing on. 2o And yet yt it is most probable yt God then conversed with ym by an Angel, who appeared in a bodily assumed shape: Even as ye Law was said to be delivered by ye ministry of Angels & yet is said to be by ye writing & voice of God. For no doubt yt voice was a created thing by wch God spake to Adam & Moses: And if created, its like to be by ye ministry of an Angel than by ye aire alone. //

§46. Yor 7th is the improbability yt ye innocent serpent should be punished for Adams sin. And so you may say its improbable yt ye innocent earth should be cursed. But it was not formaliter poena to ye irrationall unconstituted creatures. But yet it was malum naturale, & its formally a punishment to man yt's sinfull. And is it incongruous for God to leave ye symbols of his displeasure on ye creatures yt had bin ye instrumt of sin, any more than to lay all this on ye serpent without any respect to such evill at all. This or May not God destroy ye howses corne & cattell of sinners, to signifye ye more his hatred of sin. How groundless then is this accusation?

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§47. Your next censure ye serpents curse as creeping on ye belly & feeding on dust, which misunderstanding hath tempted men to quarrel at things they know not wt. 1o Do you or I know ye shape of ye serpent before [illegible] 2o You must set both parts of ye sentence together, to make one. The serpent before it seemeth was familiar with man & lived on ye plesantest fruits of ye Garden, climbing up on ye trees, wch occasioned some Rabbins to say yt it was ye serpents action wth Satans suggestion or addition yt is there called speaking; Eve seeing ye serpent boldly eate of ye fruit before her face, was tempted to think yt there was no danger in it. Now ye serpent is condemned from ye trees & fruits & familiarity with man to live & creep into holes to hide themselves & feed in ye dust on baser food. By dust is meant inclusively ye mixture wch in ye dust doth feed them, as it doth ye wormes yt lodge & feed in ye earth. // To yor 4th exception I answer, 1. the enmity is primarily between ye diabolicall & humane nature, & secondarily between ye serpentine & humane; wherin ye enmity on ye serpents part is hurtfullness, & on mans part, fear & hatred of a venemous hurtfull creature And its strange yt a sober thinking man should think yt this is no more than between serpents & other creatures. As we find not other creatures so oft & spitefully hurt by them as men are; so surely irrationall creatures have no rationall enmity agt serpents. A chicken will fly from a kite & a hare from a dog; but none of em doth so fear & avoid a serpent as a man doth; for they know not their hurtfullness so well. // But wt if ye same enmity were also put into other creatures, to ym. Doth it follow yt it is not in man, or yt it came not by sin. May not other creatures yt were made for us partake of ye curse for or sakes & for our sins. //

§48 As to yor 4th exception here, yt if ye Devil bruise ye heele, then ye Devil must eate ye dust. // I ans. One yt will not understand may make ye plainest words seeme absurd. The curse is symbolically & secondarily on ye serpentine nature & chiefly on ye diabolicall, but worded primarily as to ye serpentine. The serpent useth lurking in ye dust & grasse to bite or sting ye foot or lower part of man; But men use therfore in killing to crush their heads. The Devil did bruise ye heele of Christ in ye suffering of his flesh. But Christ rose & conquered Satan destroying his kingdome, power & works, & casting him into hell for ever. whose base condition now also is well signifyed by ye symbol of serpents dwelling in holes in ye earth or dust. //

§49 Yor exception about womens paine in childbearing as coming by nature & not by sin, 1o Must needs be presumptuous of one yt knoweth not wt change or nature sin did make. 2o it is so farre confuted by experience, as yt we still see many lusty poor women in Wales & Ireland have very easy travaile, & can goe presently abroad, when with others it is not so. To say nothing of the like paine of most sorts of bruits. //

§50 As frivolous is yor 9th exception as if thornes & briars came not by sin. For 1o You will never prove yt there is since no new species of plants, no more than of insects, but wt was made at ye first creation. 2o And might not thornes & bryars be

made first as Rose bushes with more usefulnes than hurtfulnes;
or in yt order & measure as might serve only for use, & yet
their abounding & disorder be a Curse: Who besides you
would not take it for a Curse if all their gardens, meddows
pastures & fields, bore thornes & bryars instead of flowers
grasse & corne.

§ 51. The fabulous circumstances yt you rashly charge ye story
of Noahs Arke with, is so fully answered by Bp Wilkins & oth-
ers in Mr Pooles Synops. Critic. yt I neither need nor will
repeat it, nor adde any more to it.

§ 52. You say ye story of Noahs cursing Canaan is altogether
fabulous.// Answ. Yor reason because Cham was ye sinner is frivolous:
God did justly difference betweene ye Posterity of ye Godly & ye wicked
by his blessings & curses as I have proved at aforesaid in my
two Disputations of Originall Sin: 1o Was not Canaan a ser-
vant de facto to Israel as is here said. 2o Did God do this
unjustly? Dare you think it. 3o If not, surely he yt might
do it fairly without respect to sin, might do it as part of
a punishment for parents sin. So yt ye summe of ye whole is but this,
God yt visits ye sins of ye fathers on ye impenitent children will
make ye posterity of Cham even Canaan a servant to ye seed
of Shem for their sin.// As to yor extenuation of Chams sin, as
not deserving such a curse; 1o The worse sin any man hath, the
lesse he perceiveth ye evill of sin: But the publishing (& perhaps
deriding) a fathers shame when he should have hid it, seemed not
a small sin to him yt made Nature & the fifth Commandement. 2o
And seeing yt Canaans servitude de facto was true, do not you
speake basely yt make God do it for nothing, than ye Scripture
yt saith he did it for so small a sin as you esteeme it. 3o And you
seeme not to consider yt Noah spake not only a judiciary sen-
tence, but prophetically foretelling wt God would do.// Your opi-
nion yt Canaan was not then borne, & yt this was immediatly after ye
flood, is but yor groundlesse errour! But if it had bin so, wt hindered
but Noah might prophesie of a child unborne.// As to yor saying
yt none of ye other sons of Cham are named, I answer, It is because
this is mentioned in preparation to ye following history in wch Canaan
is subdued, as giving some reason of it, as a thing foretold &
so encouraging ye Israelites expectation. All is not written yt was said
or done, but all yt God saw meet. The Hebrews have a tradition yt Can-
aan first saw Noahs nakednes, & told his father.// But you say This
curse was not verifyed in ye Israelites subduing them, because Cham &
Canaan were long dead, had miseryes &c. Answ. As if it were no curse to them
to have a cursed posterity wch is contrary to ye sense of humane nature.
Then it is no blessing to David or to any King yt his posterity shall
reigne after him: much lesse to Abraham yt his seed should be as ye
starres of heaven when he was not to live to see it.// But you say yt
they were not servants of servants. Ans. Yes; of [illegible] yt station yt came
out of Egyptian servitude. But ye Hebrew phrase signifyeth no more
than [ye basest of servants] as [Vanity of Vanityes] is great Vanity.
But you say yt ye threatning of punishing ye sins of ye fathers on ye
children is entailed only to ye fourth generation.// Ans. 1o By ye way I
observe yt yor pretending to believe some parts of Scripture as of
Revelation, & so to believe in Christ, is rendred suspected to those
yt know you not, while you believe not ye Ten Commandements themselves.

1° You will grant its like yt a man may be made Childlesse by his
And if so all possible generations from him are prevented: And is not ye
denying ym a being more than giving ym a being & making ym under
beings to their betterm. Many Servants are loath to die. If God
then cutt off the 3d or 4th Generation, he preventeth ye very being of all
others. 3° You seeme not to consider yt it is supposed yt ye Posterity
of them would live in wickednes as they did, & so continue ye punish-
ment on themselves: And so while following parents sins were also
punished on ye 3d & 4th Generation, how should it end. For yt words
are a prophesie from God yt foreknew yt ye posterity also would do

§ 53. Your next accusation is of Circumcision, as immodest, barbarous
cruel, &c. // Ans. 1° Do you thinke yt ye Israelites thought so yt practised
it, & gloryed in it. Were they in all generations a more modest, barba-
rous cruel nation than others. Had they not as much love as others
to yr Children. The harder it seemes, ye liker it is yt they did it by
Gods Comand: Els they would never have chosen it themselves. And
some other nations (ye Ishmaelites & Edomites) used it as well as
they, as some mistaken Christians have done since. 2° If you will
be so much wiser & more mercifull than God, as to call so small a
matter [barbarous cruelty] its like you think hardlyer of him
for our sicknesses, sufferings & death: // You adde yt It was contrary
to ye reason of ye institution; for ye Sacrament was a means to con-
vey Grace to ye person to purifie their depraved nature, & a seale
of ye Covent to all Abrahams posterity; but ye females had it not. //
Ans. 1° It sealed ye Covent to ye whole seed, though applyed to ye males
only: 2° Why do you say, without proofe, yt this Sacrament was
to convey grace &c. Your word is no proofe. I know ye Ponti-
ficians now tell us of I know not wt kind of conveyance of
Grace by ye Sacramts of ye New Testamt, ex opere operato
as if they were not only Morall but physicall instrumts of it: wch
I will not now dispute. But at least for circumcision, I must
have proofe of it before I believe it. 3° But thus we all acknow-
ledge yt it conveyed Grace, even as a seale of ye Covent wch is
ye Donative instrument or act; & as an Investing Solemnizing signe.
As a man yt by Lease or Deed of Guift, hath right to Lands, ye
Seale & ye Investing delivery have their part also in ye convey-
ance. So God promising by Covenant yt his Spirit shall helpe those
yt are in Covent with him & reject it not, Circumcision confirmed
ye promise: & this in ye males was confirmed to all Confederates.
4° And ye females wanted not suitable means of grace of other sorts.

§ 54. You next say yt ye increase of ye Israelites in Egypt is incredible
if not impossible. // Ans. 1° I need not here tell you yt Aristotle saith
in Egypt ye women had foure or five Children at a birth: & Pliny
saith they had sometimes seven; & yt God made ye Hebrews specially
fruitfull; or yt then one man had oft many wives. I only say
You speake for want of Arithmeticall Consideration: As Tornielus cal-
culates, suppose yt time was 210 or 215 years. & yt they did not Generate
till 20 years old; & yt every one had but three sons (wch yet was like
to be more) in ten times twenty years would spring 1° 150 out of 50
2° 450 out of yt 150. 3° 1350 out of them. 4° 4050 out of ym. 5° 12150 out
of ym. 6° 36450 out of ym. 7° 109350 out of ym. 8° 328050 out of ym.
10° 2952450 out of them; And all these Males, besides all ye fe-
males. See Synops. Crit. p. 317 & Bonfrer. Do you not see God oft hin-
der or diminish, 'tis not a wonder yt their increase in meantime
was not more than 600000. But ye rest we must allow to death
tho we may suppose so many dyed. // As to ye words Exo. 1. 9. They say
not yt ye Israelites were More than ye Egyptians; but they were robust
& many, & enriched, wch are spoken by way of aggravation as the
reason to keepe them under. //

§55 Yor third generall head of accusations is The many passages yt you say, contradict ye Divine Goodnes. As 1st Gods hardening Pharaohs heart to hinder ye Egyptians, & yet lay such heavy plagues on Egypt. Ans. If it were but granted yt God is wiser than you, & better knoweth his owne goodnes (wch me-thinks should not be denyed) this may be well solved. 1o God hardened not Pharaohs heart by putting in him a sinfull will, or determining it to evill, but 1o occasionally by his great mercies to ye Israelites, making ym a desireable prey to Pharaoh: & 2o by not giving him yt mollifying grace wch he had forfeited. 2o Also God did not deny this grace to an innocent man, or one of obeyed grace but to an old & wilfull sinner yt had forfeited it, permitting him to harden his owne heart. 3o Nor did he lay so great plagues on ye Egyptians as their sin deserved. By all this its easy to conjecture yt you believe no hell for sinners. 4o Do you believe yt ye plague or fire was in London or not. Or yt plagues, warres, sicknesses & death do befall mankind. If not, I canot cure you. If you do, is it not a crueller opinion to hold yt God doth all this for nothing, than yt he doth it for sin. If you will judge God, judge you should do it wiselyer than thus. //

§56. Yor 2 instance is, Its repugnant to Gods Goodnes to command & allow things contrary to wch he hath forbidden, as 1 to rob ye Egyptians 2 giving Davids wives to Absaloms incest. // Ans. 1o Do you think it unjust, yt ye King sequester ye estates of rebells, murderers, fellons &c. Or a father take from a disobedient sone wt he had given him, & give it to his brother. You may next accuse God for taking mens health or life from ym when he had given it ym. But may he not do wth his owne as he will. Did he promise never to take ym from ym. // 2o Yor words of Davids Concubines are gross, & you might as well inferr yt God alloweth of all ye sin in ye world, because he disposeth of ye Effects or Consequents of sin. Gods [Giving his Concubines] there is no more than so permitting ye sin of Absalom & ordering other matters, as yt Absalom who had himselfe ye sinfull will, should have ye power, & ye effect should be this punishmt to David: Of wch in my Cathol. Theolog. I have said more. //

§57 Your next accusation is, The pardoning of Davids heynous sin & punishing Sauls lesser so severely. Ans. 1o If you think Sauls punishment was greater than he deserved, you believe no hell, its like: at least not yt you deserve it, or such sins as all of us are guilty of: & consequently yt we need a Saviour! And if so, why say you yt you believe in Christ! But if you think only yt Davids punishment was less than he deserved, I answer 1o And is not yor owne so. And would you not have your owne so? Why then not other mens. 2o And is yor eye evill because God is good? Would you not have God pardon sin, nor Christ to wash us in his blood!! But its like yt you are offended yt God pardoned not Saul as well as David! But will you also accuse him yt he pardon not all men. & so yt there is any punishment! & consequently yt Christ suffered for us. Yt any are sicke or sad, or die. But you see yt God will not be ruled by you. 2o Will you also accuse God because he made not every toad a man, & every man an Angel, & every stone a starr, & every starr a sun. Must he receive from such as you & I ye Lawes & measures of his beneficence. // But 3o you & I know not ye heart of many where ye aggravating malignity of sin abideth: But God knoweth. If David lived in ye constant habituall love of God & goodnes, & his sin came but from ye violence of passion, & strength of a present temptation, wch did not extirpate his predominant love of God but only hinder ye present exercise of it. And if Saul contrarily loved his worldly interest better than God & holines, & did wt he did from such a principle, this maketh a very great difference in their sins. Besides, as ye sins of a Pastor if any in his very Ministry of holy things (in publike doctrine, worship & discipline) are of more publike consequence, than ye privater sins, (as drunkenness, swearing &c

So is it in Kings: And therfore Sauls violating of Gods comand about ye Ama-
likites, & sacrificing &c, might bring a publike greater punishmt than Da-
vids private greater sin. It being also a sin of their first King (as Adams
of ye first man) yt should have bin a pattern to his followers. //
§ 58. You are most offended at Gods severity in ye death of Vzzah. Ans. So you
might have bin also at ye death of Nadab & Abihu. But Gods answer must
silence you [I will be sanctifyed in all yt draw nigh unto me.] And people
shall see yt he is a Holy God, & will not hold him guiltless yt profaneth
holy things. (What is it then for you to think speak & write agt his holy
orders!) But this tells us nothing of Vzzahs eternall state. but his ex-
emplary punishmt was to prevent bold profaneness in those yt knew it. //
§ 59. You think it inconsistent with Gods wisdome & goodness to be displeased
with ym for asking a King 1 Sam. 8. 5. God having before allowed it Deut.
17. 14. 15. &c. // Ans. 1o God did not allow ym to change his Government
but only told ym wt their King should do when it was changed wch
they should have left to him. yea rather wt such a King should do
yt God should successively choose imediately by prophecy, & not one
yt should have an hereditary Kingdome, unless God called ym to it. The
choice of a King is not allowed but foretold, though supposing him to
be chosen, ye manner is commanded. 2o But ye thing yt God was offended
with, was their deposing Samuel yt God had set over ym, & in him ye
Propheticall Government, wch was a Theocratie, Gods speciall Government
because God by Inspiration or Vision undertook himselfe to appoint
ym rulers, & guide those rulers, as well as make ym lawes: And to make
ym a people peculiar & nearer to him than all others. And so they are
said to have deposed God from ruling over ym, as yt by this spe-
ciall manner of Revelation, in wch they should have lived divinely
holily & by faith. & they would be like ye other nations, & would
further from God, & leane more on man. //
§ 60. This strange passage offended you Ezek. 20. 25 [I gave ym statutes
yt were not good &c. Ans. Its hard for words of another language
wch were understood imperfectly, at so long distance, to have nothing yt is strange
to us; when our own language would be strange to us, did we hear
it as it was used but 500 years agoe. But here Gods giving signifyes
no more than Psal. 81. 11. 12. he gave ym up to their own hearts lusts
to walk in their own counsells. So he gave ym up to statutes yt were
not good. He left ym to beleeve ym, & choose their own devices. //
2o Or els by [statutes] may be meant Gods just sentences & destroying pun-
ishmts, as plagues, sword, opening of ye earth to swallow ym, &c wch were
not for their good, but their just confusion. //
§ 61. Davids numbring ye people was a degree of withdrawing
from God to man, & cursed is he yt trusteth in man, & withdraw-
eth his heart from ye Lord Jer. 17. But other sins of ye people
had began & chiefly caused Gods provocation, by wch they suffered. //
§ 62. You call ye selling of a daughter mentioned Ex. 21. 7 inhuman,
barbarous &c. Ans. You are not conscious enough of ye frailty
of yor understanding, or els you would not be so confident. Consider yt
1o It was to be but of young unmarryed girls. 2o It was but till ye
seventh year; or ye Jubilee if sooner. 3o It was not to slavery.
4o It was with expectation of ye master or his son marrying her.
5o It was, say ye Jewish Doctors, to be but in case of ye parents
extreme necessity. // And was it any horrid thing when men bought
their wives. Or is it so yet at ye East Indies. If a Prince would
buy yor daughter for marriage, would it be inhumane. And wt if they
went first apprentice for seven years. Strange we are faine now
to give great summes wth many yt will take children apprentices: And
you take it for barbarous if men would give money for ym. And
by ye alienation of propriety yt you think inhumane, [illegible]

adopting. If a Lord would adopt yor child were yor consent to be
mane. And some thing little like it is done in ye Church of England by
ye baptismall vow & covenant, where no parent, but ye Godfathers &
Godmothers, are Covenanters for ye child, & promise to bring him up in
the nurture & admonition of ye Lord, & see yt he heare sermons, & be taught
all yt a Christian must know to his soules health. 3o And such strangers if it be for
ye childs good, wch can be said agt it. And truly parents yt are utterly
impoverished wth us, think a good apprentiship or service better
for their children, then begging at home. //
§63 Your next charge is of things contrary to modesty: as 1o Ruths action.
Ans. 1o A narrative is not an approbation of all done. 2o The circumstances
well considered, of ye promise & great desire of children wch then prevailed
& ye law of ye next kinsman marrying, may abate yor censure. //
Yor 2d is Abishags lying with David when frigid wth age. Answ.
strange, 1o yt you quarrel not more wth many wives, than wth one yt
was not used as a wife. 2o That when ye Papists (wch you think of ye
I know not) do even Canonize Pulcheria wife to ye Emperor Marcian
& Cunegundis wife to ye Emperor Henry of Bavaria, for living till
death wth their husbands in Chastity (& so of some other Queens)
yet Abishags chast lying wth David should be so bad. //
Yor 3d is Pauls words of our [illegible]: A frivolous quarrel yt de-
serves no answer. // Yor 4th is of Deut. 22. 15 of ye tokens of virginity;
God abhorred fornication; And it being more unhansome for you &
I to dispute it, than at yt time it was for ym to practice it, I refer
you to ye Synopsis Crit. & other Commentators for your answer. //
Yor next is yt ye Canticles is but Solomons Love Song. Ans. That's
but yor assertion wch hath no authority agt ye tradition of ye Jewish
& Christian Church. But if one book had bin mistaken as Cano-
nicall yt is not, yt had bin nothing agt all ye rest. Certainly [illegible]
some few also have doubted of ye Chronicles (I suppose causelessly)
But ye same men doubted not of ye rest. //
§64 Yor next accusation is of things contrary to Philosophy.
If you meane {Contrary to naturall evidence of truth} I deny it.
But if you meane {Contrary to the Opinions of Epicureans, Peripate-
tiks, Platonists, Stoicks, Cartesians, &c. I little regard it. If you are
one yt set up Philosophy as farr above Revelation as Thomas White
(Th. Anglus ex Albiis) or as he yt dedicated his philos. vulgaris refutata
(I. G.) to ye Dolphin of France, & such others yt think Christ was a
simple teacher of ye simple Jews, not comparable to Philosophers
& yt Christ did but kindle a little spark wch ye Spirit in ye Apostles
was to increase, & ye Spirit in Popes & Councils was yet more to increase,
& ye Spirit in ye Councell of Trent [illegible] brought neerer to perfec-
tion, & yt Generall Councils are the great Judges of Philosophy
as ye higher as well as of ye Scriptures as ye lower; All these sayings
are no proofes to me. //
Yor instances are of ye standing still of ye Sun. // Ans. 1o Is there any
thing in yt harder to God than ye moving of ye Sun. 2o You know
I suppose yt many Philosophers think yt it is ye Sunshine, &
not ye Sun itselfe yt is said to stand still: And others yt ye Moone
was ye immediate cause of yt shining. But whether we understand or not
ye nature of ye miracle (wch I do not) we are sure yt there is nothing
too hard for God: And I confesse this ye wonderfullest miracle in ye bible. //
§5 Your next is yt ye world was made of nothing, contrary to ye undeni-
able maxime, Ex nihilo nihil fit. // Ans. 1o While you deny the

Creation (& ye Incarnation of Xt by a Virgin) I hope you will
not judge me as too censorious, if I suspect yt you believe
not a word of ye bible, or ye account of supernaturall re-
velation, & yt you dissemble if you pretend otherwise.
2o Your maxime is so farre from being undenyable, as yt
ye contrary seemes to me undenyable, of all simple beings:
nothing but compositions being made of preexistent mat-
ter. Nothing is made without a cause efficient: No mixture
is made but of matter preexistent, at least in order of
conception: No element or simple spirit, is made of any
preexistent matter or substance, or being, save efficiently.
For if ye first created substance, were made of an antecedent sub-
stance, yt antecedent substance was created or uncreated: If created
ye other was not ye first: If uncreated, yt is only God ye Creator.
And if Gods substance be yt not only ye efficient, but ye consti-
tutive cause of all creatures, then either Gods substance ceaseth
to be God (wch is a contradiction to ye perfection of God); or else
all creatures are parts of God (wch is false). If you say yt ye materia
prima was eternall, I It were but a grosse conceit to imagine
yt from all eternity till ye creation, God made nothing but
a lump or unformed matter & yet in time did out of yt forme ye
world. ~~But~~ if you say yt this ~~w~~ world was from eternity ye nature
of succession confutes you, nor can you ever answer Judge
Hale's late Treatise of ye Origination of man. 3o Either this
Matter was an eternall effect, or not: If an effect then it had
an efficient cause (God): but it could as is said, have no
preexistent matter, because it was ye first itselfe. Or you must
proceed in infinitum, & say it was made of a former, & yt of
a former & so on: in wch you must be absurd, or come to
unmade matter. And if it was not made, then it being no
effect & having no cause, it hath one part of ye Divine per-
fection (to be of itselfe, & necessary, & eternall). Therfore
it must have ye other Divine perfections, as to be most pow-
erfull, most wise & good, & to make all things els efficiently
to be unchangeable &c, & so to be God; wch every part
of dead matter is not. ~~nor is it God~~. You can never an-
swer even Raym. Lullius in this, to say nothing of many others.
We see wt ~~inert~~ matter earth & water is, & how unable
to make a world, or itselfe, & how void of ye perfections of God.
3o And while you deny Gods omnipotency you deny yt there
is any God. For he is not God yt is not omnipotent. And he
is not omnipotent, yt can make no first matter, or give being
where there is yet is none, but only compound & divide
by agitation. He is not ye Creator or first being, yt
can give no being, but only use yt wch is as much
a selfe being as God himselfe.

Leg. Lullius de Articul. fidei p. 932.

§ 66. Your 1st is yt a Virgin should conceive is naturally
impossible. Ans. 1o wt is it then yt you believe of Christ

2° wt contradiction is in it: Is it harder than to make
ye first man or woman, who could have no parents. Or harder
than to maintaine sun, moone & all ye frame of beings in their
nature & motions. wt an Impotent God do you feigne (or
none) yt canot cause a virgin to be wth child; but can do
lesse than a silly father doth (by ye power of God) 3° wt God
can do by a cause creatd, he can do wthout: For he giveth
to ye 2d cause all its being & power: Its prop. to defectiv Crea-
tures to need helpes, or receive from others. ||

§67. Your next is [That ye same body should numerically be
reproduced is contradictory to reason &c] || Ans. wt! a pro-
fessed Christian, & believe neither creation, Christs concep-
tion, nor ye resurrection. A strange Christian! I wonder
to wt purpose you pretend to believe any Scripture revel-
ation. 1° I confesse if ye body were annihilated, it were
a contradiction to say yt ye same numerically were re-
produced; And if ye soule were, as some brutelike think,
annihilated, it were a contradiction to say yt ye same man nu-
merically were raised: For ye next would be wholly a new one,
& not ye same: But when even ye brutish Epicureans
maintaine yt no one atome of matter is annihilated, can you
dreame yt ye restoring of ye same matter to its former or
a nobler organicall composure, & uniting ye same soule
to it, is any contradiction. When even they yt deny ye
resurrection of ye same atoms of matter, yet say yt ye
same soules reassuming a body as it pleaseth God (though ye body
be no more ye same than a corpulent man hath after an
emaciating consumption or feaver) ye body is yet ye same because
united & related to ye same soule. As is ye same Lampe
yt hath not ye same drops of oyle wch at first it dissipated. ||

§68 Yor sixth generall charge is yt [many places of Scripture
seeme to make ye mercifull & compassionate Lord savage & cruel.
Yor first instance is Deut. 20.16.17. For ye destruction of ye Hittites
Canaanites &c, — a most barbarous & allmost unparaleld cruelty,
to save alive nothing yt breatheth — ye inocent infants for ye
parents sins &c] || Ans. 1° It seemes you will not let God be God
unlesse he please you. But do not thousands of Infants die
daily in ye world. canot we prove yt wthout Scripture. And is it
more cruelty yt they die for their participation in their parents
sin, than for nothing. 2° And do not all men in ye world die yt are
borne. How small a handfull were those nations to ye whole world =
And is there so great difference betweene a sudden death by ye sword,
& a death by sicknes, as yt one only should come from such cruelty
as you mention, & not ye other. Will you deny yt men die. Or will
you deny yt there is any God. who giveth life & taketh it away.
3° No doubt but their death by ye sword was a heavy punishmt.
But alas, yor nature is not at such an enmity to sin as to see
wt it deserveth more than this. How little need then feele you of
a saviour or of pardoning mercy. 4° sure then you are so farre
from believing hell (yea or purgatory flames) yt you would

call this yt by more odious names: but accusing God & railing at his punishments, will not prove ye way to be justifyed & escape ye Hell yt is worse than present death. 5o will you say yt It is unparalleld cruelty in ye King or Judges to hange neer an hundred malefactors in England every Assizes? If it be laudable justice to hange every year some hundreds in this little Kingdome, will you blaspheme ye God of heaven & earth for commanding execution on those little countreys yt were guilty of such heynous sin? God hath vast & glorious worlds of better wights to rejoice over & make happy: should he destroy this earth & all there in, so small a spott, it is not neer so much to his whole Creation, as our Jailes are to ye Kingdome. 6o It seems you believe neither ye deluge, nor ye destruction of Sodome, nor ye finall conflagration of this world. But do you not believe ye common effects of warrs, ye slaughters, calamitys & ruines yt have bin made in all parts & allmost ages of ye world by men? yea by such as Alexander, Cæsar, Tamerlane &c magnifyed murderers! Do you not believe ye French Massacre, ye two hundred thousand killd by ye Irish at their insurrection, & ye farre greater numbers of ye Waldenses & Albigenses killd. &c Do not ye poore inhabitants neere ye Rhine now believe yt they suffer. Do you not believe yt London was burnt, & yt about an hundred thousand dyed in & neere it of ye plague ye year before. Will it follow yt all these are false, or else yt there is no God (yt is a most wise & good Ruler of all) God causeth none of ye sin of men! But hath he no disposall of these effects. Nor is he no cause of plagues & ruines. Yor calling him cruell or Bad (yt is no God) will not disprove ye fact or ye justice of it. God will be God & good, & just, whether you will or not, & whatever you call

§ 69. Your 7th Generall accusation of ye Scripture is, for attributing passions to God who is a spirituall being: And you say yt (If we say it is spoken in a condescending manner, yt were to make Reason judge of ye Scripture which ye great part of orthodox Divines deny.)

Ans. 1o These objections honour not your Reason, nor savour of any solid or profound philosophy. 1o Have you read ye Scriptures, & do you not find there full testimony yt God is a spirit & ye father of spirits, & will be spiritually worshipped, & is not mutable, passible or imperfect. Naturall light hath so farre instructed philosophers, yt they agree with Scripture & Christians, in allmost all ye attributes of God. 2o But you think then yt Scripture contradicts itself Because it speaketh not as you would have it. But you know yt it is men yt it speaketh to, & therefore it must speak to their capacity or it will speak in vaine. And I must suppose you to know yt our knowledge of God is not formall, adequate or immediate, but analogicall or by similitudes, & meanes, as we see ye face in a glasse: And ye mans owne soule is one of ye noblest similitudes yt we neerly know, being made in his Image, we must know God in it, or by its similitudes, still excluding all imperfections. If you will speak of God only in Gods owne language, or in words yt are adequate & formall, you must be silent for ever. Angels must [illegible] but yt inadequate knowledge wch they have, for none can comprehend God but himselfe. 2o Do you [illegible] yt all names which we give to God being analogicall, [illegible]

standing & will are attributed to God; but analogically: it being not
yt wch ye famosius significatum yt is formally in God, but eminently
a something incomprehensibly greater. For ye famosius significatum
of an analogicall word, is yt wch it is first applyed to or used for, & not
yt wch is most excellent in itselfe. And if in condescension we must say yt
there is in God Intellection, Volition, memory, Justice, mercy &c, why may we not
by parity of reason (excluding imperfection) use also such words as belong
to us as sensitive. // Then I suppose you to know yt every superior nature
(in direct order) containeth ye perfections of ye inferior, but not ye inferior
ye perfections of ye superior. All vegetatives are not sensitive, but all sensi-
tives are formally or eminently vegetative: All sensitives are not intell-
ectives; but all Intellectives are formally or eminently sensitive. Mans
soule is sensitive; And even Intellection participateth of a high & excell-
ent sort of sensation, by wch we can say sentio me intelligere (et velle).
Tertullian was so bold as to say Lib. de Anima c. 18. Quid sensus (yt is, of man)
nisi ejus rei quae sentitur intellectus. Quid Intellectus nisi ejus rei quae
intelligitur sensus. Unde ista tormenta cruciandae simplicitatis et sus-
pendendae veritatis. Si corporalia quidem sentiuntur, incorporalia vero
intelliguntur, Rerum genera diversa sunt, non domicilia sensus et
intellectus: id est, non anima et animus. There is need of a grain of
salt, but its not unusefull. You know yt Love as it is knowne to us, as
it differs from meere Volition is an Affection called a Passion. Yet why
should you blame ye Scripture for saying yt God is Love. It is no in-
congruous name to call Volition Love as Campanella doth, & so to
make Amor one of ye three Primalityes or essentialityes or formall
virtues of ye soule. And if I may ascribe Love to God, why not Joy, De-
light or pleasure. As S. John saith, God is Light, & God is Love, why may
I not say yt God is Infinite Essentiall Joy or Delight. For on ye other
part it will be hard to give a man a satisfying conception of true
perfect blessednes wch containeth in it no Joy or delight, or no fullnes
of it! And if we cannot think of mans felicity & perfection of soule with-
out including Joy in ye conception, & must know God after the
similitude of man; why may we not say yt God is Infinite selfe delight
& yt he delighteth in his works: And do you not condemne yor selfe who
ascribe Compassion to him. And is not compassion, passion. And do we
know any such thing as Joy or pleasure yt hath no such sense in it as we
call Passion. And if Love, Joy, & compassion may be ascribed to God
why not wrath or Anger. For neither of ym is formally in him in the
sense famosior or ye primus sense. There is eminently yt in God wch con-
taineth all inclination to do good, wch is called Love in man: And Love is
Complacence; And yt is a certaine Pleasure. And there is yt in God wch
inclineth him to all yt punishing of sinners wch is just & profitable to ye
demonstration of his holynes & other ends of Government: And how can you
better name this analogically than Anger, wrath or displeasure, wch
in man are passions; but in God are none. Why have not you given
us fitter names instead of these, if you are able //

As to wt you say yt Orthodox Divines deny (Judging Scripture by reason) they
talke not so ambiguously & loosely as you do. Judging is either publicke or
private, ye Act of a Governing Judge, or ye act of a discerning subject.
No man on earth hath ye former judging power over ye Scriptures. We are
not to Judge Gods Laws, but to Judge other things by his Laws. But all
men (being Gods subjects) are to judge, yt is, to discerne, wt are Gods Laws, &
wt is ye meaning of ym. And by wt faculty should they discerne it but by Reason.
Have we any discerning sense & faculty besides ye rationall (I suppose).
If you will read but a a few pages called The Judgment of ye Non conform-
ists concerning ye Interest of Reason in Religion, you will need no more
answer to any such objections as this. //

§ 70 In yor Conclusion you say That many of ye books written by ye
prophets & Apostles were not received for Canonicall till a long time after
they were dead // R. But you do not prove it, nor do I believe you

I easily believe yt their writings were not knowne to all ye Churches & so not by all received till after: But yt those Churches yt they wrote to did not receive ym as certainly theirs, because written & attested by ye Spirit of God, this I believe not: Nor had posterity taken ym for certain & Canonicall, if ye first receivers, & primitive Christians had not done so: For how should wee discerne yt at a distance wch they discerned not so neer at hand.

§71. You say The books of ye old Testament now esteemed Canonicall were selected out of many by ye Pharisees under ye 2d Temple, & after by their decree received & approved. Ans. This also you prove not, nor do I believe, but disprove it. 1° You yourselfe before ascribed some of ym to Ezra, who was no Pharisee. 2° Do you thinke yt ye Law of Moses & Pentateuch was not received as of God till ye Pharisees time. How then came all ye following prophets to attest it. & ye Jews to live by it; and to be condemned for breaking their same Law. 3° Was not Davids Psalmes (& ye rest) before received, when they were ye very Liturgie of ye Jewish Church. 4° How came ye prophecies to be received after if none took ym as of God at first. 5° Hezekiahs men yt were ye collectors of some of Solomons proverbs were elder than the Pharisees: And they took ym as we do, to be divine. 6° Did not Christ & his Apostles give their testimony to ye old Test and (Moses ye Psalms & ye prophets, & all yt was read in ye synagogues as sacred every Sabbath day): And yet they were no great honourers of ye Pharisees, but warned men to beware of their doctrine & traditions. And how Christs words were spoken I before shewed.//

§72 You say It is hard to know wch Copy or translation comes neerest to ye first yt are now lost. Ans. It is hard: And wt danger is in it when they all agree in all things necessary to salvation.//

§73. You say yt As for ye new Testament it is certaine yt ye books contained in it, were taken into ye Canon of Scripture, by ye decrees of Councills, wherein no prophets presided; & you know wt strange worke they made in rejecting of some books & approving others as their private fancies & interests bid ym &c.// Ans. 1° I know yt Councils sometimes distinctly named & recorded wch books are Canonicall (as our English Articles do) But I know yt no Councill first received ym as Canonicall, but only told openly wch were before so received! Name me ye Councill yt first received any yt were not received before. Only they enlarged the notice of their reception. E.g. Pauls Epistle to ye Ephesians was first received as from Gods Spirit by none but ye Ephesians: but they soone manifested it to others. Councils rejected spurious bookes, & told ye world wch they took to be of God: Of wch see Bp Cosins account (of ye Canonicall books) at large.//

§74 You say No wonder yt Scripture hath mistakes, since ye prophets & Apostles had not particular revelations for every thing they wrote: for many things may be knowne by reason &c.// Ans. I answered this in ye beginning in my propositions: You know not Reason if you thinke yt there is no need of ye infallible helpe of Gods Spirit for yt wch may be knowne by reason! Reason is darke, prejudiced, corrupted, byassed by will, sense & interest, & hath many hindrances & difficulties to overcome: It is weake & may possibly erre when it could do otherwise. Would not an Infallible Guide to secure you from all error be a benefit to you, even in all matters of ye world, & in deciding ye controversies among philosophers yt go by reason. Sure it would. 2° They had not Infallible guidance in all yt they said & did & commonly wrote but in all yt they delivered as from God they had, whether by word or writing, & so of all recorded as Gods word for ye use of after ages.

§75 You say The Apostles never pretended to write as Prophets:

did accomodate wt they delivered to ye minds & humours of particular hearers: so Paul ye Apostle of ye Gentiles ~~used~~ philosophicall notions, wch Peter did not // Ans. 1o Why then did you before pretend to take ye Apocalypse & some other parts of Scripture, for divine revelation? Truth & candor & plaine dealing is best in so great matters. 2o Did not Christ expressly promise them his Spirit to lead them into all truth, & to bring all things to their remembrance? And did he not performe his promise. Did not ye many healing miracles & gifts of ye Spirit prove it. Was not this Spirit in various gifts, given others ordinarily by ye laying on of their hands. Doth not Paul appeale to ye Galatians as witnesses yt they themselves had received ye Spirit by ye doctrine of faith in Christ. Gal. 3.1.2.3.4. Did he not direct ye Corinthians how to exercise their gifts, & prophecying, was ~~for~~ our. And Peter Act. 2 expounding ye gifts of ye Spirit, doth it as ye fullfilling of ye words in Joel Your sons & yor daughters shall prophecie. But call it how you will, It is enough to us yt they had ye Spirit to lead them into all truth. // 2o If you meane yt they cherished any ill humours in their hearers, you wrong them. If you meane yt they cured them, it was their worke. Paul used no notions of philosophy, but wt were suitable & usefull to his ends: And Peter neglected nothing necessary. And is not ye choosing & using ye most congruous meanes, a signe rather yt Gods Spirit infallibly helped & guided them, than yt he did not. We never thought yt all ye guidance of ye Spirit must carry men above reason, evidence or fit meanes. They were men as well as Apostles, & spake to men.

§76 You conclude with an earnest desire yt I would be intreated to consider wt you have written not only for yor satisfaction, but it may be for ye benefit of others, who in this age are too ready to contemne sacred writ wch is able to make us wise to salvation. Some yt have a high veneration for ye Scripture confesse these doubts trouble them: Others are too ready to believe ye truth of such objections. And is it not a matter of charity to confirme & strengthen ye weake & to instruct those yt are out of ye way, &c wch you say, may be said of yor selfe. // Ans. 1o No man yt erreth doth know yt he erreth in ye same particular. 2o One would thinke yt this intimated yt you had not written seriously all yt you have here written agt ye Scriptures. 3o By these words I perceive yt you desire ye publication of wt I shall write to you: But if I yield to it, it will be with some reluctancy; Not as suspecting ye strength of yor objections, but ye weakness of many readers. Who when they get an objection in their heads wch they never heard before, are ready to fasten so upon ye difficulty yt it takes up their mind & forestalls ye solution of it. And Satan takes ye advantage to offer ye said objections often to their thoughts, when they understand not or forget the answer. By wch meanes many have been puzzled even by ye grossest falshoods, agt ye Deity & ye Immortality of the Soule. If you would have fully satisfaction in these & other points of difficulty, peruse Commentators, & Sprugnerus his three great volumes called Vindiciæ S. Scripturæ, & some answers to Spinosa's Tractatus Theolog. polit. viz, by

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Worthy Sr

These lines (though fro~ a stranger hand) yet come upon such an errand, as that with you they will I doubt not find not onely admittance but also good acceptance. I know that none can be more readie to receive, then you to contribute yor assistance for the finding out ye mind of God in anie part or portion of those oracles, in which we think to have eternal life. Most true it is that in the Apostle Pauls Epistles are manie things δυσνοητά, which are wrested by men to their owne destruction. that Rom:7 especially fro~ v.14 ad fin: is among the δυσνοητά is confessed by all, that it is wrested by men to their own destruction is too apparent by ye experience, that Antinomians & the worst of men, when they commit ye grossest sins, beare up themselves with this that they allow not what they do, that it is not they that do it but sin in them. The consideration therefore of the direct & especial influence that it hath upon practice did first incite me to look more narrowly into that noble Question. I have conferr'd about it with Divines neare home both by word & writing, since in yor Directions for peace of Conscience ~~ye~~ I found you hint yor judgement in it, the fire hath burnt within, & at length I have taken the confidence to sollicit yor assistance also. I had thought at the first barely to have propounded ye Question, & to have left you to yor own method for my resolution: but considering how much worke you have lying upon you alreadie, I judged it best to cut this as short as might be, & so have set downe a few arguments which as yet withhold me fro~ a full closure with ye receiv'd interpretation; if by yor helpe I shall be able to ~~[illegible]~~ answere these, I shall be satisfied. My prayer is that the Lord will give us all such spirits, that we may speak the truth in love, & so grow up in all things unto him who is ye head Eph 4.15. I remaine

Middleton neere Manchester in
Lancashire

Yors ever bound to love
& reverence you
Jo: Milner

Qu: Whether Rom: 7. 14 ad fin: be meant of the regenerate man or the unregenerate?

Arg:1 for the later. 1. Fro~ the connexion γὰρ, which shewes that v. 14 comes in as a reason of what S Paul had beene saying in the preceding vs, 5 that the Law workes in the unregenerate all manner of concupiscence. Now what rational arguing shall we make the Apostle to be if he doe not speake v:14 of the same person?

Arg: 2 From the pronoune Ego, which sure denotes the same pson which it did in the foregoing vs, now there it signifieth the unregenerate pson; Not the Apostle himselfe consider'd at that time when he was unregenerate (as the authors of the generally receiv'd interpretation say, observing that in those foregoing vs he speaks of himselfe in ye time past, but in v:14 he useth the present tense, ~~[illegible]~~ say they at that time when he wrote the

he was a regenerate person) for when did the Law come to Paul as to one who was before alive without it, & worke in him all manner of concupiscence v: 8, 9? But he there sustains the person of ~~a~~ some other unregenerate person, to whom the Law came, either when it was given by Moses as to the Jew, or else it came with some spirit of conviction, so that he was sensible not onely that he could not fulfill the Law, but also the Law coming with this illumination did more irritate sin.

Arg: 3 Where is that phrase Sold under sin apply'd to the regenerate man: for sure it is expressely used of a wicked Ahab vi: 72 in 1 K: 21. 20 & Wisd: 1. 17.

Arg: 4 The conclusion ch: 8 in the 4 first v:s doth manifest, that the Apostles scope through the whole ch: 7 was to prove the infirmitie or impossibilitie of the Law to give strength to avoid sin & live well. They that are under the Law are subject to ye Law of sin, this he hath concluded ch: 7, & now the inference is seasonable that onely they who are in Chr Jesus are freed fro the Law of sin, & consequently fro condemnation. This receives great addition of strength from hence, that he speakes all the contrarie of himselfe ch: 8 to what he doth ch: 7. 14 ~~&c~~.

7. 23, 24 I am captived to a Law of sin & bodie of death.	8. 2 I am freed fro the Law of sin & death.
7. 23 sin triumphs leads me captive.	8. 3 It is condemned.
7. 18 I find no power to performe (perficere) good or that which is required by ye Law.	8. 4 The righteousnes of the Law is fulfilled in me.
7. 14 I am carnal.	8. 1 I walke not secundum carnem whereas unregenerate men are in carne et secundum carnem v: 8.

Adde that what Chr saith of the Laws weaknes ch: 8. 3 seems fully to parallel ch: 7. 14

7. 14 The Law is spiritual but I am carnal.	8. 3 It was impossible to the Law being weake propter carnem.

Arg: 5 ch: 7. 23 seems exactly to parallel v: 5 where it is cleare the Apostle speakes of those who are in the flesh.

v: 5 the passions of sin are wrought or do worke in my members.	v: 23 I am captived to a Law of sin in my members.

Breuis esse laboro, obscurus fio.

For the reverend Mr Richard
Baxter at his houſe
in
Kederminster

LETTERS.

fol. 151 of Baxter Letters in volume shown. volu

Reverend Brother 63

I received yors & thanke you for yr free comunication of yor thoughts. As to the Qu: 1o I take it for granted yt no one doctrinall difference in ye Church of God, doth depend upon ye different expositions of yt chapter. For though Arminius expounded it as you doe (& so did many of ye Ancients before Austin's dayes) & therefore some men suspect him presently for an Arminian yt goes yt way, yet there is nothinge in yor exposition but what is agreeable to ye doctrine of ye Reformed Churches; nor anythinge in ye other exposition of ye 7 verse, but what may consist with the Arminian doctrine. For ye text medleth not with their differences. I have observed divers Arguments for yor way, first long agoe in Arminius, & afterward in Amyraldus in a peculiar tractate; & lastly in Dr Hamond & others; & by you they are orderly & briefly laid downe. And I doubt not but you have long agoe perused ye Analysis & exposition of many on ye other side, as Deodate, Piscator, Beza, Calvin &c, & Augustine before ym all. And as you know, he yt hath read that learned & copious discourse of Arminius may see a great many more Arguments for yors; so in ye comon expositors on this text, you may see much more on ye other side yn you can expect from me. And therefore seeinge we shall both of us doe but yt wch is allready done, & yt more defectively, I doubt it will be of no great use to debate this matter; though or owne private studyes may be usefull. But yet I shall not wholly put of ye worke, but shall tell you my judgment, & my reasons, & yn answere yors; but premisinge these two things, 1o yt I doe not speake with any high confidence, as if I were out of doubt & resolved to stick where I am; but contrarily I apprehend it a matter of so great difficulty to give the certaine sence of all this chapter, yt I rather question whether it be possible for any man by ordinary meanes to know yt he is so far in ye right. 2o yt ye multitude of businesses forbiddinge me to consult comentators & doe this worke attentively, I must crave yor acceptance of these sudden, short, undigested conception wherein its probable there may be much oversight.

I find great diversity of Judgments about ye designe of ye Apostle in this chapter, & ye reason of his pleadinge against ye Law. 1o Some thinke yt ye Apostle havinge pleaded against ye Justifyinge power of ye Law to ye 6th chapter, doth in ye 6th & 7th speake purposely against ye power of ye Law to sanctifye & overcome sin. I thinke not so, but yt ye scope is still ye same, & yt ye 6th chap: comes in but by ye by to avoid the objection of incouraginge sin by opposinge ye Law, & by ye by to shew yt Christ the end expelled ye Law even in this of destroyinge sin. 2o Some say yt ye reason of ye scope of this chapter concerninge ye Lawes working sin, is because ye Law is but a bare exhibitinge letter without concurringe Spirit & power given with it to ye Gospell: & most. This hath some truth, but I thinke not ye maine yt here considerable. 3o most other make ye comon reason of ye chapter to be, because ye Law doth irritate corrupt nature to sin; meerly as a Law, per accidens in ye sinner — wch hath some truth in some cases, but seemes to be little or none of ye scope of ye Apostle. Doubtless ye Lawlesse are not like to be less sinners, yn those yt have ye knowledge of ye Law. Precepts & threatnings are naturally helpes to vertue & hinderers of vice; & doe much even on bad men. 4o Some make ye reason to be because ye Law by condemning for every sin, did drive men to dispaire & therefore not draw ym from sin. Somewhat of ye truth may be in this but not ye maine. 5o & lastly Grotius & Dr Hamond on ye contrary say, yt ye reason is, because ye Law did only comand and exhibit in matter of covetinge & such like, & impose no penalty & therefore enticed men to sin by ye hope of impunity, wch yet they found ym selves to destroy, by acknowledginge ye severe condemninge force of ye Law, & yt this was deserved. saith Dr Hamond ye Law denounced not any express legall punishment against covetinge (in vers. 8). I answere no more doth ye Gospell. yet he saith in vers 5. yt [obligation to eternall punishment was all ye good we reapt by ye Law] And not severer penalty can there be yn eternall punishment. Therefore this can be none of ye Apostles reasons, 1o ber it would fall as much on ye Gospell.

2° because Eternall punishment is of ye Gospell. 3° bec this agreeth not to ye Law
morall, but to ye point of inward circumcision wch ye Apostle instanceth in
ther purpose. 4° bec this would exalt ye Law above ye Gospell & make ye Gos
more killinge, bec ye Gospell hath far less yn that legall corporall punishm
ye Law had. ¶ The grounds yt I proceed on are these followinge. 1° The A
in this Epistle hath principally to doe with ye Jewes & those converted
yt were troubled with ye Jewes objections agt Xtians for destroyinge their
2° The drift so of ye Apostle is to prove ye observation of ye Law to be un
& yt ye Gentiles yt have it not may be saved as well without it, yea yt
rogate to ye Jewes ymselves, so yt ye beleivinge Jewes are freed from it
order to this he gives in his Reasons from ye Law itselfe wch are principally
1° That ye use of ye Law is to destroy sin & make men better. And so
Gentiles without ye Law may attaine these ends, ye Law is not necessary to y
2° yt by ye deeds of ye Law no man can be Justifyed. Ch. 3. 4. 5. so this
to be rested in, but we must looke out for ye way in which we may be
ed. 3° ye Intent of ye Lawgiver & cheife use of ye Law is but to lead unto X
make ye necessity of a Savr ye more apparent. ib. ¶ 4° The cheife rea
still implyed, & oft expressed on occasion; viz, yt ye Law was grievous
densome, containinge an operous toylsome taske, & load of positives (as go
all ye Land & other Lands to one place to worship; frequent, tedious, charg
sacrificinge; ye abstaininge from many sorts of meates, as unclean, ye le
rifyings, with abundance ye like) & all backed with a heape of curses, ge
inge all yt continued not in all things written in this Law to doe them. Hence
ye Apostles call it a yoake yt neither they nor their fathers were able to be
Acts 15. 10. A yoake of bondage. Gal. 5. 1. 2. And Xt calleth those yt are weary
& heavy laden by it, & ye sins wch it occasioneth, to come to him & take his easye
light burden. Math. 11. 28. And ye Apostle still proclaims it a great liberty
free from it. If any aske why would God give ym such a Law? I answer
worke of it might show ym their sinfulnes & weaknes, & Gods holy w
& so what they should be. 2° yt ye matter of its precepts, especially ye Cere
might be an obscure Gospell to point ym out ye way of Life. ¶ 5° Anoth
son concurr with this is from ye quality of ye subject: we are all sinfull
weake: & this Law is not given as ye first to Adam was to a perfect m
strength is not proportioned to such a huge load & taske of duty. Though
itselfe it is all good, if we could but doe it all. And so 6° from he
followeth ye great reason (even from those two put together) viz, yt ye La
possibly by such as we be fulfilled: & (if not fullfilled (as aforesaid)
damne & not Justifye us). 7° yea beinge a taske so farr beyond o
ye next reason against it is, yt consequently it makes us far greater sinn
drawinge out ye corruption, when it should restraine ye obedience & so m
us actuall sinners in a multitude of things who were of ourselves but dispo
so; & had never beene guilty of all those actuall sins, had not ye Law ma
many dutyes, wch we had not strength to fullfill: & thus it maketh o
& condemnation much greater yn before. As if you appoint a child to go
miles in a day, yt he can goe in a weeke, you necessitate his disobedien
(to instance in morall cases more suitable) if you have a lazy serva
you know will goe but a few miles a day, & you appoint him to goe a
as he could doe, if he were not lazy, or to doe as much worke as hi
will reach if he had a will: Or if you have a careless playfull idle
yt you know will learne but a little, yea & hath not ye wit to frame
& you appoint him as much to learne as he could doe, if he were perfe
posed. Here you doe nothinge but well: you appoint him yt wch he sh
doe; but his disposition beinge against it, ye more worke you mak
more guilt he incurres. This is ye reason agt ye Law wch ye Apostle ma
in ye latter pt of ye chapter in hand. ¶ To conclude my Grounds; In all
take it for granted, yt ye Apostle doth not argue agt a Law in gener

agt ye Law given by Christ, nor nor directly yt given to Adam in specie: but only agt ye Jewish Mosaicall written Law, wch was a compound of ceremoniall, Politicall & naturall Precepts, with speciall promises & threatnings temporall plainly expressed, & ye threatnings of eternall Punishment intimated (wch one was in part of Jewish wch I pass). || Having thus much as to my grounds, I come next to ye Chapter & as to ye controverted pt, I thinke yt ye Apostle speakes of ye unconformablenes of ye Law by any whether unregenerate or regenerate i.e. yt he speakes not of Gospell obedience in ye Chapter, but yt no care or diligence or strength of nature no nor of grace will cause us to keep ye Law, so as to be justifyed by it; & ergo it is a mercy yt we are delivered from it. And yt he instanceth in ye case of ye Regenerate himselfe in ye end of ye chapter. My Reasons are ye comon Reasons, answered by Ar=minius, but to me unsatisfactorily. 1o wn ye Apostle speakes in his owne pson & ye psent tense so oft, we must not depart from ye plaine sense, & force him to putt on another pson in all this without good warrant: but there is no good cause of it yt I know. 2o He doth not put on ye pson of ye unregenerate vers. 25. I thanke God through Jesus Christ or Lord. ergo not in ye foregoing words. 3o I doe not beleive without great force to ye words, it can be said by any ungodly man in his sinnings [It is not I but sin yt dwelleth in me] for yt is said to be ye mans Act wch comes from ye maine bent & inclination of his soule, wch in all ye godly is agt sin; & ergo it is said not to be theirs: but in all ye wicked it is for sin: ergo it is they yt doe it, in ye sense here denyed of Paul. || 4o I doe not thinke without palpable violence to ye words, yt ye unsanctifyed can say, yt they would not breake ye Law & would pforme full obedience to it. 5o Nor yet yt they hate ye breakinge of ye Law. 6o Nor yet yt to will is psent with ym. 7o Nor yt they delight in ye Law of God in ye inner man. 8o Nor yt they groane & long, as is here expressed, to be delivered from sin. I need not stand to urge these Reasons, wch you know others have done. Now I come to yr Reasons for ye contrary Exposition. ||

Ad 1m The Reason of ye illation yas is in respect to ye Expositions wch it is offered. We know ye Law is spirituall. ergo we are far from accusinge it of sin. And yet I yeild yt it speakes of ye same pson, though not in ye same state. || Ad 2m it is ye same pson yt Ego meanes, but not in ye same case. Ad confirm: 1o The Law came to ye knowledge & conscience of Paul after some space of time, in which it so came not. 2o A supposition may be here understood & yet not of another pson; but q.d. suppose I had not been under ye Law at first. And I grant such a kind of supposition through ye latter pt of ye chapter: viz, a supposition yt Regenerate Paul were under ye burdensome Law, or yt it were in force to bind him, yet his strength would not serve, but it would increase his sin & condemne him. Ad 3m 1o It's not necessary yt ye phrase be applyed elsewhere to ye regenerate: It's enough yt it be proved applyable to ym. You'le hardly find it in full termes of any. 2o When it expresseth a deep sense of unavoidable evill it best besitts ye godly yt have yt sense. 3o Redemption is oft applyed to ye godly as signifying their fuller recovery. And Redemption implyeth a captivity. || Ad 4m To ye severall Expositions: And to ye first I answer 1o The same man may be captivated in pt & freed in a greater prevailinge degree. 2o We are freed from ye Law of sin & death, not only by sanctificn but also by ye abrogation of ye Law yt occasioned ym, wch ye Apostle in Ch. 7 supposeth himselfe under & in ye 8th to be free from. || Ad 2m Paul was not able to fullfill ye Law of Moses, as saith c. 7. v. 18. But because Xt is ye end of ye Law for righteousnes to all yt beleive, ergo in us yt have pt in Christ & are sanctifyed by him & made obedient to ye very Law of Moses, as to ye Righteousnes it is fullfilled, not formaliter in itselfe by us: but 1o formaliter by Xt who is ors. 2o Eminenter by us otherwise, 3o & finaliter et effective in yt we have yt more pfect holynes & righteousnes wch it tended to. And so meaneth c. 8. 4. As if you bid yor servant goe pay two thousand pound to such a man in silver: And when he sees yt he cannot carry so much he obtaineth of you yt he may pay it in gold. So is the Righteousnes of ye Law of Moses fullfilled in us. || Ad 3m Regenerate Paul was so far carnall yt he could not keepe ye Law of Moses, as he saith c. 7. 14. But yet he was as to ye predominant habit & bent of his soule spirituall, & beinge freed from ye hard yoake, & under ye Law of Libertye, he walked after ye Spirit & not after ye flesh as to ye scope & course of his life, neither in a sensuall course, nor in a ceremoniall Jewish course. And so saith Rom. 8. 1. And yet every sin he comitted were fleshly steps, though not a fleshly walke. ||

2° because Eternall punishment is ye severest. 3° bec this agreeth not to ye Law morall, but to ye point of inward concupiscence wch ye Apostle instanceth in that purpose. 4° bec this would exalt ye Law above ye Gospell & make ye Gos more killing, bec ye Gospell hath far lesse present legall corporall punish ye Law had. // The grounds yt I proceed on are these followinge. 1° The Ap in this Epistle hath principally to doe with ye Jewes & those converted yt were troubled with ye Jewes objections agt xtians for destroyinge their 2° The drift ergo of ye Apostle is to prove ye observation of ye Law to be un & yt ye gentiles yt have it not may be saved as well without it, yea yt rogated to ye Jewes ymselves, so yt ye beleivinge Jewes are freed from it order to this he gives in his Reasons from ye Law itselfe wch are principally 1° That ye use of ye Law is to destroy sin & make men better. And ergo seein Gentiles without ye Law may attaine these ends, ye Law is not necessary to ym 2° yt by ye deeds of ye Law no man can be Justifyed. Ch. 3. 4. 5. ergo this to be rested in, but we must looke out for ye way in which we may be so. 3° ye Intent of ye Lawgiver & cheife use of ye Law is but to lead unto X make ye necessity of a Saviour more apparent. ib. // 4° The cheife re still implyed, & oft expressed on occasion; viz, yt ye Law was grievous burthensome, containinge an onerous toylsome taske, & load of positives (as go all ye Land & other Lands to one place to worship; frequent, tedious, charg sacrificinge; ye abstaininge from many sorts of meates, as uncleane, ye lega purifyings, with abundance ye like) & all backed with a heape of curses, ag inge all yt continued not in all things written in this Law to doe them. Hence ye Apostles call it a yoake yt neither they nor their fathers were able to be Acts 15. 10. A yoake of bondage. Gal. 5. 1. 2. And Xt calleth those yt are weary & heavy laden by it, & ye sins wch it occasioneth, to come to him & take his easye light burden. Math. 11. 28. And ye Apostle still proclaims it a great Liberty free from it. If any aske why would God give ym such a Law? I answer worke of it might show ym their sinfullnes & weaknes, & Gods holyne & so what they should be. 2° yt ye matter of its precepts, especially ye Cere might be an obscure Gospell to point ym out ye way of Life. // 5° Anoth son concurrent with this is from ye quality of ye subject: we are all sinfu weake: & this Law is not given as ye first to Adam was to a perfect m strength is not proportioned to such a huge load & taske of duty: Thoug itselfe it is all good, if we could but doe it all. And ergo 6° from hen fulleth ye great reason (even from these two sett together) viz, yt ye Law possibly by such as we be fullfilled: (& if not fullfilled (as aforesaid) m damne & not Justifye us). 7° yea beinge a taske so farr beyond or str ye next reason against it is, yt consequently it makes us far greater sinn drawinge out or corruption, when it should procure or obedience, & so m us actuall sinners in a multitude of things, who were of orselves but dispo so; & had never beene guilty of all those actuall sins, had not ye Law ma many dutyes, wch we had not strength to fullfill: & thus it maketh o & condemnation much greater yn before. As if you appoint a child to goe miles in a day, yt he can goe in a weeke, you necessitate his disobedien (to instance in morall cases more suitable) if you have a lazy serva you know will goe but a few miles a day, & you appoint him to goe a as he could doe if he were not lazy, or to doe as much worke as he will worke if he had a will: Or if you have a carelesse playfull idle s yt you know will learne but a little, yea & hath not ye will to learne & you appoint him as much to learne as he could doe if he were perfe posed. Here you doe nothinge but well: you appoint him yt wch he sh doe, but his disposition beinge against it, ye more worke you make more guilt he incurres. This is ye reason agt ye Law wch ye Apostle ma in ye latter pt of ye chapter in hand. // To conclude my Grounds; In all take it for granted, yt ye Apostle doth not argue agt a Law in gener

agt ye Law given by Christ nor nor directly yt given to Adam in specie: but only
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C naturall Precepts, with speciall promises C threatnings temporall expressed,
C ye threatnings of eternall Punishment intimated (whence was in part of promise
wth I pass). // Having thus much as to my grounds, I come nearer ye Chapter
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on another pson in all this without good warrant: but there is no good cause of it yt
I know. 2o He doth not pteach ye pson of ye unregenerate verse 25. I thanke God
through Jesus Christ or Lord. go not in ye foregoing words. 3o I doe not beleive
yt without great force to ye words it can be said by any ungodly man in his speech [It
is not I but sin yt dwelleth in me]. For yt is said to be ye mans Act wch comes from
ye maine bent C inclination of his soule, wch in all ye godly is agt sin; C yt it is said not to be
they: but in all ye wicked it is for sin: C yt it is they yt doe it in ye sence here denyed
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they hate ye breakinge of ye Law. 6o nor yet yt to will is present with ym. 7o nor yt they
delight in ye Law of God in ye inner man. 8o nor yt they groane C long, as is here expressed,
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of ye Law for Righteousnes to all yt beleive. go in us yt have pt in Christ C are sanc-
tifyed by him C made obedient to ye Law yt [illegible] Law of Moses, as to its Righteousnes
is fullfilled, not formaliter in ipso by us: but 1o formaliter by Xt who is ors.
2o Eminenter by us ipsis 3o C finaliter et pfective in yt we have yt more pfect
holynes C righteousnes wch it tendeth to. And so meaneth c. 8. 4. As if you bid yor
servant goe pay two thousand pound to such a man in silver: And when he seeth yt
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from yt hard yoake, C under ye Law of Libertye, he walked after ye Spirit C not
after ye flesh as to ye scope C course of his life, neither in a sensuall course, nor
in a ceremoniall Jewish course. And so saith Rom. 8. 1. And yet being sin he comitted
were fleshly steps, though not a fleshly walke. //

ch. 4th. The morall Law though grievous yet was pure & good: so c. 7. 14
sinfull fallen man could never attaine Righteousnes or Justifie by it, bec of
fleshly corruption, nor never will. So God hath taken another course, both by con-
demning sin, & fulfilling his pure Law in Xt, & in us fulfilling yt Righteousnes w
yt Law aimed at but could not give (as afore) So c. 8. 4. ||
Ad Arg. 3m. Ch. 7. 23. The Law of ye members is ye same as 8. 5. but ye ca
there is no more, yn an unavoydable disability to keepe Moses Law. But 8. 5. ye m
ing ye things of ye flesh is a sensuall mind or will, as to ye predominant bent
such as is not subject to Xts owne Law, nor indeed can be. So much to yor Argument.
I shall now lay you downe a briefe Paraphrase according to my sence, but so
hastines forbids me yt accurateness wch I know is meet. & so if you discerne
but my meaning in ye maine scope of ye chapter I have yt I intend.
I shall give you some Reason why I goe in ye middle way, as to take Paul
supposing himselfe under ye Law or ye Law to be in force, though not to suppose
selfe unregenerate. 1o I am forced to thinke yt it is only Moses Law yt he
speakes of, for else he must change ye maine subject of his discourse thro
ye whole before going, wch is incredible. 2o I canot thinke so as you yt he
inferre an unregenerate state from ye unwillinge violation of yt Law
ye most holy canot keepe it or be Justifyed by it. 3o yet I canot thinke
doth speake of himselfe as actually under ye Law & regenerate both at on
for so he never was: for it was by ye faith of Christ yt he was renewed
he was not regenerate while he was under ye Law (though I know yt will
some dispute). And also (and more closely) a Regenerate beleiver ought
much as endeavor & desire to keepe all ye Law of Moses when it is knowne to
abrogate, nor did Paul desire or endeavor it actually: nay he earnestly dis
others from such endeavors, & tells ym if they doe, they are fallen from
& Xt shall profit ym nothing (if they would be Justifyed by it); & bids y
stand in ye libertye wherewith Christ hath made ym free, & be not againe
tied with ye yoake of bondage. Therefore it is but supposed by Paul yt th
were to him in force, & yt he had this burden now upon him, & all this duty
swornes. For yt it should really be so with him, when he is a beleiver is aga
ye scope of ye Epistle, & many other passages of his: (though ye naturall st
ye ... mend by Christ, & so was still under it.) Yet ye so largely proves ye Law rep
doth not here beleive himselfe to be under it, & to be thus killed by sin, th
occasion of its present obligation, nor doth he so long & strive to keepe it
hence selfe againe. This I speake to satisfye others yt come not so n
in ye exposition of this chapter as I doe. And now I shall come to give you m
paraphrase.

Rom. 7.

1. Know yee not Brethren (for I speake to ym yt know ye Law) how yt y
hath Dominion over a man to oblige him to obedience or punishment as
as he liveth.

2o Even as a woman which hath a husband is bound by ye Law to her hu
so long as he liveth, & shee together with him: but if ye husband be
shee is loosed from him, & from ye dutyes of yt Relation which shee had to him.

3o So yt if while her husband liveth shee be marryed to another man
shee shall be called an Adulteresse: but if her husband be dead, shee is fr
from ye Law, & her subjection & duty to him, & ye relation itselfe, so yt
is no Adulteresse though shee be marryed to another man: so yt ye same act
would be sinfull & capitall if he were alive, is become just & safe wn he is de

4o So also my Brethren ye also are become dead to ye Law, & ye Law to y
by ye body of Xt wch was crucifyed for you, to free you from ye bondage
of ye Law, yt you should be marryed & engaged & subjected to another, eve
to Christ who was raised from ye dead, to quicken you, yt so you should by
spirituall marriage bringe forth ye fruits of holynesse unto God.

5o For when we were under ye Law in a carnall unrenewed state, ye pas
stirrings of sins, wch ye Law drew forth did worke in or members to
forth a sinfull fruit, wch made us lyable to death: so yt ye Law & ye
were as husband & wife to begett this deadly brood.

But now we are delivered from this Law (of Moses wch was so greivous by its multitude of Positive Precepts, & by ye severity of its curse agt all yt did not fullfill it), both ye Law beinge dead yt obliged us, & ye heart of ye sin beinge broken yt disabled us, yt so we should serve God with new spirituall dispositions, under a new & spirituall Law, & not in ye observance of ye abrogated greivous written Law of Moses.

But wt doe we drive at or imply in all this? yt ye Law itselfe is sin, or culpable as beinge ye cause of or sin? God forbid: I am so far from accusinge it of complyance wth sin, yt I must testifye it to be ye discoverer & condemner of sin, even ye glasse in wch ye evill & desert & punishmt of it is most fully to be discerned. For Example. I had never so well knowne yt concupiscence is so evill & dangerous, except ye Law had said, thou shalt not covet (so yt this Law extendeth to ye very secretts of ye heart). ||

But it is ye sinfull imperfection & disposition of mine owne heart (wch is in all ye posterity of Adam) wch on ye occasion of ye Precepts & Cominations of this heavy Law, did bringe forth in me ye sin wch was forbidden; as for Example, all ye concupiscence wch I instanced in. For ye sin of or nature could not bringe forth any actuall sin, or ye guilt or punishment thereof, if it were not yt there is a Law comandinge ye worke, & prohibitinge & threatninge.

For before I understood or made conscience of ye Law, I was comparatively an innocent man, or not guilty of ye breach of any of those positive precepts, nor of ye penalty of ym. Or if ye Law had not beene given me, I should have beene comparatively innocent, & not condemned by it for any of those sins. Or suppose me under ye meere Law of nature, or ye precepts of Noah, & I should be comparatively innocent or alive; as beinge free from ye guilt of breakinge so many positive Lawes. But when I am once under ye Law of Moses, wch maketh me so much worke more yn I can doe, & condemneth me if I fullfill not all, yn I become presently guilty of abundance of sin, wch I was never before guilty of, & lyable to all ye curses for yt sin.

And so this Law wch bids us doe this & live, I found to be ye occasion of guilt & death to me (who was so far from beinge able to doe it, yt I could not doe ye meere dutys of nature itselfe.) ||

For ye sinfull imperfection & disposition of my nature, wch before committed none of those actuall sins, as soone as so much more worke was laid upon me by this Law, & yt on such a Penalty, did on this occasion, shew itselfe, & intangle me in ye disobedience of those Lawes, & so brought me under abundance of guilt.

So yt I still testifye, yt God hath not made an impure Law: His Law is pure & holy; & all those Comandemts wch I am so unable to performe, are yet in ymselves holy & just & good, pious, equitable, & profitable: (wch some thinke are ye distinct epithites, of ye Ceremoniall, Politicall, & naturall pts, but yt's too curious.)

What yn doe I make it ye culpable cause of my guilt & punishmt wch is good in itselfe? God forbid. But ye imperfect sinfull nature yt was in me, yt it might appeare how weake & sinfull it was; yt ye more duty was laid on me by ye Comandement, & ye more things were prohibited, it might omitt ye more dutys, & comitt ye more sin, & so my actuall sin might be multiplyed out of ye one vitious roote & by occasion of this greivous Law I am become exceedingly guilty of ye actuall breaches of it, wch else I should not have beene.

For its out of Question amonge us yt ye Law is pure & spirituall & canot comply with sin: we are agreed in yt. But ye cause why I fullfill it not is in me: for I am naturally of a carnall sinfull disposition; & under a disability of keepinge ye Law, or beinge without all sin; & shall unavoidably breake ye Law. For (to speake of my selfe as I am now disposed) if I breake any pt of ye Law wch is yet in force, I allow it not: Or, if it were in force over me, I would not allow myselfe in ye breach of it: for I would fullfill ye Law, but I doe not; & I hate ye breach of it (so far as I am, or suppose myselfe under it) & yet I breake it.

16. Yet yt I breake ye Law, wch ye bent of my will is agt ye breach of it, I d
hereby testifye my consent to ye purity & goodnes of ye Law.

17. Now then it is not an act wch I owne, or wch proceeds from ye bent o
predominant habituall Inclination of my will: I will not stand t
it, nor am I resolved of it, when I breake ye Law; but my heart is
habitually agt it: & ergo it canot in ye predominant sense be called
mine: but it is ye sinfull Imperfection & sensuall disposition of my sou
wch rebelleth agt my Reason & will, yt is ye cause.

18. For I acknowledge yt in me, yt is in my fleshly pt, there dwelleth n
good thinge, but it is still mine enemy drawinge me to evill. fo
(through ye Grace of God) I am truly willinge to be rid of all si
to be perfectly obedient, & if I were bound to ye Law, I could desir
fullfill it. But I canot fully & perfectly accomplish any good worke.

19. For though I be sincerely willinge to fullfill ye Law, or to be free fro
all sin, yet I doe not performe it. but I breake ye Law & comit sin tho
I hate all sin (beinge not perfect in this very will.)

20. Now if I doe yt wch is agt ye habituall bent & inclination of my wi
this is not so properly to be ascribed to me as ye contrary wch I more de
& owne, & my heart is more inclined to. but it is to be ascribed to
remnants of unmortifyed passions & sinfull Imperfections yt are yet
within me. //

21. I find yt a kind of Law within me, contradictinge ye Law of God; s
wn I am sincerely willinge to keepe ye Law, yet I quickly breake it.

22. For I approve of & delight in ye purity & perfection of ye Law (fo
all its greivous taskes of duty & threatnings) in regard of ye predo
nant bent of my understandinge & will.

23. But I find in my flesh or corrupted nature, a contrary inclinatio
imperfection, wch fighteth agt ye bent of my reason & will, & in a so
doth necessitate me, or unavoidably cause me to breake ye Law
I am as a captive under this weaknes & corruption, yt I canot but si

24. And this I apprehend to be a miserable state, yt I should be under such a
of a necessity of sinninge, imposed upon me by my owne fraile & si
flesh: wretch yt I am, who will deliver me from this sinfull flesh, y
ye root of death! //

25. Well! I am not left without remedye: I bless God yt hath give
a Saviour, who hath taken downe ye Law, & freed me from ye domi
of sin & death, & will free me from ye remnants. // So yt (to con
clude ye answere to this doubt) with my Reason & predominant hab
all will, I doe my selfe abstaine from all sin, & keepe all ye Law
yet in force, & would doe all ye rest if it were in force; & so
testifye yt ye Law is not evill. but because of ye remnants of si
full inclinations & imperfections, ye flesh doth draw me too oft to si
5 so yt I canot fullfill ye Law, it beinge above my strength even as
nerate: And ergo I canot be justifyed by ye Law. And ergo I thank
yt hath abrogated it, & freed me & all beleivers from it. //

Sr againe I say, I give you not these hasty conceptions peremptorily, as re
solved to adhere to ym, agt any evidence of truth in a contrary sp
tion: & shall be glad to receive yor further helps for better infor
though not too long to insist upon passages whose sense we can
conjectured at. Accept of these weake endeavors of

yor brother

Rich: Baxter

Jan. 24th
1656/7

Sr. the enclosed are those Notes I told
you of. If you reap but halfe that benefit by
em, yt I seeme to my selfe to have done, you
will never repent you of yor precious minutes
in the perusall. Christian simplicity is sure
one of the best guides for every Christian
student, [illegible]
as in his whole course of Christianity,
so Especially in his contemplative studies.
Amicus Socrates, Amicus Plato, magis amica
veritas. Etc. Though I desire not to flatter you
(that, I thank god, is somewhat below mee,
and you sure, are much above it) Yet truely
Sr, I cannot but tell you, That the Christian
free-spirit, yt I think, I have discerned
in all yor bookes, was one great Encourage-
ment to mee, to offer you this taske. Whether
you approve with mee & many, or dislike
with others, Your full, free & impartiall
censure is greatly desired by

May ye 15th -57. Sr, Your daily servt at ye
throne of grace, Wm. White.

Postsc. Together with yor letter, I received a
great favor from you, yor late fine dispu-
tations about visible Christianity. I most
humbly & heartily thank god & you for it; and
by ye assistance of heaven, shall endevor that
yor charity therein, may not bee disappoin-
ted of its designe Etc.

To Mr Milner of Rom: 7

ffor the Reverend Mr
Baxter at Kidderminster,
these ./

[1.]

§. 1. Regg: 21. fine versus 20.mi

— Eo quod venundatus sis, ut faceres malum in conspectu Domini.

Antiloquium. Horribilia sunt et teterrima, quae de Achabo [illegible] in capite et c. 16to extant memorata. Horum v. omnium summa et caput, hoc est, Quod vendiderat sese ad operandum malum in conspectu Dni. Quicunque ergo talis est, non est numerandus in[illegible] Et consequenter, ille, quicunque demum ille est, de quo [illegible] ad Rom. v. 14to — Ego carnalis sum, venundatus sub peccatum; Hic, inquam, quicunque demum ille fuerit, non est non valde malus, cum de illo idem non minus verè dicatur, quam de Achabo; venundatus sub peccatum, sive, venundatus ad operandum malum.

Haec ergo ea sunt, quae in praesentiarum hunc ad totum vobis sum dicturus;
1mo Enarrabo vobis verba textus.
2do Notabo vobis doctrinalem locum.
3tio Objectiones gravissimas diluere.
4to Horum usus aliquot insigniores adjiciente.

(1.)

— vendidisti te.] Qui vendunt aliquid, 1mo sciunt se vende[illegible] 2do rei vendendae pretium norunt, si non perfecte, ut[illegible] cunque tamen. 3tio arbitrio ~~[illegible]~~ propositam sui vendi[illegible] tradunt emptori in manus utendam, abutendam, [illegible] pro ipsius arbitrio, libitu etc. Rei n. sic emp[illegible] Emptor per redemptionem dominus est in solidum. Hoc ergo argumento videtur hanc fuisse Achabi impietatem, [illegible] etc. Quod noverat se a seipso factum diabolo et vitijs mancipium; Quod animae suae pretium non ignoraverat; Quod Satanae et cupiditatibus suis regendum tradiderat. [illegible] o perfidam impietatem!

— ad operandum malum.] h. e. ut, cum Rex tuus sit [illegible] non pepercerit occidere, spoliare, iniqua judicia [illegible] etc. Hae nefaria et scelestissima [illegible] mala sunt, quae tu sis venundatus, ad nutum domini tui, et patrasti et damnum patrabis. Vox hujusmodi verbi mancipium est [illegible] victimas.

— in conspectu Domini.] h. e. Mala ejusmodi quae cum Dei [illegible] Gratia et approbatione nullo modo conciliari [illegible] sunt n. quaedam (v. g. peccata, quae dicunt quoti[illegible] incursionis sive Humanae fragilitatis) quae [illegible]

[illegible] personas quosq; coram [illegible] verbo itaq; [illegible]
oculis Josuae, [illegible] illuminata vitae cursu cum [illegible] firmitatem plurium mixturi, propter quam tamen certo certius probandi sumus, et, quod vulgo dicitur, acceptilandi: Sic etiam a contrario Operari malum in conspectu Dni, Est certo [illegible] vitae rationem [illegible] agere, quam per Legem gratiae nullo modo probare potest aut admittere Rector et Judex Mundi, Dominus Deus. Admittitur omnia sint hoc duo Scripturae Loca; primi, Gen: 10. 9. Nimrod robustus venator coram Dno. i.e. Tyrannus, cujus Rapinae reliquaeq; in congerendo sibi hoies violenta dominationem ipsi reddiderunt infestissimum. Posterius, Gen: 17. vers: 1. Ambula coram me et esto integer, h.e. Quoad maximas illuminatae fines, qd vulgo dicimus, vocatae et conversae vitae tuae partem, Gaudeo in viis meis et praeceptis; Quod ego jusserim aut jussero [illegible] in ambulatione tua h.e. per maximam vitae tuae partem nunc sub conversioni statu. Quid aliud n. volunt antiqua illa versiones. LXX. εὐαρέστει ἐναντίον μου. Chaldaica, Servi coram me [illegible], [illegible] bonus coram me, et Arabica, Incede in obsequio meo. Atque haec, fratres, videntur membrorum thematis enarrationes faciles et germanae. Etc.

(2.)

1. Doctrinae Locus. Qui, animi dei legem vitaeque suae Regulam bene satis intellexerit, sibique persuasum habuerit, Deum esse et futurum seculi [illegible] atque hoc in loco Achabus, et Sauli, Ego, ad Romanos 7mo (Erat n. ex iis, qui legem norunt v. 1mo) Qui, nequam, sit edoctus atque illuminatus, magna tamen et vastantia scelera (e.g. Homicidium, Rapinas, Oppressionem pauperum Etc.) [illegible] aut ob [illegible] studio, non procaverit, sed libens admiserit; Hic, quisquis est, recte dicitur cum Achabo et Illo, Ego, 7mo ad Romanos, venundatus sub peccatum, aut vendidisse se ad operandum malum in conspectu domini.

Sic n. de Israelitis quibusdam Apostatis, et viventibus [illegible]; credentibus; se tamen ad Cultus h.e. Abominationes Gentium convertentibus, Idem in historia sacra scriptum legimus. Quod venundati erant ut operarentur malum. Historia est non illustris solum in seipsa, sed et loco jam dato illustrando apprime accommoda. Extat Maccabaeorum 1mi capite 1mi a v. 11 usque ad finem usque v. 15ti — foedus ineunt, foeminasque cum Gentibus. Gentes idololatras et impuros sciunt esse, et [illegible] deos appellant; et tamen spe mala faciendi illis sese adjungunt. Uno verbo, Scientes

[illegible] Jezebel, ut Achabus (3.) fuit, et Ille Ego; 7mo ad Roma
[illegible] contaminant; atque ideo dicuntur vomendi [illegible] Adamus
[illegible] in conspectu Dni; Quia viz. adeo flagitiosa
tam peccati materia, quam peccantis contumacia, ut
[illegible] cum Dei patientia et Benignitate [illegible], quo est
Scripturis [illegible], conatiam possit eorum Audacia! Etc.

(3.) Conciuncula 2da

[illegible] atque; Secundo est, ut fide vera verusque in-
telligentia et Ratione recta Regis obsisteret. Nonne voluntas
[illegible] parent ultimo Intellectus practici dictamini? Etc.
Resp. Sit quidem fieri debet, sit a. raro fungitur.
Nam internorum sensuum et facultatum, Domina et Impera-
trix est voluntas. Illa jubente, parent obsequiosi affectus et fa-
cultates inferiores, tam animi quam corporis. Illam obluctan-
tem et renitentem cogere nequit verissima mentis aut Ra-
tionis aut Comprehensio. Aut cedit statim aut silet, modo
[illegible] fortasse, semper autem contra sensus statuens.
Perinde atque maritus bonus ab imperiosa et impura
uxore victus et subjugatus. Intellectus ut vir prudens
[illegible] debet regere; voluntas autem, tanquam mulier
[illegible] et procax, vult (nolente volente marito) id fa-
cere quod illi est collubitum. Vir interea contristatur,
[illegible] vellet; perinde atque Intellectus bonus Infor-
[illegible] sub imperio et ~~[illegible]~~ tyrannide agens voluntatis
[illegible] et obstinatae. Cum illa furit, Ille silet; nec potest
[illegible] deturbando, negligendo, [illegible] suspectas [illegible]
Adeo magni Res est momenti ad aeternam nostram salutem
[illegible], voluntatem habere contritam, infractam,
[illegible], humilem, cedentem; uno verbo, Deo [illegible]
[illegible] et voluntatem nostram abnegare, deserere, desiste-
re et negligere, cum Res et vita [illegible]. Sit postea aliunde. 8
Atque hoc, quod ad voluntatis supra Intellectum [illegible]
[illegible] Imperium, verum esse, Indicatio probat Histo-
ria [illegible] subsequentis capitis h.e. Cap. 22di Regg. 2di.
[illegible] Ramothem Gileadi pugnatum cum Syris abitum
[illegible] Rex Israelis Achabus una cum Rege socio Jehosapha-
to Rege Judae; Prophetam Dni Micajam consuli velle
Judae Jehosaphatus. Ille, quod res erat utrique Regum
[illegible] Audiunt, intelligunt, probe tenent. Contra tamen
[illegible] Sit v. post historiam positas addit Spiritus Sanctus
28. Dixit Micajas, Si tum pace [illegible] Ille vero edixit
populi ad unum omnes. Ita Rex Israelis, et Jeho-
saphatus ascenderunt Ramothem Gileadi. Not[illegible]
Jehoshaphatus Rex non malus, et non solum Rex

[illegible] voluntas, variis spebus suis et praesumptionibus [illegible]

Praeterea, quod considerandis omnibus jam nunc vitae expositis atque evidentis voluntas iidem semper eligit, quod eligendum praescriverat Intellectus, vel hinc quoque patebat; Quod vero Mens hominis a Deo dedicti, ei semper suggerat, Multo satius esse a vitiis blanditiis abstinere, quam iis indulgere; Bonamque Virtutis et Officii, voluptatis bono anteferri debere. Cives tamen sensitivorum appetitum eam sit urgent non raro, ut, prohensis facultati ea, post propriam dictas convictionis, hauriat ad obscuritatem usque. Nam, quam hoc appetitum et voluntatis in mentem bono informatam dominatio, nihil in communi vita frequentius est aut magis obvium.

(4.) Usus. Cavete, fratres, ne vestra voluntas Intellectui se imponat; vel, quod eodem recidit, ne Intellectum ~~eorum~~ vincat Caro vestra. Vos quidem ipsi in ordinario illuminatae vitae cursu servitis Legi peccati, Carne vestra, quantumvis mente vestra interna, serviatis Lege Dei. Rom: 7. 25.

(4.) Contio 3tia

Usus. 1. Informationis; in variis locis pertractatis; 2. Comminationis

1. Hinc sane condiscamus, Illum Ego, ad Rom: 7mo non esse ipsum Paulum Deo in gratiae statu, in quo tum erat, cum ea scriberet; sed Judaeum quemcunque credentem, intelligentem, non tamen agentem et facientem pro fide et Intelligentiae ductibus. Judaeum, inquam, quoad Literam et Scopum primum. Per Accommodationem vero et a Ratione Dei, Hominem quemcunque satis Intelligentem, non a. juxta facientem atque viventem. Differente Theophylactus: ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ inquit, προσώπῳ, ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν λέγει. Et, Convertit, ait Erasmus, ~~Paulum~~ humani generis personam in se [illegible], in qua est Ethnicus ἐκτὸς, et Judaeus carnalis sub Lege, et Spiritualis per Gratiam liberatus.

Absit n. ut putemus, de Paulo jam per summam Dei gratiam facto Gentium Apostolo, illud quicunque in sensu dici posse, quod de Regum desperatissimo Achabo, et de alio nemine fere nisi peccando atque scelere, perditissimo, legimus memoratum. Quid? Qui jam magnus Gentium

tus erat Apostolus, Numquid? Ille adhuc Carnalis et venun-
datus sub peccatum? h. e. Peccati servus et mancipium? id
est, Peccatori misero, huc illuc actus, tractus, amandatus
sordido Domino, Carni suæ, Carnisque quibuscunque Cupidita-
tibus et Impetibus?

Quis quæso ne ausit de Apostolorum Coryphæo, cum jam
talis esset, tam indigna tamque horribilia vel mente quidem
imaginari? Si apud nullum esset Argumentum propinquum assertionis
Informationis Locum, Hoc tamen, omnibus Apostolicam
sanctitatem vitæ suspicientibus sufficeret, Quod tum fide-
lissimus Apostolus Paulus, perfidissimo Rege Achabo, est
nihilo melior, nihilo sanctior aut accuratior. Quum non
videat Apostolorum principi talia opprobria posse dici, et
tolli non posse?

Sit ergo; Quod Paulus ipse sub sua ipsius perso-
na hic non loquatur, vel hinc quoque conspicuum fiet,

1. Quia, qui de in capite loquitur, vere dicere potuit
et versu 9no Ego aliquando vivebam sine lege h. e. Ante-
quam Lex per Mosen est promulgata. Hoc a. de Persona
Pauli nequaquam verum est. Ille n. nunquam vel momen-
to unum vivebat sine Lege. Lex n. ante [illegible] illius or-
tum bis mille annos plus minus lata erat et promulgata.
Quare necesse est ut Ego sine Persona hoc in Loco, sit
aliquis consideratus, primum ut Lege lata carens; deinde,
ut latæ Legi subditus. Quod quidem de Paulo ipso ne-
quaquam dici potest. Potest a. dici Judæo sive Israelita
Concretim considerato. Ille n. sine lata Mosis Lege
annos agebat quadringentos h. e. ab Abrahe vocatio-
ne ad Legem usque in Sinai datam.

2. Quia Carnalis quisque ambulat juxta carnem. et
non juxta Spiritum. Paulus a., ut est capitis 8vi v. 1mo Am-
bulabat juxta Spiritum et non juxta carnem. Non ergo
Carnalis dici potuit. Cum tamen Ego hujus capitis, se car-
nalem dicat. v. 14to

Apostrophe. Hic Locus, Non esse ipsum Paulum,
qui loquitur 7mo ad Romanos, Ejus est, unde multa pen-
dent aut fundamentalia aut a fundamentis proxime de-
pendentia. Quare ne quæ quamvis, quæso, attestare a me
firmamenta aliquot, sunt veritatem non asserentia solum
et explicantia, sed et asserentia. Pergamus itaque,

3. Quia, ut legimus cap. 6ti v. 18no Paulus liber-
atus est a peccato, factus autem servus Justitiæ. Imposs-
ibile autem est, ut de eadem persona, eodem tempore, vere

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[illegible] Pauly.

At dicet aliquis; Quid itaque personâ 1mâ hoc est, ut videri possit omnibus, ipsius suâ, sermonem et ordiri et finire Paulus? Suam ipsius si non intellexerit personam, Cur aliam suas induit? Cur non alicubi vel innuebat saltem, Alienam intelligendo se personam, suam quam bis expressis verbis posuerit?

Respondemus

1. Se, non suam ipsius, sed alienam personam hic intellexisse, per notabilia tria proxime notata, copiose satis et clare, attentis omnibus videtur Paulus significasse.

2. Sanctis patribus, Origeni, Chrysostomo, et Hieronymo est notatum, Ideo personâ primâ h. e. suâ hic scripsisse Paulum, Quia hâc sermonis formulâ certius valeret apud eos, ad quos scribit. Est n. non infrequens loquendi tropus, [illegible] (κοίνωσιν appellant quidam) ut alijs sub personâ nostrâ h. e. primâ sermonem faceret; frequentissime autem hoc fieri solet in Gratulationibus, inquit Chrysostomus. τὰ φορτικὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις σχηματίζει προσώποις. Peccata populi, de Daniele ait Hieronymus, enumerat personâ suâ; Quod et Aplum in Epistolâ ad Romanos facere legimus, (6.) Origenes; Quod autem manifestum sit in Scripturis divinis, Sanctos personas assumere peccantium et magistros in se suscipere infirmitates discipulorum, ex libris ——— ——— et prophetarum. Illi flebant ut illorum fletibus nos invitemur ad lachrymas. Considerabant n. hominem et durum et ignarum posse inveniri, qui, cum ab alijs videat vulnera sua lugeri, ipse nullus [illegible] vulneribus sensum doloris accipiat. Ita quoque et Apostolus præsenti capitulo. Etc.

3. Huc accedit, quod usitatissimum et solenne quodammodo est Aplo nostro, Alios sub personâ suâ comprehendere. 1. Cor: 6. 12. Et c. 13. 2. Etc. Gal: 2. 18. Rom: 3. 7. Etc.

Objiciat fortasse Aliquis, Ad Galatas capitis 5. ti versu 17mo Eadem prorsus de vere fidelibus Apostolum affirmasse, quæ hic de se, cum dixit. Carnem concupiscere adversus Spiritum; Spiritum vero adversus carnem, atque [illegible] sibi invicem contraria esse, Adeo ut non possitis facere quæ velletis.

Respondemus 1. Dici hic de credentibus non tantum non ipsa eadem, sed ne illis paria, quæ quidem de Pauli, Ego, hoc 7mo ad Romanos exprimuntur; Nominatim, non quod Carnales sint, non, quod sub peccatum venditi erant; non, quod Carne inserviant legi peccati, et id genus alia. 2. Expendant docti, utrum versio data, nunc ad Galatas versum

(7.)
exprosserit, [illegible]. Puto n. Ego, illam adjecisse quid- [illegible]
quod quidem videtur adjici non debuisse. Ubi enim illam ver-
Adeo ut non possitis facere quae velletis; Graeca tantum
sonant, Ita ut non faciatis, quae velletis, ἵνα μὴ ἃ ἂν
θέλητε, ταῦτα ποιῆτε. non, ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἰσχύητε, δύνησθε.
Atque sic haec verba significabunt Eventum non a mo-
impotentia determinatum, sed ab alia quacunque Causa,
oscitantia, contumacia etc.
3. Responsionis pars 3tia haec est; τὸ λογικὸν scopusque
uiritur si perspiciatis, videbitis, opinor, magis pro nobis
acere, quam contra nos. Eo n. in loco non sat agit Apostolus,
ut Credentium tenuitates lapsusque depingeret aut in iis [illegible]
erigat atque consoletur. (quod quidem necessarium esset ad
objectionis (et multo magis ad objiciendum) minimum
stabiliendam.) Quin hoc potius illuc egisse agnoscetis
Apostolus, ut credentes, admoneret vigilantes se praestarent et
sollicitos, quia nimirum sine tali sollicitudine et cura
impossibile plane esset, ut Spiritu, prout verbis proximis
exponeret, ambularent. Ideo subdit, Quia in veris
credentibus verisque Illuminatis (quales erant illi, ad quos
scribit, Galatarum Ecclesia) Ea est Carnis Spiritusque
(etiam in iis) perpetua Lucta et Contentio, ut, nisi mag-
nam et sollicitissimam Curam adhibeant, nunquam ea faciant,
quae sibi facienda dictat voluntas Illuminata. Hic autem,
qui et facilis est et ad hujus orationis λογικὸν adprime
congruens sensus, quis non videat quam clare destruat
potius quam astruat, objectionis scopum? Atque n. scopus
hic est, ut de lapsibus suis et peccatis credentes non multum dolea-
aut consternentur, Pauli autem, ut iis omnino se
ligari non patiantur. discrimen quantum quamque evi-
dens expendentibus! Erit quoque magis clarum, ubi non hujus
solum, sed et versuum, tum antecedentis proxime, tum
proxime subsequentis, brevem et non coactam paraphra-
sin adjunxerimus. Est n. hujusmodi.
v. 16. Meum vero vobis (hoc est a Deo mandatum; Pro
Evangelij Regula ut incedatis videte, vigilate, studete:)
quam vero quod concupiscat Caro perficite. 160
v. 17. Vobis ipsis ne imponite. Nam Caro contra certius vo-
bis molesta erit, vosque nunquam sinet esse tranquillos et
securos.) Est n. in veris credentibus adeo perpetua atque inter-
nina Spiritus Carnisque pugna, (ἵνα μὴ ἃ ἂν θέλητε,
ταῦτα ποιῆτε) ut, sine maximo in iis necessario studio cu-
raque, ea nunquam faciant, quae ipsis facienda suggerit

strâ h. e. in ordinariâ et constantissimâ Illuminatione vestrae Cordis, Spiritum reformantem
13. Quod quidem si re ipsa feceritis et feceritis, tum procul dubio sub lege non estis, verum sub Gra-
tiâ Christi et Testamenti Novi, vos ad tam digne incedendum, non obligante solum, sed et con-
fortante habilesque et idoneos reddente.

Quibus quidem ita se habentibus, clarissime videtis, Idem ~~[illegible]~~ omnino hic Paulum
agere apud credentes Galatas, quod apud infucatos Christi discipulos Petrumque, Ma-
gistrum fecisse testatur Mattheus, cum dicit Capite 26. v. 41mo dixisse eum Servatorem ipsis
ipsis; Vigilate et orate, ne ingrediamini in tentationem. Spiritus n. lubens est, infirma
vero est caro. Quod idem videte ac si dixisset. Quamvis sit Animae vestrae facultas quae
ratione utitur, iam quidem doctrinâ et mysteriorum participatione eo usque imbuta fuerit, ut ipsa
habeat in se πληροφορίαν; Quia tamen ad eo ἐμπειρικὸν nondum profecerit (nempe ut ipsa
(8.) periculo, facile possit edomare illos affectus, quos Anima vitae tutatrix et incommodorum inimi-
ca suggerit; quod hic et alibi σάρξ dicitur, quia corpori consulit) Videte, si velitis in-
stantes fidem vestris magnâ et multâ sollicitudine, vigilantiâ, devotione et supplicatione fer-
vore opus est. Alias n. hâc tentatione nova, non valebitis fideles et fortes vos praestare.

4. Quarta et ultima Responsionis pars, hoc est; His omnibus recte ponderatis, Quamvis
praemiserimus Omnia ad Romanos 7mo vere dici posse de veris fidelibus; Credimus tamen
Quaedam et illic et alibi esse, in quibus conveniunt tum vere pii tum vere Impii. v. g. Quod
utrique Spiritum habent (eâ Spiritûs potestate habitat, quae hic obtinet, utique) Rationis
praestantem (quae Graecis ἡγεμονικὸν dici solet.) Quod hic Spiritus in utrisque sit imbutus est
verâ et salutari vitae scientiâ; Quod inde utrisque partem maximam esse solet [illegible] opera
istius, de quo hic Servator dicit. Sit quoque ex alterâ voluntatis ἐπιθυμίας parte, Quod tam
per quam [illegible] inique saepe ea faciunt, quod improbant; Id autem negligunt quod probant;
Quod utrisque cum velle adsit, perficere tamen ~~[illegible]~~ bonum non adsit; Quod utrique congaudeant
Legi Dei, quoad interiorem hominem; quoad carnem tamen, saepius obsequantur legi peccati,
et quae sunt hujusmodi.   At notandum est, Haec non ita esse, quae ibi exprimuntur, sed

genij

ntium Aliqua; et hujus (9.) Observati Consectarium ve-
um, hoc esse; Cum verè Impij tot habeant cum veris
ijs communia, sui ipsorum omnino incuriâ et [illegible] ne-
esse esse ut pereant Illi, si fortasse tandem pereant; cum
lla eadem, quae Pij habuerint ad salutem, Illis nihil vale-
nt contra mortem; Nempe, non Mens, non Mentis pia In-
stitutio, non Mentis [illegible], et id genus alia. Etc.

Atque hoc satis superque sint, Animi expeditio non satis-
entibus, ad hunc primum Informationis locum confirman-
dum; Quod viz. Ille Ego, 7mo ad Romanos non est Pau-
lus Apostolus, aut alius quisquam ex fidelissimis Credentibus;
Sed Quicunque Israelita, tum ante Legem, tum post Legem,
mo post Christum patefactum, Quoad Literam et Sensu
Apostoli primario: Per Accommodationem vero et Se-
cundario, Quicunque Alius, Notitiâ Salutari instruc-
tus, Gratiam tamen Specialem et Salvificam adhuc non
merens aut expertus. Fratres,

Hoc autem si credideritis firmiter, vobis non impone-
tis, ut multi, qui se in tuto esse statuant, cum sint, ut
putant, Paulo non deteriores. Cum revera hoc in loco, ut
dictum est, Assumptâ Personâ hic Loquatur Apostolus,
non autem ipsius suâ. Id, quod clarius patebit per sub-
sequuturum Informationis Locum, Alterum.

Contio 4ta

§. 1. Regg: 21. 20. — venundatus ad operan-
dum malum —

olog. ad Contionem 4tam h. e. 2dum Informationis
locum.] Cum de Pauli, Ego, ad Romanos 7mo non
minus quam hic de Achabo, dicatur, venundatus sub
peccatum; [illegible], Ita hinc praecipue docemus ma-
le, Non esse Paulum ipsum in personâ ipsius suâ, Sed aut
ium aliquem ex fidelissimis Christi discipulis, qui hic
loquatur; Sed Quendam, digne quidem Justitiae Illi-
non digne satis credentem atque agentem.

Hinc ergo Justi nobis Ansa petendi videtur adjacenti
um Alterum Informationis Locum; Quorumque scilicet
Carnalis et sub peccatum venditus Quis, perveniat
non et pertingat in Pietatis Cursu. Atque hic Locus
qui hac vita vobis, cum bono Numine, proponetur.
Carnalis ergo, et qui sub peccato adhuc est venunda-
tus in Eximiis his [illegible] Octo [illegible] potest: 1. Potest

[illegible] : Atque ita, per ordinationem [illegible] et gratiam, [illegible]
strâ h. e. in ordinariâ et constantissimâ Illuminatione vestræ Curæ, Spiritum referre, non carnem.

18. Quod quidem si re ipsâ feceritis et faciatis, tum procul dubio sub lege non estis, sed sub Gratiâ Christi et Testamenti Novi, vos ad tam digne respondendum, non obligant solum, sed et confortant habilesque et idoneos reddunt.

Quibus quidem ita se habentibus, clarissime videte, Idem ~~[illegible]~~ omnino hic Paulum agere apud credentes Galatas, quod apud infucatos Christi discipulos Petrum aliosque, magistrum fecisse teste Matthæo, cum dicit, Capitis 26. v. 41. eos dixisse jam dormientibus illis; Vigilate et orate, ne ingrediamini in tentationem. Spiritus n. Lubens est, infirma vero est Caro. Quod idem videte et si dixisset: Quamvis de Animæ vestræ facultas, quæ ratione utitur, meâ quidem doctrinâ et mysteriorum participatione eo usque imbuta fuerit, ut jam habeat in se τελειότητα; Quia tamen ad eo ἐμπειρικός nondum profecerit (nempe ut instanti (8.) periculo, facile possit edomare illos affectus, quos Anima vitæ tutatrix et incommodorum inimica suggerit; quo me et alibi σάρξ dicatis, quia corpori consulit) Ideo, si velitis me constantes fidem vestris magnâ et multâ sollicitudine, vigilantiâ, oratione et supplicatione fervere opus est. Alias n. hâc tentationis horâ, nos vapulabitis fideles et fortes permanere.

4. Quarta et ultima Responsionis pars, hæc est; His omnibus recte ponderatis, Quamvis pernegemus Omnia ad Romanos 7mo verè dici posse de veris fidelibus; Credimus tamen Quædam et illic et alibi esse, in quibus conveniunt tum verè pii tum verè impii, v.g. Quod utrique Spiritum habent (id est Spiritus potestate habitet, quæ iis obtinet, nempe) Rationis præstantiam (quæ docti ἡγεμονικόν dici solet.) Quod hic Spiritus in utrisque sæpe imbutus est verâ et salutari vitæ scientiâ; Quod inde utrisque partem maximam esse debet [illegible] contra istuc, de quo hic loquutus est. Sit quoque ex alterâ [illegible] parte, Quod tum pii quam [illegible] impii sæpe ea faciunt, quod ne probant; sed autem negligunt quod probant, Quod utrisque cum velle adsit, perficere tamen ~~[illegible]~~ semper non adsit; Quod utrique congaudeant Lege Dei, quoad interiorem hominem; quoad carnem tamen, sæpius obsequantur legi peccati, Et quæ sunt hujusmodi. At notandum est, Hoc non ea esse, quibus exprimantur, sed

antem Aliqua; Et hujus (9.) Observati Consectarium ve-
rum, hoc esse; Cum vere Impii tot habeant cum vere
piis communia, sui ipsorum omnino incuriâ et stultitiâ in-
tuti esse ut pereant Illi, si fortasse tandem pereant; cum
illa eadem, quae Pii habuerint ad salutem, Illis nihil vale-
ant contra mortem; Nempe, non Mores, non Mentis pia In-
stitutio, non Mentis τὸ εὔθυμον, et id genus alia. Etc.
Atque haec satis superque sint, Animis praejudicio non satis-
facientibus, ad hunc primum Informationis Locum confirman-
dum; Quod viz. Ille Ego, 7mo ad Romanos non est Pau-
lus Apostolus, aut alius quisquam ex fidelissimis Credentibus;
Sed Quicunque Israelita, tum ante Legem, tum post Legem,
imo post Christum patefactum, Quoad Literam et Sensu
Apostoli primario: Per Accommodationem vero et Se-
nsu secundario, Quicunque Alius, Notitiâ Salutari instruc-
tus, Gratiam tamen Specialem et Salvificam adhuc non
meritus aut expertus. Fratres,
Hoc autem si credideritis firmiter, vobis non impone-
tis, ut multi, qui se in tuto esse statuant, cum sint, ut
putant, Paulo non deteriores. Cum revera hoc in Loco, ut
dictum est, Assumptâ Personâ hic loquatur Apostolus,
Non autem ipsius suâ. Id, quod clarius patebit per Sub-
sequuturum Informationis Locum, Alterum.

Contio 4ta

§. 1. Regg: 21. 20. — venundatus ad operan-
dum malum —

Sube loq. ad Contionem 4tam h. e. 2dum Informationis
Locum. 1 Cum de Pauli, Ego, ad Romanos 7mo non
minus quam hic de Achabo, dicatur, venundatus sub
peccatum; et ab inde, Ita hinc praecipue docemus ma-
ne, Non esse Paulum ipsum in personâ ipsius suâ, aut
alium aliquem ex fidelissimis Christi discipulis, qui hic
loquatur; Sed Quendam, digne quidem Justitiae Illius,
non digne satis credentem atque agentem.
Hinc ergo Juste nobis Ansa petendi videtur adjicienti
illum Alterum Informationis Locum; Quovis scilicet
Carnalis et sub peccatum venditus Quis, perveniat
non et pertingat in Pietatis Cursu. Atque hic Locus
est, qui hac vice vobis, cum bono Numine, proponetur.
Carnalis ergo, et qui sub peccato adhuc est venunda-
tus, in Eximiis hisce Octo eminere potest: Potest

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unquam callere; potest credere Deum Rectorem universi omnia conspicere etc. Potest cum Achabo et Josaphato prophetas Dei studiose consulere, consulentes et prophetantes libenter audire etc. Potest cum Herode, Johanni concionanti sit auscultare, ut multa faciat etc. Uno verbo, Potest cum Pauli, Ego, in spiritualissima legis sensum et mentem intueri, et agnoscere secundum illius normam, etiam ingeniosos dolos illos, qui multis videntur non scelera, sed solertis ingenii commenta, esse vera et vere peccata. Et, hac sana et salutari notitia non obstante, peribit tamen, si modo frena peccato remiserit, ut Pauli Ego, dixi peccatum fecerit omnem in ipso concupiscentiam operandi. v. 8.

2do Potest Dei legem omni culpâ liberare, agnoscereque ex animo, eam esse occasionem peccati non datam, sed arreptam solummodo; uno verbo, potest cum Pauli, Ego, confiteri, Peccatum inhabitans illud esse, quod in ipso mortem et malum operatur per illud, quod bonum est, h. e. Dei legem. v. 13.

(10.) 3tio Potest id bonum velle, quod non facit; et id malum odisse, quod facit; versibus 15to et 19no

4to Potest recte et vere dicere cum Pauli Ego, versibus 17mo et 20mo Non est Ego solus, hoc est, non Ego ut lege Dei manuductus et institutus, qui hoc scelesta patro; sed Peccatum h. e. Carnalitas in me commorans.

5to Potest dolens et indignans de se fateri, Quod in se h. e. in carne sua bonum non habitet. v. 18.

6to Potest quoad interiorem hominem h. e. Intellectum bene illuminatum recteque institutum sive quoad superiorem mentis facultatem, gaudere et oblectare se lege Dei, agnoscereque, Quaecunque in ea praecepta sunt, quod ea omnia optima sunt et maxime exigibilia. v. 22.

7mo Potest ex animo lugere et lamentari hanc suam sub peccato captivitatem, imo suspirare et gemere et circumspectare undique, auxilium et liberationem optans captansque v. 24to. Et, ut Achabus versu ultimo hujus, unde thema desumpsimus, 21mi capitis Regum 1mi potest se coram Deo humiliare, timens valde non solum â justitiâ et potestate Jehovae, sed et â facie et majestate ejus; potestque per hoc genus non-fictam (sed non-perseverantem) poenitentiam, poenae moras et dilationem consequi; Huc usque sinitet Deus sibi propitium et benignum experiri.

8vo Quamvis compertum, clarissimum et certissimum mihi sit, Hoc octavum non esse παρενθήκης, capitis versus 25ti, mentem et scopum primarium; Nullus dubito tamen, quin Carnalis

multi et Qui sub peccatum sunt venditi, possunt Deo animo
gratias agere, ut Paulus Deo in Textu; hoc est, tum eâ verbo-
rum formulâ, tum eo sensu. Possunt n. [illegible]
indubitanter et certo persuadere sibi, Se esse libera-
tos â corpore peccati v. 24. Et de hac sua certâ
per Jesum Christum Liberatione, Deo animo gratias fundere:
Imo quodam hoc multo altiora et splendidiora edere fi-
dei Opera; Possunt sibi certo persuadere, se esse vasa Dei
electa ante jacta mundi fundamenta; Quod pro ipsis
speciatim Christus mortuus est; Quod speciali, quam vo-
cant, gratiâ jam diu donati fuerint; Quod Jesus Xtus ipsis
est et erit Justitia, Sapientia, Sanctificatio et Redemptio;
Hisce cogitatis et persuasionibus tam plausibilibus tamque ho-
nestis, possent et sibi et aliis in longum imponere; et
tamen totius interea temporis intervallo, et esse coram
Deo et videri Sagacioribus Credentium, Carnales et sub
peccatum venditi; hoc est, Illi, qui quantumvis Mente et pe-
ctore Cordis, in interiorem consentiunt Legi Dei, Carne ta-
men et generali vitae cursu et tenore, cederent Legi
Peccati h. e. Illis malis actibus et vitiis, quos aut Peccati
mores aut sua ipsorum sive voluptates sive utilitates
ab ipsis pro re natâ expeterent atque postularent.

Hujusmodi a. vitae atque conversationis in hoc mundo
stipendium ultimum, Mors erit; prout diserte docet A-
postolus antegressi capitis versu ultimo.

At dicet Aliquis; Haec Octo nonne praeclara sunt? Nonne
Illa, quae Sapiens quisque et Omnis Sanctus in se optaverit abun-
dare atque exhiberi?

Respondeo, Neminem sanè hoc negare aut in quaestio-
nem vocare posse. Imo addo verum est, Haec octo vere
illustria esse et praestantia, ut non verear addere; Multos
esse, qui aeternam salutem consequentur, qui tamen ad haec
Octo fastigia nondum pervenerint, neque unquam, credo,
hâc in vita, pervenient. Pervenerunt tamen per effi-
cacem Dei gratiam, ad Illud unum Necessarium, per
quod, propter Christum, aeternam vitam obtinebunt; quam
tamen Achabus et Paulus, Ego, qui illud unum non sunt assecuti,
per Illa Octo sua Eximia, non consequentur.

Quodnam ergo dicet aliquis, est hoc unum Necessarium?
Et Quaenam ex his Octo, quae, quamvis illustria et magna,
non tamen [illegible] ad salutem sunt simpliciter ne-
cessaria?

Respondeo breviter et directe;
1. Illa ex istis Eximiis, ad quae Salvandi, hâc in vitâ

cultato Lamentandi peccata et Agendi gratias, tam facunde, tamque pathetice, quam facit Pauli Ego, versibus 24to et 25to Quibus quidem in rebus earumque similibus, Multi sunt Carnalium, qui veros Dei servos multis parasangis post se relinquunt.

2do Illud unum Necessarium, quo absente, Illa octo non sufficiunt; et, Quo praesente, dicto gradu, non sunt necessaria; Hoc inquam, unum Necessarium, Illud est; Cum, vitae partem maximam, sive, In Constanti et Ordinario Illuminatae vitae suae Cursu, Curat Quis, In se ut Lex Dei dominetur et potiores partes habeat, non autem Lex Peccati.

Contra quam facit Pauli Ego; Quippe qui, vitae partem maximam, sive, In ordinario et constantissimo Illuminatae vitae suae Cursu, siverit Legem, non Christi, sed Peccati, dominari potioresque partes obtinere.

Vel aliis h. e. Christi et Davidis verbis, haec Res sit accipienda; Primum, Christi; (12.) Qui vitae partem maximam, sive in ordinario et constantissimo illuminatae vitae cursu, adamaverit atque observaverit Legem Christi potius quam matrem aut patrem aut vi[illegible] aut quodcunque aliud hujus mundi; Hic, etiamsi in Octo Illis non ita excelluerit, ut Pauli Ego, aeternam tamen misericordiam, propter Christum ejusque Remediantem Legem, certo certius consequetur. Deinde, Davidis, sit; Qui vitae partem maximam, sive Qui in constantissimo Meditatae et Renovatae vitae cursu, Nihil habet aut in coelis aut in terris, quod prae Deo eligit; hoc est, Qui in constantissima Meditatae vitae parte nihil aestimat supra Deum ejusque Legem et Cultum verum; Hic, etiamsi in Octo illis non —

E contra vero; Qui in constantissima Illuminatae vitae parte, peccatis Carnisque dictatis auscultaverit magis quam Dei Christique Regulis; Hic, etiamsi, ut Pauli Ego, in Octo illis alios omnes superaverit; hoc est, etiamsi eminuerit inter alios, Religionis et divinae Legis Intelligentia, Reverentia, Deferentia, Absolutione ejus ab omni Culpa; etiamsi praecelluerit facultate agnoscendi et Naturae Labem et vitae maculas, Ejulandi et Lugendi statum suum depravatum; Agendi gratias Deo, de Remediis per Xum ei sibi deferentibus, iisdem verbis, quae ipse Apostolus in sua ipsius persona certo certius adhibuerit (Rom: 7-8.) Etiamsi in hisce omnibus aliisque id genus praelustribus sit e multis unus; Hoc tamen Omnia, desiderato

(13)

Illo uno Necessario, dum à manu Mortis et aeterni Luctus non servabunt.

Animadvertite fratres; Hoc unum Necessarium, Praevalentia sc. Christi Ejusque Legis, etiam sub Remississimo gradu Illorum Octo, Salvos nos praestabit propter Christum: At, Hoc uno desiderato, Illa Octo, sub Intensissimo gradu, Nihil nobis ad aeternam felicitatem conducent.

Dixi autem, atque dico, Illuminatam vitam Nostram, càm in tenebris essemus, ut tum quoque maximâ vitae partem Jura Christi praevaluerint, Nusquam in Evangelio inveniri Est ad Salutem Necessarium. Quin potius, modò tandem Luce nostrâ dignè incedamus, Tenebrosae vitae nostrae Peccata et offensas omnes Liberè et gratis nobis condonatum iri, Propter Christum sc. et gratuita in ipso Evangelio promissa.

Atque hi duo Informationis Loci, sunt usus primus etc.

Contiuncula 8ta

§. 1. Regg. 21. 20. — Venundedisti te ad operandum —

Antelog. ad Contionem 8tam h. e. ad tres usus ultimos.]

Quae ad hunc contextum antehac attendistis, praecipua, hoc fuerunt; et

1. Qui, cum crederet Deum omnia conspicere, et se saepe omnia accurate expendere, sibi tamen potestatem fecerit, Peccandi perpetrata, quo gravia et vastantia dicuntur, Hic rectè dicatur venundatus sub peccatum, sive venundatus ad operandum malum in conspectu Jehovae.

2. Per Dei quidem et Rectae Rationis Regulas, Intellectui bene Informato obtemperare semper debet voluntas. At per innatam Naturae nostrae pravitatem, Tantum abest, menti credenti atque praecipienti obediat semper voluntas, ut, nisi per egregiam Dei gratiam, ad fastigium illud christianismi, Fidelem [illegible] Abnegationem, pervenerimus, Hoc rarò aut nunquam fieri solet; voluntas verò et Affectus dominentur, non Mens et Homo Superior. 163

3. Cum de Illo, qui loquitur 7mo ad Romanos, idem disertè affirmetur, quod hic de Achabo, Venundatus scilicet sub Peccatum. Hinc imprimis concludendum duximus, Paulum ipsum non esse Illum, qui ibi loquitur, sed Alium Aliquem: Benè quidem Intelligentiâ

4. Quocunque ille in toto dicit Pauli, Ego, [illegible]
nalis et qui sub peccatum est venditus. Potest imo Dei legem recte nostro [illegible] Potest quin omni culpâ liberare. 3. Potest id male odisse, quod facit; Id bonum autem velle, quod non facit. 4. Diu peccata sua, in peccatum suum inhabitans, sive in Carnalitatem suam nondum satis mortificatam, recte et juste potest rejicere; 5to Potest peccantis sibi indignari atque succensere; atque, ut Achabus, sub manu et minis Dei se humiliare. 6. Potest magna et sublimia legis apud se vehementer probare atque magnificare. 7. Potest vere et ex animo cum Pauli, Ego, dicere; Miser Ego Homo, Quis me —→ deinque potest suo vere et ex animo Deo gratias fundere de Gratiâ N. Testamenti, deque salute per Xum consequendâ, sibique persuadere se certo certius hanc salutem consecutarum. Haec omnia vere magna et eximia potest Carnalis et qui sub peccatum, cum Pauli Ego, et Achabo, est venundatus. Atque hoc 4tum est ex praecipuis, quae vobis ad hunc Contextum exposuimus.

5. Quintum, idque vobis indoctis et profectis. modo honestis et ~~[illegible]~~ praeclarissimum, vere solatorium, Hoc erat; Etiamsi in [illegible] isto non extollemus perinde atque Pauli Ego; si tamen unum Necessarium in nobis non desiderabitur, per et propter Xum certo certius salvabimur.

Illud autem unum Necessarium, Hoc est; ut in Constantissimâ Illuminatae vitae nostrae parte, Legi Dei et non legi Peccati inserviamus.

vel Davidis et Christi verbis, sit; ut nihil sit aut in coelis aut in terris, Non pater, non Mater, non filius, non domus, non voluptates, non Quaestus, non Aliud quidquam, quod in Ambulatione nostrâ hoc est, quod in Const[illegible]issimo suo Ordinario Illuminatae vitae nostrae Cursu, nos pro Christo et illibatâ conscientiâ obligamus.

Hoc unum Necessarium qui servat, sub remississimo gradu Illorum Octo, per et propter Christum servabitur. At hoc unum Necessarium qui non servaverit, sub Intensissimo gradu Illorum Octo, Illi nihil omnino proderit Christus et Evangelium.

Atque hoc quinque, Praecipua sunt ex iis, quae ad hoc thema, per duas proximas Dominicas, vobis fuerunt exposita. Restant tantum ultimi tres Usus, Admonitionis sc. Cohortationis et Directionis. Quibus dictis, aequanimitas vestra sub hoc themate ulterius non detinebitur.

Admonitionis ergo sive Cautionis Usus, Hic est: Haec Octo [illegible] aliaque id genus eximia, in nobis ut et sint et proficiant, ut serio enitamur; Iis autem, etiam sub intensissimo rada, comparatis ne acquiescere (15.) mus aut contenti abeamus, Cautio 41. Achabus n. Regis Dei quoque Notitiam habuerat egregiam; periit tamen. ark; Ego, multis praeclaris nitet charismatis; reprobatus tamen. Ho-um, quae apud Deum non valent, nulla nobis sufficiant, si modo absit tenda superius unicum Necessarium, Praevalentia sc. Dei ejusque institu-tam, in constantissima Meditatae et Regeneratae vitae nostrae parte, ad-versus res creatas omnes. Hoc n. unicum est, idque certissimum, ab-solutissimum pronsusque infallibile Specialis et Salvificae gratiae κριτήριον; Ideo usque, ut, qui hoc in se observaverit, de variis [illegible] bonitatibus v.g. [illegible] Intelligentiae, Facultatis supplica-ndi, aut alias cujuscunque Spiritualis Doni, se multum angere [illegible]-cruciare non debeat.

3tius usus Cohortationis. Ut His aliisque indigemus vitae [illegible]nsitatis, supra omnia contendamus in Dei robore, ad modo dictum [illegible] Necessarium; Hoc est, ut saltem in constantissima parte [illegible]formatae et Meditatae vitae nostrae, id faciamus, quod [illegible]vult Internus homo, sive Intellectus [illegible] fidei [illegible] Illu-minatus, id est a. [illegible], quod Ille Idem Homo sive Animus [illegible]cipit detestandum. Idque ut super motivas alias, ita [illegible] hasce duas, nominatim;

1mo Quia de viris probis in Scriptura legere non est, eos [illegible] totius saepius, sive in constantissima Illuminatae vitae [illegible] parte. Ut 22do Capite Regum 1mi Quamvis Bonus Rex Johosaphatus ad v. 29num Repugnans interiori suo homini per [illegible] majam prophetae illuminato, prohibitum abierit cum Rege impio Achabo; Post tamen h. c. ad v. 49num noluerit sibi [illegible] contra mentem suam, neque Achabi filio, Ahaziae sociare vellet. Viderat n. recte saepe, ictus per Achabum patrem [illegible] — Sed noscebat, aut rectius, Johosaphatus:

Fratres, Hujusmodi Epimethei et nos simus, cum Prome-theos nos non fuisse animadvertimus. Ita a lapsibus pristinis [illegible], nihil erit nobis Ruina illius, quod est et inhabi-[illegible] et intolerabilius.

2do Quia, quicquid vani homines sibi adblandientes atque [illegible] pondere statuerint, Pars saepius et sana, haut semper reputa [illegible] Peccatorum non confirmationem aut Alleviationem, sed eorum [illegible] acerbissimam et gravissimam Exacerbationem; Quoties nimirum [illegible] fecerint homines, quod nollent, id bonum, a. neglexerint, [illegible] probaverint. Quis nescit n. Illud de Medea notatum fuisse, [illegible]quam ingens in ea perditissimi fastigium sceleris, Quod, cum [illegible] meliora probaretque, deteriora tamen sequeretur. Et, Illa in Tragoedia sic se excusare vellet,

Αἰ, αἰ, θεῖον ἤδη τοῦτ' ἀνθρώποις κακόν,
ὅταν τις εἰδῇ τἀγαθόν, χρῆται δὲ μή.

Quis Plutarchi [illegible] ambabus ulnis non amplectitur? πρᾳότης μὲν ἄλογος καὶ ἀχρεῖος, [illegible] τὰ βέλτια, ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος, ὑπ' ἀργίας καὶ μαλακίας, [illegible]. Quare agite Fratres mei, [illegible] hasce duas rationes, [illegible] Curate bona fide, [illegible] Christi Jure obtinente in hac vita partes potiores; in

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atque hac de 3tio usu. 4tus et ultimus est directio [illegible] Tum illud [illegible]
cessarium benigne acceptatura sit per gratiae, quantumvis illa Octo nobis sint sub remississimo gradu; illa octo a. etiam ad Coelum perducta, non acceptata fuerint ad salutem, si modo illud unum Necessarium non adsit; His ita se habentibus, Quis vel sint non putet esse verae Sapientiae, Illorum Officiorum, quae ad Necessarium illud in nobis obtinendum et confirmandum recte conferant, ut curam geramus multo majorem multoque acriorem quam illorum, unde Octo illa in nobis obtineant? Cum a. ad Necessarium illud, via certa sint, Preces, Laudes, Jejunia, Eleemosynae, Explorationes, Meditationes Etc. Ad illa vero Octo, Conciones, Lectiones, Magistri Scientissimi, reliquaque Intelligentiae et Cognitionis bonae, subsidia nota et probata; Vel hinc recordatus quisque illud Servatoris in mentem revocabit, Haec facere debetis, illa vero infecta non relinquere; seque in hanc sententiam non semel tantum, sed quotidie admonebit excitabitque;

Anima mea, minus grata quidem et placentia minus tibi sunt Jejunia, preces, Explorationes Etc. quam Conciones, quam Lectiones, quam Studia. Etc. At memineris, mea Anima, ubi tibi delitia Verbo sapiens praetulerit Etc: Ergo ut hoc proxima tibi non negligenda statuo, Ita priora illa tibi maxime curanda judico, Et, si, quod saepe accidit per insanabilem naturae, ut nunc est, pravitatem, gravatim admodum ad haec potissima te adjunxeris, ad illa tum te cogis, invitamque atque renitentem trahis, cum alias iis in rebus, officio tuo et saluti tuae esses defutura. Etc.

(6.) Hoc modo atque hac ratione, Nosmet ipsos excitantes, admonentes, et quodammodo curam nobismetipsis gerentes, Dei via ad vitae metam, omni dubio procul, pertingemus, Dei tempore; Eo certius, si hoc falsissimae et fallacissimae Philosophiae placitum, hujus saeculi animis nimis alte infixum, ex nostris radicitus evellerimus; Neque unquam posthac, contra et communem sensum et communem vitam simul et Experientiam, sentiemus cum Philosophastris quibusdam Xianis; Voluntatem semper sequi dictamen ultimum Intellectus Practici, Nihilque amplius ad agendum recte esse Necessarium, quam ut piis Concionibus aliisque Rectae Intelligentiae probatis modis, recte debiteque informentur credentium Animi.

Quo quidem Effato Nihil esse potest aut in se alienius a vero, aut in Dei gratiam contumeliosius, aut Animarum saluti magis noxium et pestiferum. Etc.

Finis. | Est Deo Gratia Etc.

Sr, vndeferrable - vndeclinable occasions took hold on mee within a few houres after ye receipt of yor free, meek, [illegible] and friendly Salutation. But now having by grace pretty well cleered my selfe of them, I renew my application to you.

Truth, Sr, specially Divine, that, ye most certaine truth, is soe sweet vnto every one (yt in any measure vnderstands it) yt Hee has put off man sure, as well as I am, who in all his reading & writing and what other breathings after it, is not willing, heartily willing, to see & embrace it. Some, you know, say yt it is, if not All, yet a great part of yt μάννα κεκρυμμένον, τῷ νικῶντι, Revel: 2. for the μάννα was not soe sweet to ye tast, as this is to the soule. &c. And therefore, I pray, let there bee not ye least doubt either of the one side or of ye other, that ye plaine truth is ye manna, yt wee both would have. On yor side, I make noe more doubt of it, yn I doe yt mr Baxter was alive, Jan. ye 20th and, among many other pious endeavors for ye good of all them, declined not the writing of this charitable letter (to his most vnworthy brother) yt is now before mee. &c. I study, Sr, to make yor trouble from mee to bee as little as may bee. Thus then; All ye other distances betweene those Notes and you, will stand or fall, I conceive, vpon deciding of yt one greatest, the Scope of the Apostle Rom: 7. It is, you think, the vnperformablenes of ye Mosaicall Draught. Those Notes, the vnsufficiency of ye Law to mortify sin, & work obedience, & consequently to Justify. This will appeare by a view or Analysis of

the whole ch. wch begins with ye Antithesis of ye law vv. 1.2.3.4. and shews the
with this meanes, the vnsufficiency only of ye Mosaicall Scheme to mortifying &
Justify by v.5. (compared wth ch. 8. 3. and Gal. 3.21.) This is [illegible] the Mo-
saicall oeconomy, letter, by 4. (Lett[illegible]) as may be seen wch ch. 8. 3. hath called
2 Cor. 3. [illegible] and Gal. [illegible] ye [illegible]
knowledge of sin & death, wch is all [illegible]

avoiding of the other; Or, To keepe us such
as wee ought to bee; Or, To render us
such, as may hope to bee accepted of
God; and so not to bee depended on, or
made use of, with any such hope and ex-
pectation. Its generall effect beeing indeed
but this, To bring forth fruit unto death.
Now this, not unperformablenes (of ye la
but disability of ye law to justifie, As it is
ye maine proofe of ye lawes Abolition, so
tis it selfe the proximum fundamentum of
ensuing discourse, wch v. 7. begins on this
ground with an Objection, That if indeed
law bee not onely unable to worke obedie
to life, but apt to worke sinne or fruit to de
then sure ye law is sinne. The consequen
is disclaimed in ye middle of yt 7th v. and
ye truth set downe vv. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. That
tis onely by accident and agt ye genius
of ye law, yt sin is wrought by it, & yt ye
one thing wch seemes is criminous, is sin
ye sinfull person, which, wn ye la
piritual, v. 14. i.e. suggests obedie
spirit or to ye upper soule of man instru
ted in its duty, is still carnall, sold un
sinne, non obstante the spiritualnes of th
law; wch againe is ye repeating of this g
scope of ye apostle in this ch: The disabi
ty of ye law taken by it selfe to — and
wch yt followes, is but the expatiating o
& ye demonstrating it to ye experience
every man yt knowes his duty & yet con
nes in sin; for such an one plainly fee
in himselfe, That ye bare knowledge o
duty, which is all yt ye law affords, is
sufficient to secure ye practise of it v.
to 23. Nay on ye contrary the law of si
or ye motions of sinne in an habituall
ner (see August. Confess: l. 8. c. 5. right
glossed it, Lex peccati est violentia con
suetudinis etc) not onely warres agt ye la
of the mind, ye dictates of conscien

rightly instructed; but also bringes him into captivity v. 23. And ye man in this estate,
notwithstanding ye law, is in a miserable estate, and noe meanes for his rescue, but
Christ onely vv. 24. 25. The conclusion of ye ch. is but a recapitulation of ye same sense
exactly & visibly, its onely αὐτὸς ἐγὼ bee rendered [The same I] considered with
ye two lawes in him. The knowledge of his duty and ye violence of [illegible] affections.
Now Sr, on this Remonstrance, there can, I think, bee noe grounds of suspicion

cause of doubt, but yt the primary scope is the A-
olition of ye law; the secondary (as a reason to
nforce yt) the unsufficiency of ye law, thoroughly as
now we [illegible] & understood, to keep us such as wee ought to
ee; And ye last & immediate scope of ye latter pt
of ye ch. (as a medium to demonstrate ye 2dary) the
arnality & captivation to sinne, even sin agt. [illegible]
o ye knowne law, in many of those, who are by ye law
rfectly instructed in their duty. Etc.

I say soe, & make it out yt ther cannot bee the
cope, & yt yors is, and yn yt sermon & I both,
hall desire some further help and instruction
rom you. But if or scope doe prove to bee ye right,
hen you sure will think yorselfe obliged to make
way for 2d thoughts upon ye whole business. Etc.

You will beare with, & make ye most favou-
rable construction of, this & ye other boldnesses

from
7ber ye 20th

Sr, Yor daily servt at ye throne
of grace Wm White.

15

ffor ye Reverend, Mr
Baxter of Kederminster;
thes

Reverend Brother

I owe you many thanks for yor great kindnes in ye free Comunication of yor Latine
Notes or Sermons. I hope you will beleive me yt I read ym wth a willingnes to know
ye truth, & will as favorably beare wth my dissent & accept ye reasons, as I thank-
fully accept yor endeavors for my information. I do truly savor much piety in ye
scope & designe of those Sermons, wch I beleive is good, & ye more doctrinall part
very sound & usefull in ye maine. But I am not convinced yt ye Author rightly ex=
poundeth Rom. 7. || 1o The greatest point yt I differ from him in & wth great-
est distance & confidence, is about ye consequence of ye exposition; wch he saith
p.5. yt [many fundamentall points or neere ye foundation do depend on ye thus=expound=
inge ye text as not of Paul himselfe.] To deale freely wth ye Author, I thinke ve=
rily, yt this is neither truly, judiciously nor peaceably spoken. I grant all ye doctrine
yt you gather directly from Rom. 7 expounded in yor way, though I grant not ye
truth of ye exposition: And I am confident yt ye contrary minded do comonly
grant all ye doctrine yt we directly suppose to be in ye text, who expound it otherwise.
I did lately to a Reverend Brother lay downe my thoughts of ye text in a paraphrase;
of wch on this occasion I shall trouble you wth no more yn this generall about ye scope
of ye text. I thinke ye Apostles designe through ye Epistle is to prove yt ye Law is
not necessary to ye Gentiles, no nor to ye Jewes, as being intended but to lead to Xt
& being therefore now ceased; yea as being as a burden & yoake not to be
borne, & such as we canot fullfill, & be justifyed by. I thinke Paul speaks not of Gods
Law in generall, or ye Law of Xt in ye Gospell in specie, but of ye whole frame of
ye Mosaicall Law in specie, only: I thinke in this 7 chapter his busynes is not either
to describe ye regenerate or unregenerate pson, but to shew ye unperformablenes of
this Law by any man regenerate or unregenerate; & consequently wt a mercy it
is, yt it is taken downe: & to shew this he instanceth in a Regenerate man: himselfe;
or one in ye state of himselfe; So much of ye scope. I shall not trouble you wth my
Reasons. More is said by many yn you can expect from me. & many have said far
more on ye other side, especially Arminius & Amyraldus in sett treatises, yn ye Au-
thor of those Sermons hath said. In a word, I am confident yt no one point of
controversye amongst us, dependeth on ye exposition of this chapter. ||
2o. p.1. I do not beleive yt Ahabs [sellinge] & Pauls was all one, nor yt ye phrases
are ye same as here they are supposed. For 1o as to ye terminus, it is not ye same.
Ahabs was gross evill or wickednes in specie: Pauls was sin in generall. You put yors
a speciality upon ye malum in conspectu Domini: And ye Caldee Paraphr's Quod
malum est ante Dom: And ye Syriack's, in sceleribus perpetrandis; & ye Arabick's, pro
maxi facinore suo coram Deo, do all shew yt they all understood it of some speciall
heynous sins: & so ye context plainly shews it was. But Pauls was ye meere peccare
yt is, not fullfillinge ye Law of workes. 2o Ahab is made a willfull agent,
vendidisti te ad faciendum malum: Paul is said only passively to be sold: The latter
noteth only a necessity yt by naturall infirmity & corruption all men, even ye best
are in: not by any speciall wickednes of their owne: But ye former noteth a speci=
all additionall eminent act of wickednes. 3o To be sold under sin, is not ye same as to be sold to
ye workinge of evill. The phrase [under] signifyes a necessity now so naturall,
as yt ye prevalent inclination of ye will, beinge agt it, yet canot fully overcome
it; but ye other hath no such intimated restriction. So yt Pauls [I am sold under sin]
is but [I am still so far carnall or clogg'd wth flesh, yt I am unwillingly (as to
ye predominant bent of my will) under some kind of necessity or certainty of
sinninge or breakinge ye Law: I canot perfectly keepe it though I would.] But
Ahabs [thou hast sold thy selfe to worke evill in ye sight of God] is [thou hast
willfully sett thy selfe to ye comittinge of most heynous sin.] || 167
3o The Authors observation is not true yt [they yt are sold to do evill, do know
yt they have delivered ymselves to Sathan & their lusts.] With many it is otherwise.
Metaphors must not be stretcht too far. With most I beleive it is otherwise.
Some are unacquainted wth ye wiles of ye Devill, & know not yt they serve him in
followinge their lusts. Some thinke they do God service in killinge his Prophets and
x ministers. Some are given so much over to blindnes & stupidity, yt they thinke
best of many of their worst actions, & worst of ye best. And yt Ahab himselfe
knew wt is here affirmed by himselfe, is sooner affirmed yn proved. ||
4o That wch in ye doctrine is here affirmed, can never be proved, viz, yt Ahab knew
ye Law, beleived in God & ye life to come. || 5o In ye same doctrine it is unground=
edly & unjustly taken for granted (wch never was or will be proved) yt Pauls Ego Rom. was
guilty of such great & wastinge wickednes, as Murder, Rapine, Oppression &c. Prove this & take all. ||

6 Pag. 5. he expoundeth [sold under sin] of beinge a servt & slave to sin]: wch is
dictum, & never will be proved accordinge to ye ordinary sence of servitude, wch de
ye prevalent interest of sin in ye soule: but only [an unavoidable sininge or bre
of ye Law] is all yt this phrase can be proved to impart. yt as, a captive goes
way he will, nor doth not wt he will, but wt his Lord will, so yt sanctifyed pson yt
would fullfill ye Law, & never sin, yet canot attaine this, because of his innate concupis
& infirmity. || 7º As to ye first Argumt I say, yt ye phrase [without ye Law I was a
is wrongly expounded [before ye Law was given, I was alive] Nor can this sence be prov
8º To ye 2d Argt. I say, yt ye word [Carnall] sometime signifyeth yt wch is predominantly
& thus it is taken Rom. 8. et passim: sometime it is taken for yt wch is in tantum so, or
yt is still pty carnall & not pfectly spirituall & so sin is unavoidable to him, & thus it
taken Rom. 7. 14. || 9º The 3d Argt is [Paul was made free from sin Rom. 6. ergo
not ye servt of sin Rom. 7.] To wch I answere: He was made free from ye reign
predominant interest: but he was not made free from ye inhabitation & relicts of
but left under unavoidable (culpably unavoidable) sin; havinge contracted on him
a kind of morall necessity of sininge: wt contradiction betweene these. wt go
man will not & doth not confess to God, yt he is carnall, i. e. thus farre. ||
10º When ye Author gives his 3 Reasons of Pauls fiction of another pson. I answ
ye first yt it is not proved before by him, as hath beene showed. To ye 2d, yt those ancients
give Reasons why it May be so, supposinge yt it is so; but yt it is so, they prove not at a
3. To ye 3d I answere, yt wn ye Apostle elsewhere assumeth another pson, he maketh it know
11º As to his Answer to ye Objection from Gal. 5. 17 Arminius tooke a more advantagious co
in supposinge it alsoe spoken of ye unsanctifyed. But yor first answere is [Paul
speaks not ye same or like things] Ans. yes, ye same in sence: yt [we doe not the
things we would] is ye worst in sence yt Paul speaks of himself. Rom. 7. To yor 2d Ans
I say, yt ye version wch you contend for is more agt you: for yt it seemeth yt even
godly do not ye good wch they can do, nor forbeare ye evill they can: & so have so
degree of willfullnes in their sin, & not meere unwillinge involuntary. To ye 3
of ye Answ. I say, It is of no moment as to or Controversye, whether Paul were conf
inge ye Galathians or expellinge ym, as long as we agree on ye sence of his con
fession. In yor 4th answ. you confess, yt in many things ye regenerate & unreg
nerate agree, & so these texts; but till you show us better wherein ye texts diff
we shall take ym as of ye same sence. || 12º In Concion. 4. p. 16. It is not
proved but barely affirmed, yt Ahab had ye consortium Dei allway before his eyes
13º Where you next show us, How far a man sold under sin may goe, I doubt not
quoad rem, he may do all ye things yt you expresse, in yor sence of ye words: but
can do none of ye spirituall things yt we suppose many of those words to impor
So yt ye Controversye is not at all de re, but of ye sence of those words. ||
14º When you describe [ye one thing necessary] to be [wn a man takes care yt in ye grea
test pt of his Life, or in ye constant & ordinary course of his illuminated Life ye
Law of God reigne in him, & not ye Law of sin] I thinke yor meaninge is very so
& right: But 1º I like not this phrase [in ye greatest pt of his Life]: for sur
if he should every weeke be drunke or lye wth a whore 3 or 2 dayes, & ar
& lament it 4 or 5 dayes, I would not thinke this man to be sincere. 2º I thi
habitually Gods interest must be allwayes ye highest: & all ye way we have
know wt sin is so mortall, as to be damninge & wt not, is to know how much a
all sin will stand wth such a habit. ||
15º I take it for an ungrounded false supposition yt Pauls Ego Rom. 7. was in ye
contrary case: yt is, yt in ye greatest pt of his illuminated life, or in his con
ordinary course, ye Law of sin did reigne in him, & not ye Law of God. This is
very Question on wch all or Controversye lyeth: wch so should be rather proved yn begged.
16. As to ye first use Concion. 5ta I would be very thankfull to yt man yt would
me how to know a mortall wastinge sin, & ye number of such any other way yn
discerninge how far they are consistent or inconsistent wth holy habits. ||
17. As for ye Controversye againe touched in ye Conclusion, I would not have it ma
odious a thinge to say, yt ye will allway followeth ye last practicall dictate o
ye Intellect: not only because such moderate learned men as Camero & his fo
ers are agt you; but specially because ye thing is so hard, & indeed I thinke th
Author is in an Error in all this confidence. For though I am one of those
thinke yt ye will is ye first in sin, or ye first culpable cause, yet I conce
is by preventinge a necessary practicall act of ye Intellect by ye abuse of a sim
apprehension. Or if a practicall act be not allway followed by ye will, b
it may disobey one, two, three, ten practicall acts; yet I see not how ye pra
cticall will can goe before ye practicall intellect; for yn it is not ye actual
but appetitus sensitivus: but still it setts ye understandinge a worke to find o
another object or perverteth it to a practicall dictate, suitable to its sinfull

Inclination, & yt it followeth yt dictate: so yt ye will allwaies followes ye last practicall dictate of ye Intellect: for in Evill acts of ye will (in choice) ye last antecedent dictate was evill, [illegible] in ye right choice of ye will, ye last antecedent dictate was right #. If you have not read him, I could wish you to bestow ye readings of Rob. Baronius metaphysicks, an excellent designe desire to reconcile ye Remonstrant & Contraremonstrant: & allso Strangius de voluntate Dei circa malum. Sr I presume yor candor will putt a favorable construction on my free expressions, & accept ye thanks (for yor Communications) of

June 30.
1657.

Yor unworthy Brother
Ri: Baxter.

Yet I grant yt ye simple Adhesion or Aversation of ye will following a simple Apprehension of ye Intellect, may be sinfully inordinate, without any antecedent sinfull Intellection: & yt it was so in Adam. //

To M^r W^m White

67

Dear Brother

You may easily suspect yt my long silence hath bin a neglect, bu
you know my urgent unavoidable busynes, yt hath tyed my hands, I am conf
you would excuse me, both for yt, & now returninge you but this ha
hasty answere. Yor Analysis is ptly ye same wth mine: where they d
shall now only give you mine owne to compe wth yors, yt you may disce
ye cause, before we further debate it. ¶ 1o I conceive ye Apostles sco
in ye whole Epistle, is not to prove ye abrogation of ye Law, but yt its not
liginge to Gentiles or Jewes. Reas. 1o ffor there need no abrogation to
Gentiles (yt never were under it). 2o And many passages in ye text yt I
may not stand upon, cleere it. But he proves ye abrogation (to those yt
were under it) in order to ye other. ¶ 2o In order to this end Ch. 2. he
Reasons from ye possibility of ye Gentiles attaininge ye end of ye Law without
ye Law (& so its not necessary to ym). 3o Ch. 3. 4. 5: yt no man can be
justifyed by ye deeds of ye Law, but it was appointed for a time to lead
us to ye true way of Justificn by Christ: so it is not now to be pleaded
as obliginge or necessary. 4o He also mixeth all along, a reason from ye
burdensomnes of ye Law, by reason of its multitude of toylsome Positives sundry & threat
nings. 5o And from ye quality of ye subject: we are all weake by sin, & so
unmeet for such a taske. 6o Hence he concludes yt ye Law canot be fullfilled
by us; & so not justifye us. 7o And so ye more worse it makes us ye more
it occasions of sin & condemnation & increaseth guilt & misery by accident.
And this in ye controverted pt of this chapter, I thinke it is yt he intendeth
(for ye suppressinge of ye Jewish confidence & gloryinge in ye Law & their
obtrudinge it as necessary on ye Churches). Now wt great difference is there
betweene or severall thoughts. Is not [ye Lawes insufficiency to kill sin and
cause obedience] ye same in sence or very neere it, wth [ye unperformablenes of it]
but only you seeme to fetch ye reason from ye unsanctifyed only, & I from all.
Now 1o it is to & of ye Churches (sanctifyed as well as ye unsanctifyed) yt Paul
speakes in ye former chapters; so in this. 2o This would make agt Christs
Law as well as Moses's: seeinge Christs Law of itselfe canot kill sin & cause
obedience. 3o Yor ground resolveth not ye maine doubt, how ye motions of sin
by ye Law did kill, & we were ye worse for it. Ch. 7. v. 5. 6. &c. 4o The
many reasons from ye words ymselves are given comonly by expositors to prove
yt it is all men good & bad (say some) or ye good at least (say others) yt
are here meant, if you had ym at hand. In many writers I should trouble
you to recite ym. In ye meane time (in extremity of hast, even after so long
delay) I am forced to crave yor acceptance of ye inclosed Paraphrase,
& pdon of this slight unsatisfactory returne, from

Aprill 3d 1658.

Yor unworthy Brother

Ri: Baxter

Had you showed me yt any point of or differences depends on ye severall expositions, I should have bin ye more solicitous about ye matter.

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With this was sent ye foregoing Paraphrase

15

e of Rom: 7

Honoured Sr,

The post never gave mee so sensible a displeasure as in the
of yor Letter, & I can easily imagine how great a loss I sustained by
can come from yu but what is like yor self, great & worthy. In the li
yu are pleased to acknowledge, I am but just to yor meritt, & kind to
inclinations: for there is no pleasure to mee like expressing mine
to those I love; And I lye, if yu have not the cheif roome among the
sorry that yor Harsh Censures, as yu call ym, never came to mine hands
would gladly know the worst of my self; especially from a person who
Reproofs would bee more gratefull to mee then most Mens applauses.
thinges as they contribute more or less to the making mee better. The
of yor dissent then could not have urg'd mee, though they had been al
And I extreamly mistake my self, if it bee in yor power to speake any
mee or any thing I have relation to yt can cause mee have a jot
value for Mr Baxter. I confess 'twould trouble ~~mee~~ mee if yu should
or passionate, as it would to find a flaw in the fairest Idea of my
But I am utterly ignorant of mine own passions, if Self could raise
animosityes against yu for any harshness yu can use towardes mee.
can't provoke mee; I can bee a Stoick when yu reprove, & bee as much
-cern'd for my self, as if yu reprehended a Man I never heard of. If
my respects by common measures, you'l think I talk youthfully; But
to yor own worth, & consider mee as one that can understand some
excellence, & value it, & perchance yu may beleive mee.

Yor disapprovall of Præexistence is one of the greatest Arguments
-yett seen against it. For I profess I have not mett a reason that
-led mee. And yett I can not assure my self that 'tis true; but I th
Probable. So that I am none of ye Assertors yu seeme to speake of.
not proved that It is so; yett I think I have made it indifferently
that It may bee so; yea & possibly that 'tis more probable yn the
yu see then I owne my self an Assertor of the probability of this Hypo
I lay no great stress upon It. for I would not build great matters
May bee's. I am an Inquirer, & therefore not very forward of
would I bee rash in a suddain rejection of opinions, that may prove
to worthy purposes.

That the Doctrine of Præexistence is uncertain, that is, not
-strable, I grant. And so I'me affraid are most Speculations els,
very few Fundamentalls. This is a Reason indeed why it should not
asserted or imposed upon the world as an irrefragable Truth, but
It should not bee inquired into. All thinges are uncertain in
[illegible] except such as are confirm'd by experience or

had I some advantages which I now want, I could shew among what w
persons It hath been countenanc't in most ages of the highest & best Antiquity
and possibly bring It lower yn may bee expected. wee have it among ye Orac

Χρὴ σε σπεύδειν πρὸς τὸ φάος, κ̓ πατρὸς αὐγάς,
Ενθεν ἐπέμφθη σοι ψυχὴ πολὺν ἑσσαμένη νοῦν.

And more clearly after.

Δίζεο σὺ ψυχῆς ὀχετὸν, ὅθεν, ἢ τινι τάξει
Σώματι θητεύσας ἐπὶ τάξιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐῤῥύης
Αὖθις ἀναστήσεις ἱερῷ λόγῳ ἔργον ἑνώσας.

And Psellus in his Exposition of the Chaldæan Theology tells us the Accounts gave of soules descending hither, Ἢ διὰ πτερορρύησιν, ἢ διὰ βούλησιν πατρικ τὸ κοσμῆσαι τὴν περίγειον λῆξιν. How neare the first of these especially is Hypothesis of the Christian Platonists, I know I need not tell yu

And if wee looke a little lower the Zoroaster & the Chaldæans, wee shall fi the same Dogma frequently asserted in Hermes Trismegistus. In his Clavis he supp It in these wordes, ψυχὴ δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα εἰσελθοῦσα ἐὰν κακὴ μείνῃ, οὔτε γ ἀθανασίας, ὅτε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεταλαμβάνει. And els where, he brings in God least threatn those soules which should transgress his commands, & wander from the happy stations had placed ym in, δεσμοὺς κ̓ κολάσεις ὑμῖν τεχνιτεύσω; which accordingly executed by embodying ym, as the Sage after tells us, κ̓ δὴ κ̓ ἔδοξε τῷ πάντ ἡγεμόνι κ̓ δεσπότῃ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σύστημα τεχνήσασθαι ὅπως ἐν τούτῳ τ ψυχῶν διαπαντὸς γένος κολάζηται. And again afterwards, κ̓ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐ ἐνσωματισθῆναι, αἱ δὲ τότε πρῶτον γυγνάσασαι, κατακρίτους ἑαυτὰς μαθοῦ To which many more like passages might bee added, but I'le trouble yu but w this one, in which God bespeakes the incarcerated soules, and tis as cleare to purpose as any thing can bee spoken; ἐπίγνωτε δ' οὖν ὡς διὰ τὰ πρόσθεν πρ ὑμῖν κόλασιν ταύτην ὑπομένετε κ̓ ἐνσωμάτωσιν.

So that ye Doctrine of Praeexistence is so far from being a Novelty, that one of the most antient opinions in the world. And Its having been so early extant among the Chaldæans, I am apt to phancy is no contemptible probability of it For not to lay much stress upon what some affirme, that Zoroaster, the great Inst of the Chalday wisdome, was of the Schoole of Sem & Heber, in which accordin learned Jews, the Traditionall doctrines, that were deriv'd down along from the Ante-deluvian Patriarchs, were taught & preserved; I say, not to depend much on there are severall thinges in the Chaldæan Divinity which speake it extraordin if not, as Proclus will have it θεόδοτον κ̓ θεοπαράδοτον. For whence shall wee conceive yt Zoroaster had those cleare notices of the Trinity, which he is full & plain in asserting, then even Moses or any of the Jews themselves To draw some few of ym together.

ὅπου πατρικὴ μονὰς ἐστι,
—— ἡ δύο γεννᾷ. Again
παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριὰς ἧς μονὰς ἄρχει,
Ἀρχαῖς γὰρ τρισὶ ταῖς δὲ λάβοις δουλεύειν ἅπαντα.
[illegible] the Father, πάντα [illegible]

Σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἔσπειρε κατὰ κόσμον; which yu know are not
to some expressions of the second person in the Christian Trinity. The Third
calls the 2d Mind, πάντα ἐξετέλεσε ὁ πατὴρ καὶ νῷ παρέδωκε δευτέρῳ of
he says, ἐστὶ γὰρ πέρας πατρικοῦ βυθοῦ, καὶ πηγὴ τῶν νοερῶν. Besides these M
-tions of the Adoreable Trinity by Zoroaster, I might mention as many and
as cleare ones out of Mercurius Trismegistus, an other sage Assertr of Praex
Take a Few breifly.

ὁ δὲ νοῦς πατὴρ θεός. els where
ὁ δὲ ἐκ νοὸς φωτεινὸς λόγος υἱὸς θεοῦ.

Again concerning ye Son
ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ παντελείου πρόγονος, καὶ
τέλειος καὶ γόνιμος γνήσιος υἱὸς

And of the Spirit
ὁ θεὸς φῶς ὑπάρχων ἀπεκύησε λόγῳ ἕτερον νοῦν δημιουρ
ὃς θεὸς πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος ὢν ἐδημιούργησε.

He affirms in an other place that the Father & ye Son are consubstant
ἡνώθη τῷ δημιουργῷ, ὁμοούσιος γὰρ ἦν. And assignes
Making of the world to the divine word. ἐκ τε φωτὸς τις λόγος ἅγιο
τῇ φύσει. And again τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ πατὴρ
ἀλλὰ λόγῳ.

Now whence can wee conceive those plain Assertions of
and Mysterious Truths which are not discoverable by naturall ligh
derive'd, but from some Divine Tradition? And if so, It will bee m
to imagine, that Praexistence was of the same Cabala, It being
in the same Repository, and having been the Doctrine of all the Antien
world, if wee have any true Accounts of those times. There are sever
sacred possitive Doctrines deliver'd by Zoroaster & Trismegistus, whi
clearly to speak their acquaintance with divine Theory; As concerni
Paradice, the Immortality of the soule, & the perticular method o
creation, which is described by Trismegistus, almost in like manner
Moses. And of such Account was the Zoroastrian wisdome even in the days
Christian Antiquity, that those that followed the Heresy of Prodicus
-ded to it, to credit themselves & their errours. And Porphyry takes
of what esteeme It was among other Christians. This Antient Theology
being so venerable both upon the acct of It's Authors, the great Truths there
deliver'd, & the credit It had among the wisest of former Ages, not only
Pythagoreans & Platonists, but even those of the Christian world, It
to mee a likely instance of the truth of that Doctrine which was so
-derable a part of that Divinity. And the supposed silence of Moses
Prophetts in this businesse is no more Argt against It, then their
the matter of the Trinity is conclusive against that sacred
I'me almost confident yt as much can bee [illegible] from the
[illegible]

Nor is this Doctrine therefore to bee rejected because Scripture speaks
little of it, since I think wee mistake their designe when wee expect speculat
& Philosophy from the sacred oracles, which I phancy were only intended for
Instructions in life & Manners. And the very style of them seemes to mee to
intimate so much, It being for the most part adapted to the imaginary &
affectionate part of the soule, & not to the severer facultyes.

And if it bee unwarrantable venturousness to pry into thinges which y
scripture hath not expressly spoken of, I think most of the Theory of
he christian world will bee out of doores, as well as Praeexistence. An
o man that pretends this, can with any Justice assert any thing of the
riginall; since both the way of Dayly Creation, & Traduction, are at
trangers to the divine volumne as the Origenian Hypothesis. Ile
othing for matter of Faith indeed but what God hath reveal'd in Scrip
ut yet I think I may warrantably enough make other thinges the su
temperate & modest Inquiry. All Truthes are not reveal'd in Scripture
nly the most necessary, & those which or Reasons unassisted could make no
covery of. And for us soberly to inquire into the nature & concernes
Souls, I take to bee part of the duty wee owe for having ym

But Sir, I must begge yor pardon for my thus forgetting my self, And I do
I injure the world by stealing from yu so many of yor pretious minutes
shall therefore detain yu no longer, then till I have told yu yt I hope
to see yu, And that I am

Most Honoured Sr

The Most Affectionate of yor
yor Servants & Honourers

Jos: Glanvill

Reverend and most
excellent Sir,

I was no less amaze'd at yor great condiscention in committing yor Papers to my
review, then I was pleased in having an oportunity of perusing them. And indeed I was so surprised
by that so great stoop of yours, that mine astonishmt prevented mee of being so civill
I should have been, in duely acknowledging yt great and undeserved favour. Nor am
I ~~yet~~ now master of time enough for such a performance; or if I were, I durst not tres-
-passe so much on yours, as to occasion the mispence of any of yor pretious minutes
by giving yu to peruse my resentments. It shall suffice therefore yt I tell yu, that
this Action of yours was none of ye least Arguments to mee of yor exemplary humility
A virtue, wch in the degree yt yu possesse it amid yor very great accomplishmts
I think I may safely say is yor peculiar. But I know Sir, that yt virtue wch I
commend, can not bear to heare its own praises; And therefore I had rather not
bee just, then troublesome. — It hath been my great unhappiness that ever since I
received yor Papers, I have been so followed by diverting occasions, that I could
not so seriously & deliberately sett my self to peruse ym as I intended. and as
yor great civility in lending ym mee, and yt concernmt of ye contents required yt
I should have done. For being about to change my Relation, & intending shortly
for a journye, businesses have crowded on mee more importunately then usually.
So that I have scarce had an howre since I was with yu free from divertisements.
The knowledge of wch I hope will excuse my long detaining of yor Papers. which
since yu were pleased to honor mee with the sight of, and to require my thoughts
of, I shall very breefly acquaint yu with my remarques on ym; a presumption
wch nothing but yor commands could render veniall. Therefore (if it may
bee fit for mee to give my judgmt) I think yu have managed this affair like
yor self, that is, like a person of great integrity judgemt & discretion. yu have
fully clear'd yor own sincerity & innocence; and yet with out any blameable
recriminations of yor fierce & violent accuser. You have with a spirit of
christian meekeness only wiped of ye dirt he cast in yor face, with out throwing any
in his. And so fully clear'd yor self of his abusive charges & imputations, that
'tis fully in yor own powre to satisfye all men, that prejudice hath not
blinded. And methinks 'tis great pitty but ye world should bee disabused, &
that yor Right Reverend Libeller should bee made ashame'd of his misreports
& slanderous falsifications. It will bee an incouragemt to slander if it receive
no conviction. And lyes will grow bold if they meet with no rubb or contra-
-diction. It would bee an unpardonable piece of arrogance for mee to goe about
to advise yu yor own judgmt is such yt it needs no counceller to direct yu,
and I doubt not but yu have many wise & prudent friends upon all occasi-
-ons to consult with. yet Sir, I hope you'l beare to heare the affectionate
speake of one that passionately reveres yu: And who, though he acknow-
-ledgeth himself inferior to any of yor acquaintance in point of judgment
& discretion, yet dares he cope with any of ym in zeale for yor interest &
concernements. Therefore with out prescribing to yu ~~[illegible]~~
I'le ~~yet~~ make bold to tell yu, ~~what~~ I could heartily wish ~~[illegible]~~
would print yor Answere. I think yor friends yt advise ye contrary that ye
can not answere the Arguments, wch yu bring in ye beginning to move
yu to a publication. And did they know how inexceptionable yor Reply is,
& how little hold can bee taken of it to disadvantage yu, I presume
they would scarce incourage yor silence.

this Discovery; since the former bids mee hope I shall bee

[illegible] to mee in the chapter throughout. Sir I presume you will [illegible]

'Tis true indeed yt yor enemyes would readily catch at any thing yt their ma
could make matter of accusation. But yet I think if yu mollifye some exp
-ons, (wch yet are not obnoxious to just reproof, though ~~malice may~~ ill-will
may misinterpret yet) I cannot imagine what advantage yor severest a
-versaryes can make of yor just apologye. And except it bee a crim
for a man to right himself by fair & innocent means when he is a
-sid, I can not see what ground they can take of any charge against y
from yor cautious vindication. The passages wch I thought were mo
obnoxious I tooke ye boldness to note by a point in ye Margin; if th
were a little alleviated, I think it might prevent some offence. And i
instead of ~~he~~ HE and HIS, yu said his Lordship, I suppose it would bee
an harmeless ~~cat~~ caution yt would not displease their Honours. I desir
yu also to consider whether it be convenient for yu so expressly to d
-owne presbytery, or whether it would not suffice for yor purpose
affirme yt ye Bp had no reason to take yu for a Presbyterian. Be
I think that were it drawn into a lesser compasse, it would have more
readers, & consequently yu would have more right done yu. For men a
not to spend much time & pains in reading personall controversyes; f
therefore concisenesse I think would bee more for yor advantage. I
not this as if I thought any thing considerable of what yu have writ
were fit to bee omitted; But out of a sence, yt ~~few~~ things are wr
so closely but yt the phrase & style may be capable of contraction
Indeed if all men were of my gust, & did interest themselves so muc
in yor repute as I doe, yu could not bee too large & copious in it's vi
-cation; But since 'tis otherwise, so long an Answere would discourag
many from perusing it. — According as I told yu a friend of mine, w
most dearely honours yu had thoughts to have entred upon yor present v
-dication: And would have thought himself happy in being an instrum
in a worke he was so ambitious of. But severall unexpected occasion
taking him of from ye present execution of his intendments, & unde
-standing yt 'twas not unlikely yt yu might publish yor own Apolog
& yt it might bee before he could have time to finish what he
intended. He adiourn'd yt designe till he could have a vacancy t
prosecute it, or should learne yt yu would not trouble yor self abo
So that I can witness for him yt he desisted not for want of desir
to serve yu; for to my knowledge there is nothing would more gra
& delight him, yn an imploymt wherein hee might speak how much
honours yu. Nor was it for feare of prejudicing himself as to pr
-fermt or promotion; for he hath often profest that he hath no
yt he could not most willingly sacrifice to yor service; yu being
ye person, who of all on Earth hath most of his esteem & affectio

If yu intend to publish yor papers, I think speed therein w
bee no enemy to yor credit; and yor repute is no private interest, &
therefore not lightly to bee accounted of. So that though I'me confi
yu value not mens good word when well doing can not procure it; y
I judge that by all lawfull means yu ought to seake ye preventing y
discredit; since yor defamation is a publique mischeif.

Besides, the affording yor friends thereby what would help yu in yor vindica
when yor name is wrongfully assaulted, deserves not yor least consideration.
For yu being charg'd as to matter of fact and ye Bps affirmations standin
valid till yu disprove them, yor friends have no weapons to defend yu or
themselves till yu furnish ym by a true declaremt of the matter. Till
when, the Rev. Father's Lyes will bee taken for irreprovable truths
by all of his own party & many that were indifferent. And so yor
innocent name will bee ~~blotted~~ through ye Nation; wch how much
it will bee to the disinterest of religion, I am loath to mention. I'le
adde no more but this, that if yu could beare as much as some others
doe, I'me confident yu would bee prevail'd on to doe yt, wch yor self
give so many & such strong Reasons for. — My occasions will permit
to adde no further on this subject, only I must acknowledge the great
favour I owe yor goodnesse, in that yu were pleas'd to give mee so full
a Testimony of yor willingness to admitt mee into yor acquaintance:
wch I acct such an happinesse, yt I should wrong my conscience should
I say yt I know yt good on earth I have more desired. And I shall make
it my study to render my self not so unworthy of such an honor & felicity.
I had my self waited on yu with yor papers but yt at present my bu-
sinesse is such, yt I have no time but at nights for any thing. Assoon
t it affords mee any intermission, I purpose (God willing) to perform
at duty to yu. In the interim I desire yor candor cando towardes t
rude scribble, & yor pardon for this trouble, & Rest

Reverend Sir
yor
most unfeigned & most
affectionate honourer
Jos. Glanvill

Cecill-house Strand
Feb.

These,
To the Reverend his much
honoured friend Mr Rich:
Baxter at Dr Middlethwait's
house in
Little Brittain.

Reverend & most
Honoured Sir,

As nothing but yor vertues gaue birth to my respect, so nothing but the losse of ym can lessen it; which because I know is impossible, I am secure I shall carry the honor I haue for yu to my Graue. No cloudes from with out can darken yu in my esteeme; But I can owne worth that the times frown upon. And I professe I affect yu no less ardently, than if yu were a Metropolitan; not to tell yu how much more. Nor doe I expect any other returne of my affection, but the satisfaction of loving you. I hope Sir, yu will not injure my respects by suspecting that they are but the straines of mine invention, or affected Juvenilityes; If yu take a just view of yor self, you'l see there is nothing in my expressions but what's below yor merit; and I'me sure much short of my sence of yor deservings. Therefore I cannot forbeare professing, yt my affections to yu are much beyond common Ardours; which is no more then to say I know yu. And yu owne nothing that is common, or fit to bee only indifferently respected. Good Sir, pardon this excursion of my pen; 'Tis difficult for mee to speak a little upon this Subject. The Errant of this Missive is to conduct this Discourse to your handes, which otherwise possibly yu would not haue lighted on. 'Tis very likely that yu will wonder at this exploit; And bee yet more surprise'd when I haue told yu, that I am the Author on't. yu see Sir, what confidence I haue in yor Goodness, since yt after all the care I haue taken to conceale my interest in this Designe from others, I should yet dare owne it before so exact a Judgment, & so severe a vertue. But the truth is, these divine excellencyes of yours which might haue discouraged it, were none of the least inducements to this Discovery; since the former bids mee hope I shall bee

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[illegible] to mee in the chapter throughout. Sir I presume you [illegible]
whom one that haue bin shewne my owne weaknesse already enough to keepe mee from [illegible]

reduced by yu; if either mistake or inadvertence hath mislead mee. And the latter assures mee, yt however different yor Apprehensions are from mine, yu will not censoriously criticise upon innocent intentions. It is not therefore Sir, the least testimony of mine affection that I durst thus owne my faultes to yu, & trust yu with the knowledge of my being the Author of that, which very likely the world will passe a very severe judgment on. And had I not been highly persuaded of the Catholickness of yor Temper, & the generous freedome of yor mind (the issues of which have contributed very much to my inlargement) I should not have been so forward in so obnoxious a Confession. But from yu Sir I expect the exercise of candor & ingenuity; Especially since this bol Attempt of mine is in a manner the Product of yor own instructions Yu have taught mee to think honourably of my Maker; And to admi no suspicions contrary to the infinite fœcundity of his goodness; From yu I first learnt not to doat upon mens opinions; but to indulge Free & impartiall Inquiry. And to owne truth under any name; & in whose handes so'ere I find it. If therefore I have stretcht these Generalls too far, & am gone beyond the line of sober disquisition; yet I can not dispaire of pardon for a fault, which love to truth & yu occasiond. But yet a I would not confidently justifye any thing that yu shall think a Crime; so neither will I condemne my self for yt, which as yet I am not persuaded deserves just reprehension or rebuke. Hitherto I have no reason to repent that I writ Lux Orientalis. Nor have I conceived any thing contrary to the interest of the notions there pleaded for. I am passionate desirous of a right Apprehension of the divine Attributes & Providencies; And I never mett any thing yet that doth s appositely suit them as this Doctrine of Præexistence. Tis [illegible] that putts an end to a thousand controversyes.

And makes those thinges plain, which were involv'd in multitudes of intricacyes; ~~and~~ that many of the wisest gave over as unintelligible. And since there is such a clue to direct us in these confounding labyrinths, I thought 'twould argue humour in mee to reject it with out a Tryall. I have summond then my severest facultyes to make search into these matters, so that if I were mistaken, it might not bee through easiness or Credulity: I have dealt more harshly with Praeexistence then a free & imparhall judgmt would warrant mee in. I have ingaged the opinions of the Few & of the many, of the wise, & the otherwise, against ~~it~~. And have suborn'd all the Arguments that my little reading & judgmt could furnish mee with to encounter & oppose it. And yet when all is done, I must confesse my self a Captive; In spight of my eager resistance it hath erected it's trophyes over mee. And I must owne it's victory by this Profession, That I cannot imagine any thing that doth so harmoniously accord with the blessed excellencyes of God, the Appearances of Providence, & the nature of thinges, as this Hypothesis. To which I am not ashamed to confesse my self a Prostrate. Nay, you'l pardon mee if I say, that if this bee not ye truth, I am at a miserable losse in these matters, & know not which way to turne mee. Now Sir 'tis likely yu may censure this warme & bold Declaration as savouring little of modesty or Prudence; since it may seeme a con[illegible] unbecomming such a presence as 'tis utter'd in; which had been so indeed, should I have urged my opinion as any the least inducement to persuade yu to a concurrence, such a designe had been both arrogant & ridiculous. Nor were [illegible] lesse criminall had I any sort of obstinacy that [illegible] not resigne at ye summons of yor victorious reason.

But since I haue made this free profession only to invite yor ass
-tance if I am deceived, to disabuse mee, I may hope to bee favo
-rably interpreted. If therefore yor occasions will giue yu leaue
to peruse, & enter any remarques upon this Discourse, I shall wi
all due acknowledgments receiue the favour of yor Reflections
The beginning of my preface is but an harmelesse Precaution fo
self preservation in case of Discovery. In wch how ever I haue offer'd
no violence to my conscience or said any thing for wch I haue not
a sence yt any moderate, judicious, catholick peruser would not allow
of. I am afraid I shall by this Prolixity distresse yor patience, & ther
-fore at present shall adde no more but that I am

Excellent Sir,
yor
most passionate hono
& affectionate serv
J. Glanvil

Aug. 4.

If yu send yor answere to the Grey hound in
Pauls church yard, 'twill come safe.

These,
To the Reverend his ever honoured
friend Mr Rich Baxter

fol.176. of Baxter Letters in volume

Reverend & Deare Sr   July 30 — 72

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1

These are humbly to acquaint you with the result & issue of my most deliberate pauses & reflections upon your last kind proffer of the place you spake of to mee in the Country. should I consult my personall inclinations and advantages, abstracted from those other circumstances which ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ which providence hath set mee under, I could with all cheerefullnesse & thankefullnesse comply therewith. but Sr my case stands thus. Mr Chishuls people have all (as farre as I can understand) invited mee to spend my paines amongst them, which hitherto they have received with readynesse of minde (as farre as I can judge) ~~accepted~~. and that which some have prest upon mee to proceed, is this, that, that place beinge neare the temple (I meane White fryars) I have a faire advantage (if God be pleased to smile upon my labours and succeed them) to reach the hts of students there which (if effected) may subserve the promotion of our great and good masters interest, in many places of the land. I have found severall there, and the congregation doth increase. Mr Fidanes is willinge to take up with my paines in the afternoone only, at his house; & so gives mee liberty for White Fryars in the morninge, wherewith they are contented; provided that I either provide for them by another at 2 of the clock in ye afternoone, or preach myselfe after 4. I greatly desire to know the mind of God, in this (as all) affaires, to whom I am accountable both for miscarriages & mistakes. and hence I humbly judge, tis meete I stay in London. but am not too peremptory and resolved, to yeild to better arguments & judgments in the case. I should have written sooner to you, but that it was but very lately, that I was made able thus farre to resolve the case. I cannot Sr but ~~bl~~ blesse God, for the great care of his providence hee hath by you exprest to mee; & thanke you greatly that you had a man soe unworthy as myselfe in your thoughts. Deare Sr, compleat your kindnesse by layinge mee upon your ht & in your thoughts when they lye neerest heaven; & intreat for mee, that I may bee enabled to answer, the expectations & obligations ~~[illegible]~~ that are upon mee from God & man. and may most faythfully & comfortably fullfill my course & work both as a member & minister of Christ. And now Sr pardon mee if I interrupt you with one thinge more. your parting words did reach my heart, about my reportinge your resolution of that case I once wrote to you about. I thanke you that you told mee, with soe much faythfullnesse & exemplary meeknesse: the thinge hath neither wanted reflections on it, nor manifold improovements of it. but I cannot yet remember to whom I told it, but I was faulty very much in doeinge it to any. but this I thinke I can confidently say, I did expresse, there were many cautions in the case, and this speciall circumstance to alter it. that the guilty person was then under that arrest of God that probably would carry her to his barre, by that time I could well get your resolution of the case (as did soe as I remember) however Sr I hope it will make mee more remember & beware of, quid & cui, which I take

I beg your pardon & the expression of it, when occasion serves, and shall entreat the father of mercies still to attend you with the blessings of both his hands, and to continue your comfortable usefulness & integrity, and the Lord helpe you to bringe forth into the world, those preparations you have by you (I hope now finished) to the advantage of his church & further improovinge of Sr Yours in the strictest bonds of the best service, love & honour — Mat: Sylvester

From Capt: Ailsworths house in Swan Alley neare Coleman streete

+

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16.

But since I haue made this Free profession only to invit
-la
-ra
fo
ab
(s
se
ne
a
o

Aug. 4.

17.

To the Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter
at his house these
in Totteridge
with care
p 3s 6

Sr

I have not yet been so fortunate, as to be delivered from the fears I have yt thro ye miscarriage of yt wch I writ to you upon my first arrivall here, I may be under some misapprehensions; for this reason I can not satisfie my self wthout further securing mee from those thoughts of neglect & forgetfullness yt possibly you may entertain of mee. I thought to have been at London ere this, for wn I came down I was fully resolved to have lost no more time in ye Country yn ye long Vacation, But now I find ye Importunity of Friends & Relations will unavoidably detain me here this winter. I see it is an easy thing wn one first undertakes a business of this nature to fix a Resolution thus farr I will be ingaged & no further, but wn one really is imbarqued therein it requires a more yn ordinary Steddiness of Principles to be able not to transgress such a Resolve. Divinity I believe can afford but too many instances of this kind: Men can readilier resolve yn perform any thing. Men have too great apprehensions of yr strength till ya try it, and too slight thoughts of ye difficulties ya are to wrestle thro till ya feel ym — But I must not draw up a bill agt my self; yt would betray as much weakness, as ye other doth Humanity. — Sr I have nothing of News to acquaint you withall, wee import indeed a considerable quantity from London, but export none thither; or if at any time wee venture to make you a Return, our wares are so abominable naught & corrupt yt we wonder you will take ym of or hands, witness our advice in a late Gazette. — My C. Hawdon hath given you an acct I suppose of ye Execution of ye Oxford Act. Wee are not wthout or Jealousies here of wt ye papists may be prompted to act out of desperation, & yrfore in most places have a strict eye over ym — The Prebends of Durham think their fears are excusable because ya have so much to lose — Wee think or writers may now leave of Countermining, for by this time ya cannot but be sensible how much ya have yrby undermined yr own Interest, by endeavouring to instill a belief into ye nation yt yr is no danger to be apprehended from ye Papist, & yt it was ye Fanatic yt ye Magistrate need onely be whetted agt. I confess it was a meritorious — piece of service ya did yr mother in bidding her look North, wn her greatest blow was coming South. — I suppose ya will not now expect an answer from ye Fanatics; the discovery of this Plott is a practicall Confutation of all ya said. Sr I am

Newc. Nov. 2.
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Yor Reall friend & Serv

Wm Gilpin

My service to Mrs Silvester, Mr Smith &c

To
Mr Matth. Silvester
at his house in Dogwell Court
in White-fryars, Fleetstreet
London

These

Reverend Sir 73

Though in one respect it be unsuitable to
write to you of a matter of this nature
yet in another respect I judge you the fittest
to decide the controversy for ordinary
phisitians have little conscience and divines
little knowledge in phisick but I am informed
that you have bene more then ordinarily
exercised in that studie there are some very
good Christians of mine acquaintance that
do a great deale of good yearly by their skill in
Chirurgery and phisicke and they have
asked my advice whether it be lawfull to use
the sympatheticall powder I suppose you know
the way of cure by that powder is not by application
but by mixing some of the blood
with the powder and keeping of it in
a moderate heat so it cures or if one
would further at any distance it cures cold
or cures colds that it cures almost miraculously
wounds toothach fistulas etc I
know by the experience of those whose
relation I dare trust. The powder is made
of Roman vitriol calcined in the sun
I have heard also very credibly that it
being dissolved in water or vinegar I
[illegible] which and a little rag with
the blood laid in it upon it works the same effect I
shall give you what arguments I know
on both sides first for the affirmative
1° Roman vitriol calcined with other
ingredients is very effectual being applyed
by [illegible] 2° there is no Characters
or preparations any way magicall especially
it being dissolved would do the same
though I understand not how calcining
by the sun should be a magicall preparatio

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The wapon salve indeed hath many strange
ingredients 2o the loadstone is of the same
seemes to be of the same nature and may
it be true as I have read that some shell
and pelicans stuft with the feathers of
sea fowle, the one will make a noise being
held by the eare and the other swell at the
sea I mention not the mooving of unison
or diapasons since Marsennus seemes to g
downe a ~~Co~~ naturall common reason for it
3o I have heard of many and do now know a mini
in London that though many miles dista
falls in labour in stead of his wife and knows
when she is brought a bed by removing fo
chiefe paines for the negative no seeming reas
can be given for the working thus cure at a distan
for that of the loadstone seemes not to be like it
in this if the loadstone should be destroyed as to
its nature yet the needle looses nothing neere
in this the wound is painfull if the powder be
distempred 2o I remember there is the story of
a monke who being accused for a Magitian
doubtlesse he was answered he did not by any
compact with the devill by having power
authorized over him which he said might be
got by extraordinary holinesse as well as by
pact and he said that the devill thus commanded
by him had taught him medicines to cure at a
distance I write not for your resolution in this ca
out of curiositie but since it is certaine so far
many rare cures have been done by this powder
If it be lawfull to be used it is the speediest
safest easiest remedie in the world as I conc
instance for if it were not to larg and needles
to do it I understand by relation that the knight
that first brought it to england had it from
a, frier of the highest perfection of his religion
for the knight had saved his life they do say
also that it cures though the party that uses it or
the patiente be never so incredulous

though I remember about seaven year agoe I by my intercession made it ineffectuall to a Child of mine that had broken his head for I told him that applied that I would unblow his powder and so ~~he~~ did for it was not but it may be that was not right powder for this will certainly true they say blow or not blow a Experiment I desire you would be pleased to send me your thoughts in this matter I shal not further trouble you though in case you thought them worth your having I could send you some uncommon effectuall receipts though I think it to pitie to troble you in matters of that nature as if Christ were on earth I should scarse dare to ask him any such question thus desiring the Lord to prosper all your ministeriall ordinances and to multiply and crowne his gifts & graces for the saving others and your own soule I rest

Sir

Your Servant then whom none doth more highly honor you

Jno White

Sir I pray direct your letters to be left at Mr Titan the book seller for me

To the worspll his
highly honored friend
Mr Baxter Preacher
of the word of God
at Kedderminster

Rej d 8

19.

Friday

Mr Baxter my most worthy Brother 4

I received yours last night, wch I take kindly from you & being to
goe to morrow to Winchester for a Month (God permitting) I think fit
to tell you your letter has made some impressions on me as to a relaxa-
tion of my animosity toward this man. There is so much goodness ap-
peares in what you write, that the beauty of it is taking. I will in-
stance but in this one thing. Mr Read (you urge) let his Chappell under
distresse & therefore now may aske more. This is your goodness, when
it is this he wch makes my heart rise agt him, because I got the Dr
to take the Chappell & the Lodge his house, when he had been neare
undone else: & yet that he should grate upon them for more rent
so soone as the Lease was but out & would keep to the great dissatisfa-
ction & abomination of them both. All things (says Epictetus) have
two handles, and every reason a contrary reason. Well (Deare Sir)
since you have a good opinion still of this man, & seeing you have I
shall for your sake endeavour to recover a good opinion too of him
as I can, but without having any more (unlesse there be necessity for it) to
doe with him, being one that puts a thing to reckoning with one so [illegible] to regard to the
obligation & [illegible] stood he is hitherto, & now will you from it as makes
outward breathing to be nothing. To this end I have taken order with
my wifes nephew to goe to him to let him know that if he thinks he
can make more of the rent (& what will you say if he cannot) let him allow to
my wife but what is reason ~~after for his Living & take it~~ & make the most
of it: The seat he holds is parsonage (besides a place for my wife to put a
boy in to kneele on, where in [illegible], may be avoided another little
body) it give him £50 a yeare & that is a parson (the market price of the best seate in the
middle of the Chappell), & wch I believe is really more than any Chappell
or Chappell yields besides in the towne. If I take downe my Living, it
may be, he will hardly get so much as I give him for it (Mr Jolly his best
mischance gave him but £40 a yeare for it): If I let it stand it may be more,
he may get 10£ a yeare more for it, but let him get 20 or 30 more
good may it doe him, so long as you have so kind regards for him.
Your giving him your authority, without a sentence, will doe more to my
satisfaction than another persuasion:

It's for your feare still that there is too much of the Love of money in that kind admoni-
tion in my complaint you may be something easy in more, that I apprehend
then by my telling you this, at least when I added that. I thank you for
I ~~[illegible]~~ have by my change if I regarded that bad in that feare & will endea-
that feare of mine (there is a great deale) Especially now when I have
vour to take heed to my heart, as I ought; There is a Relation of mine whose
occasion to provide so good a Living.
husband that was a carefull man of his family, having skill in Navigation & putting his
going to make an adventure buying some part of a Vessell & all he had in it, & hath left a widow
stock in it was drowned ~~[illegible]~~, the Vessell & all he had in it,
with five children, who are come to beggary to their grandmother who
was a gentlemans wife that had 2 or 300l a yeare & spent it all &
left her nothing, insomuch that I was faine to buy her an Annuity

an opportunity of fulfilling ye [illegible]
Summe which you mention in your letter I have seen it & read some part of it, & judge yt it [illegible]

[illegible] an arreare of 10l a yeare for her to live uppon. Unto this poo[r]
gentlewoman widow that hath but 60l a yeare to maintaine her
self, a daughter & 5 children come to Ringe[?]. It is my purpose tha[t]
[illegible] to them all in regard of my Relation, shall to put out the Children
to Apprentise, or to Service, & help the Distressed, & Running the Curs[e]
too much for my self to give others that I can, to joyne with me that are rich [illegible]
ingenious. I will endeavour to doe it the more cordially for this kind [illegible]
of yours. which I am persuaded in such cases where God gives enlargement
of heart he will find meanes for performance. But my estate when
I ~~[illegible]~~ have adjusted it as to my daughters portions, will be but a few
to patterns[?] — As to for the ~~[illegible]~~ Modell you speake of, what
hart may it be for ~~[illegible]~~ Those to propose universall good things to
like for a Commonwealth under the notion of an Utopia wch never was, or ever like
to be? You need not concerne your self about that, wch was but to p[lease]
rise your fancy, & make Greatfor[?] work. But if you will say any
thing to that book, it is p. 22. 23. 24. that is mainly what I would
have regarded, for if you would give your publick advice to
them, wee shall have Commonwealthes[?] in good earnest: if you [illegible]
any thing agt it, you [illegible] this is a [illegible] to that & I must [illegible] I would have [illegible]
willing you should have answered my question, [illegible] merrily
my information (either), considering you could easily doe it. But
ing you have lett it alone till now, what should you [illegible]
dead & buried. I pray God keep you alive (wch I believe [illegible]
you this comprehension come under your hand for the giving
your [illegible] to it.   I am

Your unfeinedly loving humble
Brother, friend, & servant Jo: Hamp[illegible]

I have a saltnes in my mouth as it is after a man hath had allo[m]
in it, wch Dr Ridgly judged to be a scorbutique ~~[illegible]~~ palsy & dangerous; but because
I should have asked your advice about it above any: but [illegible]
attributed it rather to Medicine I generally think it is still [illegible]
let all alone. I am also most grievously troubled with the cram[p]
or a cramp [illegible] I doubt from the same cause: but I am
strong otherwise & can goe from one end of the house to the other.

Theſe

For the Reverend Mr Rich:
Baxter at his houſe
in Charter houſe yard

Deare & Ever Honoured Sir.

Langford – July ye 16th 1673

Though I have too long delayed this my Answer to your last most welcom letter, yet I have not forgotten it, nor the great goodness, humility, & excellency of spirit wch you therein discover. You are pleased at first to express great goodness in so kindly accepting, commending & encouraging the sentiments & resolutions expressed in my last letter. And as your first most serious & pious letter in some measure gave birth unto them, so may this last according to its good designe foster & cherish them, & may I ever enjoy the benefitt and assistance of your serious & quickning considerations, & fervent prayers in order to their faithfull & effectuall pursuite. For surely this as it will stand me more in stead than all ye preferrements or glory of the world, according to your most true prediction, so Gods holy spirit ever preventing & assisting me it shall be ye cheife desire & endeavour of my life.

As for your exemplary humility in putting back all ye just praises due unto you for the great gifts & graces of God in you, & in taking occasion from my sparing mention of ym in my last the more to abhorre your selfe, and to call to minde your guilts & imperfections, I should have wondered thereat had I not remembred that herein you follow ye example of ye best of saints in scripture, of Job, of David, of Paul &c. And you know who called and accounted himselfe without dissimulation the cheife of sinners & ye least of all saints. You know that no small measure of Divine Illumination, & selfe-acquaintance leades ye soule into a sincere selfe-abhorrence, and that as it is with ye Bodily Eye, the more tender & perfect it is, ye more sensible it is of ye least mote yt doth offend it, never resting till it hath wept it out, so it is with ye enlightened eye of ye sanctifyed mind, the more cleare it is ye more it discernes and is offended with the least sin yt defiles & obstructs ye soule, the more it leades ye soule, as God did once Ezekiel (Ezek. 8th) in another case, into ye discovery of farther & greater hidden abominations. Assuredly the reason why your conscience accuseth you more than yt of many Christians is not because your ~~[illegible]~~ guilts are so many & great, much less more and greater than others, but because you more examine its recordes, & have discerned more degrees, kindes & aggravations of sin in your selfe than others destitute of your experience, illumination from God, & diligence in searching doe or can. And if you are awakened into a great selfe-abhorrence at ye perusing of ye recordes of your conscience, how much more should others, & I in particular be affrighted and amazed at their search, whose omissions to say no more so far surpass yours, & whose ~~[illegible]~~ culpable weakness & want of experience in my Christian warfare, & whose slothfulness in my race, cause me so oft and alas too easily to succumb, faint & start aside. Had I that divine strength, yt naturall & acquired vigour, and skill, yt long experience in my great work wch you ~~[illegible]~~ through Gods infinite mercy & goodness (to others as well as your selfe) have arrived to and are endued with, surely my complaints and accusations of my selfe would be attended, all, with acknowledgments and high praises of Gods ~~[illegible]~~ great Grace & goodness to me. And doubtless they are so attended with you. But alas my ~~[illegible]~~ deplorable sloath in my holy race and work, & my many & great swervings [illegible] will cause me to goe mourning even all my dayes, & if my penitentiall teares mix'd with Christs bloud doe at length but wash away my daily guilts, that will be all.

Now whereas you in great Humility putt of all my praises of your selfe, they are thereby the more become your due. And though it be a testimony of your great mortification not to incline to praise others, or to receive their praises, unless more rarely & to a good end, yet I presume that upon ye designe of exciting others to thankfulness for, and a further improvement of any gift or grace of God, & in order to this good end as to your selfe, you can & doe give ym, & ought to receive ym. And though the praise be devolved on Gods great gifts & graces in you yet you know yt God a[illegible] yt these should be called in some sort our works & endowments, & that they shall be reckoned [illegible] rewarded as such if wee have been ye obsequious & willing instruments in performing ym. If praise ought to follow all good & excellent actions as their reward, ~~[illegible]~~ surely then it should follow ye workes of those who have done & designed so much good to the world as you. And you know yt ye Apostle in ~~[illegible]~~ saying yt his Corinthians should have commended him, 2 Cor. 12. v. 11, intimateth that to a Faithfull laborious Minister of ye word (if to any) praise is due & should be given. You know in how ample a manner Clemens in ye Beginning of his Ancient Epistle to ye Corinth. praiseth ym; & that if ~~[illegible]~~ wee are to follow those things yt are of a good report, then surely there are some things wch are of good report, & to wch it must be given. But yet I would learne with you not to make praising others my designe. I would learne rarely & wisely to commend, & to ye end forementioned. For surely wee have reason generally to be most severe in our censure of & carriage towardes our selves and others, especially considering how sad a truth yt is wch you adde, viz That ye world still lyeth in wickedness, yea now more than ever. And wt pious soule yt truly attends to ye greatest needes of men but must be employed rather in lamenting over than praising, and reproving ye most of men, yea ye most of Xians. And I have oft with sorrow (not to say with delight) joyned with you in this necessary work whilst I have read & considered some of your Writings & particularly that pathetic~~all~~ lamentation over a dark vain, defiled & debauched world towards ye latter end of ye first part of your Reasons of ye Xian Religion.

As for the conciliatory work wch I presume it now in ye press, I doubt not but yt multitudes (besides Mr Corbett & me ~~[illegible]~~ who are most concerned so to doe) will heartily thank you for it. The book I long to see, & shall send for it out of hand supposing it may be extant, & the more I desire it not only for ye sake of you ye Author & ye Argument, but also by reason of ye excellent comprehensive & satisfactory method of it. As for a late persuasive to peace & unity going under Dr Conants name I have those groundes to believe it to be his. By Conformists & non-conformists here it is taken to be his, & I was told yt it is his by a Fellow of Wadham College & Dr Whitby both wch know him & his style. And I also knowing his style, & having oft heard him in his Allhallowes-lectures in Oxford preach on ye 13th of ye first of ye Cor. on Charity, and reading severall of ye notions & sentences in this book yt I heard fro him there, cannot but judge ye book to be his. Besides it hath Mr Parkers Imprimatur & no Epistle before it. He beginneth with [illegible] Directions to Peace & unity. After wch he spendes ye whole book in upbraiding three Grand dividing [illegible]. I shall be glad to see ye Book of Loyalty (wch you mention) with your Imprimatur, not doubt[illegible] true Loyalty of many silenced Ministers. As for Mr Chadwick though I never knew [illegible] him before I saw yours, yet I have enquired concerning his state of a Countryman [illegible] came here to see me who told me yt he was informed wt a better condition now. That I [illegible] an opportunity of fulfilling yet farther ye desires of your letter concerning him. As for [illegible] which you mention in your letter I have seen it & read some part of it, & judge [illegible]

Excellent use, unless ye laziness and waywardness of these Age render it of little use by not perusing it. The Nonconformists here with two or so of ye cheife of their congregations [illegible] by ye Mayor & Recorder [illegible] act Conventicle [illegible] ye City Recorder [illegible]

My Lord & Lady present their best respects to you & Mrs Baxter, of whome we often make mention. Now it is [illegible] to heare from you, & of you, of your health & welfare, as those whome ye [illegible] much desire [illegible]

[illegible] Nonefficient, as if [illegible] what we meant [illegible]

[illegible] in the chapter throughout. Sir I presume you will [illegible]

5

These
For ye Reverend Mr Richard
Baxter at Mr Simons his
house Bookseller at the
Princes-Armes in St
Paules-Church-yard
London.

2

Deare & Reverend brother
There have no lines these many yeares come to my hands more welcome than
your Letter & Index, so exceeding desireable to me is yͤ right performance of yͭ
great & noble worke: I know yͭ abundance of attempters have given little
satisfaction: But yet there is place for hope: & it gladdeth me to find some yet de-
sirous to end our broiles & to perceive yͤ healing worke going on. As to my own
part I must give you this briefe account of it: Being in hand with a Latine
Methodus Theologiæ, I found reason to be more large about these controversies
then was congruous to yͤ frame of yͭ Treatise: And yͤ heates & censorious-
nesse of English men (yea & women) agt each other about yͤ bare ~~yͭ~~ names
of free will, power, sufficient grace &c are so great & dividing & pernici-
ous yͭ I resolved to do what I did in English: And so I have written a
Tract: in three parts: 1° The Healing Principles laid down in Connexed
Theses 1° About yͤ Decrees, 2° Gods Morall Operations & Lawes, 3° His Phy-
sicall transient operations on yͤ soule. The 2d Part is a Dialogue in
ten daies Conference, between yͤ Arminian & yͤ Reconciler & Antiar-
minian & yͤ Reconciler upon yͤ five Articles: The third part will
some disputes agt Extreames. That wch I endeavour is to prove yͭ in
4 first Articles, 1° setting apart yͤ meere Verball Controversies, 2° &
unsearchable points, there remaineth either no difference, or scarce
discernable if any: And in yͤ 5th Artic. yͤ reall difference is not such as
should make any breach of charity or Comunion. It is onely those yͭ
hold to yͤ Synod of Dort & yͤ sober Arminians yͭ I pretend to Reconcile,
And therefore dispute agt yͤ unreconcileable extreames on both sides,
Especially such as Episcop. yͭ deny Originall sin &c & yͤ Predetermi-
nation of Dr Twisse Mr Rutherford & yͤ Dominicans, ~~&c~~
I conjecture by your Index yͭ in much we shall agree, but not in all
For x I defend yͤ Trinity of Principles in man as Gods Image, & con-
sequently in God, as analogically named, And so yͭ we must conceive
of a Potentia Activa vel Vita as distinct from yͤ Intellect & will
God; wch Activity is executive ad extra. Not yͭ these are Accidents
God (nor in man) nor Really diverse, but such Conceptus inadequa
a Connotatione objectorum, et denominationis extrinseca as we
must necessarily use: And by yͤ same reason as you distinguish In-
llect & will we must distinguish both from Divine Activity, or Vi-
th Active Power, wch ad extra is executive. Yet God operateth only
Essentiam, neq datur Influxus aliquis realis inter Essentiam Divinā
effectum: And when you say yͭ yͤ Divine Volition is Efficient
you must either hold yͭ Volitio simpliciter quâ talis efficit
[illegible] I thinke: or else yͭ yͤ efficient Volition so differs
[illegible] Nonefficient, as I needed what we meant
[illegible] in the chapter throughout. Sir I professe you will readily [illegible]
who am one that have bin shewed my owne weaknes already enough to [illegible]

of executive activity is included in ye former (only) & ye Controversy is only
de nomine.
|| I Conjecture yt you lay your greatest stresse on some notion of Permission,
wch suppose th it an Act: If an Act indeed be so called it may be lis de no
mine; but another name may be found to state ye Controversy clearly.
For my part by Permission (not in sensu politico, sed physico) I understand
only Non-Impedire: wch I take to be no action, and nothing. And yt nihi
non habet causam, neq: causat. And yt in ye Doctrine of Reprobation & ye
will of God about sin, we have confounded our selves by feigning volitions, po
sitive, & operations de nihilo; & millions of millions of Decrees of Negatives
& non-Entityes. But as I do not understand you fully by your Index,
I canot hope to be understood by you much lesse. But I greatly rejoice, fo
your purpose & endeavour, & shall more rejoice to see it published, though
in many things our Conceptions should differ. I am not so much agt Du-
randus, a Dola, Strangius as you seeme to be: But how my mind might
be changed, if I saw yours, I know not. But I dare not encourage you
to delay, or to hazard your papers by sending ym so far. Our Nonconfor
ministers are so poore yt they canot buy many bookes; & so taken up
wth meere preaching to ye people, yt few of ym study or are seen in thes
Controversies: The greatest part of ye Conformists study & know ym
much lesse. So yt Latine bookes of such subjects have so few buyers, yt boo
sellers will scarce venture to print ym, unlesse they be very small:
About 11 or 12 yeares ago your Bp. Forbes put a large one into my ha
on ye same subject: But so big & obscure yt I could not tell him how i
would be printed: But I conjecture by your Index yt yours would g
better off: But ye forreigne war hindereth ye passage of Latin books
I could wish ye Controversy had never come into ye world & I endea
vour to drive ym out againe: But not by ignorant contempt, &
slothfull neglecting ym. ||
Your Daily Sacrifice I have now sent to get, but never heard of it be
fore: If I thought your Treatise would shortly come abroad, I wou
delay ye publication of mine in hope ~~in hope~~ of better information

Your kind expressions to my selfe, signify more of your can
dour & charity than my desert: If my writings may have but im
partiall consideration & pardon of unwilling mistakes, it is ye hi
est I can reasonably expect. And I desire not yt any should erre
with me where I erre. Wee are neere ye glorious reconcileing
light, where all these Controversies are out of date, & ye uncha
effects of ym are abhorred. The Lord preserve & helpe an
you. I rest

Your unworthy fellow servant
Ri: Baxter

12. 1673

To Mr Al. Pitcarne Minister at Dron
in Strathern in Scotland, sometime
Professor of Philosophy at St Andrews

London the 4th of Jan: 1659
67

Worthy Sir

I have ~~[illegible]~~ forborne to write to you ~~considerable~~ time
lest I should be troublesome, and I dare doe so no longer lest
I should be judged negligent. I have delivered unto Mr
Hodgkin and desired for him your 2 writing papers, his
Judgment hee hath ~~not~~ yet declared, and whether hee will
write any thing to you I doe not yet knowe. [illegible]
the Anabaptists have had severall meetings and doe still
continue them being desirous to bring their people to com-
munion with the godly ministry of England though
they should not yet come to communion in the Supper. For my
part I am not amongst them, but my Brother Allen is. I
am not, because it is judged my presence would doe harme
having openly preached the difference between the two
waies of baptisme not to be [illegible], but that they may be called
the Baptisme ~~[illegible]~~ standing. And that though I have
not practised the baptisme of Infants, yet I would
not preach a sermon against it for all the gold in the
world. My Brother Allen standeth his ground as to
that point, but not with halfe the courage that hee did here-
fore. ~~[illegible]~~ After my owne [illegible] having found my selfe so great-
ly outreached by Satan in the point of Communion, it makes
mee fearfull and diffident of the other point also, and
now that I am brought low in my owne eies by the sight of my
great folly I ~~[illegible]~~ tremble to leane to my owne understanding ~~and~~
against the Judgment and practise of the Universall Church of God,
alas I see now I am nothing I am vile, not able to make up a
Judgment in a difficult case. I now evidently perceive tis an un-
governed pride is the cause of heresy and schisme, how humble
soever men may seeme to themselves or others. I was wont
to thinke I could doe what man could doe heretofore, but now I see and
experience that without X I can doe nothing. I want not only the
common assistance of the Spirit to answer the common duties of our day
but the extraordinary assistance to answer the evill of the evill day
Ephes. 13 The day of the devills roaring 1 Pet 5. winnowing
Luke. Buffeting 2 Cor. , Satan hath all voids of an
unquiet spirit [illegible]. if hee cannot get possession by wiles and [illegible]
hee will try by stormes. now the stormy approaches of Sa-
tan call for being strengthened with all might, Ephes 6
God hath [illegible] and what is hee, my desire is according strong
of the [illegible] [illegible] by experience, —
I have had grievous trouble of spirit since I wrote my last
not able to delight in God, only feare his majesty [illegible]
[illegible], As for the present state of my affaires in relation to the Church

---

to joine it with the hande of [illegible]

[illegible] way, Beginning, or entrance into a state of salvation
submitt to mee in the chapter throughout. Sir I presume you will candidly interpret what I
as one that have bin shewed my owne weakness already enough to keepe mee from

matters stand thus, the church through the instigation of some
abroad could have found in their hearts to have excommunicated me
~~for heresy~~, but having nothing against me but my opinion and th
having prevailed upon my Brother [illegible], to exhort the disjointed me
to deliver my argument for assent, and half perswaded another
eminent leader that was to exhort also the distracted me to
deliver them for an answer, they at last concluded to dissolve
the Church by consent taking Care of the poore, but some
of the Church for all that, desired me to continue preaching to
them till midsummer, which I was willing to do. Now
god the evill I feared I perceive doth come, that is some of them
doth turne quakers. oh dreadfull for it is a dreadfull thing to be
pushed off the communion of the church [illegible] and so being
given [illegible] out of love at the standing ministry, which I never
saw the evill of. and am thinking how and which way I may
bring them in home again. By what I have said you may
perceive how many of god's thoughts ~~[illegible]~~ touching
my case is accomplished. you said that with standing all my troubles
I must not continue a divided ~~church~~, I was in great care how
to get off without intollerable trouble of spirit and a blott, But
the lord hath heard my prayer, and much helped me through most
of my difficulties, ~~[illegible]~~ come to my hand a way is opened for me
by their own hand, and I find indifferent satisfaction in it. Supposing
it be for the will of god, I runne to the 1 Cor 12. 25. where I am set
by the [illegible], and pressing over that text v 17 [illegible] 21 I get
ease and some rest, My old friends have quite forsaken me, and
do think ~~[illegible]~~ and wait for some fearfull judgment of god to befall
me, and the rather because I have insisted on the argument of gods
Judgments upon the ringleaders of Anabaptisme both in Germany and
at home as an awakening consideration to them to renounce the
grounds of their separating principles, —
But now what step shall I take next, what thoughts shall I think
what words shall I speak, what act shall I do, that I may honour
my saviour, oh that I could tell what would please him, I am waiting
for the mercy promised 25 Ps. to the man that feareth ~~him~~ the lord,
god hath promised to shew him the way hee shall chuse, I live in
but much pressed with insensibility
the Contemplation of the 4 last things, &c. how comes it to passe,
that almost all men say they believe hell torments to be reall and
eternall, and ~~[illegible]~~ yet hardly any body bestirreth them at all
for their own or other mens salvation as if such a thing were had, for
my own part, I am confounded at my own insensibility of future
I speake often of them, because I think much of them, but my faith
of them is but weake, surely if I were in the sight of the damned
burning in unquenchable fire, and hearing those yellings of
damned that weeping wailing and gnashing of teeth spoken of by
13 Luke 28. ~~what~~ I say if but one houre one word in the
thereof. what would my sences be then, My faith is so weak

that it doth not stirre the passions. ~~I~~ halfe enough. Faith
moved ~~moved~~ feare in Noah, Heb. 11. 7. and faith with a fuller dulle
moved paule to bestirre himselfe. 2 Cor 5. 10. 1 Cor 9. 26. and
Coloss. 1. 28. warning every man, ~~and~~ teaching every man that we
might present every man perfect in Christ, &c. and Faith is that
that moveth you to bestirre yourselfe so prudently to the converting
of the ministers and people throughout the Nation, some of yr
brethren admire and endeavour a little to imitate you, others ~~and~~
those of nothy, harsh, and lazy spirits are ready to quarrell
at you, ~~the~~ though god sometimes judgeth them; That worke
you have made at Kidderminster makes some ~~men~~ wiser of our
own Baptists to thinke that the Nationall Church might bee
brought to something. you cannot imagine the influence ~~of~~
your doings hath to the unity of all parties. this I write
not to flatter you, god knoweth, ffor I knowe that you have
nothing but what you have received. you have nothing to boast of
All you have is of Grace 1 Cor 15. 10. All is duty. however
it is a blessed encouragement to find god prospering our worke.
not to trouble you ~~with~~ further at this time, I leave you in the armes of him
whose spirit filleth you, from whom all the divells in hell
are not able to pluck you, I rest. Farewell Deare Sir,
From a poore unlearned shattered, cowardly creature, but I hope god
will owne me for his through Christ, and in him for yr Brother though
but a babe and unworthy

Tho. Lambe

Sweet mr Baxter, many are the dayes wee have passed since the lord put it into my
hart to writ to you, truely yr directions ^by letters have been of so great use to my
Deer husband that I cannot expresse what thankes I doe owe unto you
and unto god for you, and other his help afforded, and were it not
for trobling of you I could fill a sheat with the perticular distreses and
those promises we have run unto for refuge wch we have found to be faith-
full and true sayings: who can declare the mercyfull kindnes of our god
who keepeth covenant and mercy for ever with those that fear him,
or the faithfulnes our saviour head, husband, sheepheard physitt &c
in all, that he hath undertaken to be unto his, or the influences,
supports, quickenings intercessions, comforts of that holy spirit, who I desire
to adore admire and praise for ever. so Sr I am farther confirmed
by my late experience that god is, and that he is a rewarder of those
that diligently seek him, and I doe desire to be yet further de-
voted to his feare and faithfull service. we are waiting what our god
would have us doe. if your time would permitt you, to write your
thoughts (so fare as you can judge at such a distance) wt god expects from my
husband too, it might be of use he is so apt to dispond and doubt whether
god will use him in his service. thus Sr wth my thankfull service I rest
yours in our lord. B. L. 188

To mr Rich: Baxter
minister of Gosple
at Kiderminster

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2 Post

Worthy Sr,

Its now severall weeks since I received by Mr Simmons yor Treatise of selfe denyall (a point I much desired to see well handled) in the reading of wch I must needs acknowledge my desire to be abundantly satisfied and my expectation to be more then answered. As he said, no man could doe such miracles except God were with him, so I verily beleeve that unlesse you had been very much favoured with the assistance of Gods spirit, and been more then ordinarily conversant wth the various motions & issues of mans heart, and in examining the whole element of sin been assisted by yor [illegible], you could never have made so full & plaine a discovery of the sin of selfishnesse, and these many particularities of it wch seeme so remote from the common thoughts not only of common men but (as I think) of the generallity ~~of the~~ saints themselves (yea & more then so) as now you have done: nor could you have brought into such an open view those rare & most spirituall straines of the christian life, nor ever have sett them off wth such an edge as you have done, had not the spirit carryed you into the inner Court. Surely they cannot but glorifie God for that he hath given such gifts to men, when they read this booke, who desire to purifie themselves as he is pure, ~~when they [illegible]~~ and who love to growe [illegible] of grace, that no measure [illegible] in mortalls will satisfie them but still thinke themselves poore so long as they have not their [illegible] of [illegible] holinesse: who are wont to be more troubled at irregular motions in their soules, then other saints & they themselves sometimes have been given [illegible] were saints with actuall & visible failings; and who if it were possible, would ascend the state of immortality itselfe. They now discovered of many excellent straines of holinesse wch [illegible] how they will meet wth, will both gratifie & quicken their desire, as a new discovery of opportunities of gaine doth the covetous. He that is truely in love wth holinesse & such and shall not make a mighty advantage by being conversant with this booke, will deceive my expectation. How often have I been ready to blush in the reading of yor [illegible] and been laid full close in my owne syde, and let the same [illegible] as high againe in desires & resolutions. If ~~[illegible]~~ my foolish heart deceive me not as it hath done too often I hope to be much against it. I know the birth of this [illegible] it followeth it is not without sore travell but it is a mercy [illegible] those that travell to the [illegible] and whose [illegible] to [illegible] and to that reward [illegible] doe [illegible] yet in [illegible] what in our [illegible] the nature and will answer [illegible] of [illegible] faithfull labourers, the thankfull number of all yor gainfull & faithfull labours [illegible] though it hath much of my heart in it, is but a slender returne for a thing of so great worth as is the booke wch you have been pleased to bestow upon me. If it will be any requitall to you to seeke to propagate & spread it, and [illegible] sett forth diligently to [illegible] it and to put it into the hands of severall, it is a thing [illegible]

which I acknowledge I have some measure of ze
As to our Nationall affairs is it not wonderfull to
see so many changes, & following so fast one upo
another? Those that but the other day were so hig
as to think they could metamorphize the Governm
of 3 Nations and give them Lawes, are now all o
a sudden fallen so lowe as to be glad of a pard
for their presumption, if they can obtaine it. The Lo
and their adherents
grant that the shame they have brought upon
themselves ~~and~~ may facilitate their repentan
Though the late interrupted members of Parliament
are againe restored to their Session in Parliam
(which is somewhat marvellous to see) yet wee see
~~[illegible]~~ on every side under ~~[illegible]~~ as great and in
preference to many under farre greater dissatisfactio
as seen before. The Sectarian party (if I may sho
unseemlily use that expression) wch were the chief
of their strength, having lately faced about (for so
might yet I think) and handsomely appeared on the
side that betrayed their trust, & have acted in
such unfaithfulness, ~~and~~ the consciousness of wch
from
will hardly suffer them to expect that countenance
they formerly have had, but rather the contrary
wch I see (makes them apt to quarrell at some
as well as others. And though I believe the Parli
ment would gladly fall in wth the Presbyterian in
terest if that side would but owne them & fall
wth them; yet I perceive a generall thirst on
hand, untill the secluded members ~~be~~ may be re
ceived, and that will hardly be, unless some expedie
be condescended to wch may be a possible security to
those in present possession of the power. And if that
to strengthen themselves they will be necessitated to
fall in againe wth libertines &c. and what the conseq
of that may be in reference to the affaires of the
gospel, is not hard to guesse, beside the probabili
of new broiles that are likely thereupon to ensue
I presume a filling up of the house by new elections,
be attempted, if no expedient be found for the admission
of the secluded. But doubtlesse the readmission of them
be more satisfactory to the Nation in generall and
more likely to bring [illegible] to settle in matters so far
(if it be meet to be so particular in [illegible]
above me) I could wish that yor selfe and worthy
members
that have interest in the secluded members, mediate
for a condescention so farr as wth safety to consci
they can, and to beare with inconveniencies, where

by ~~wch~~ greater mischeifs may be avoided. /
20 & odd of the secluded members, went this weeke at
the house to demand admission, and have since
printed a Narrative of that affair. The house
at the same time passed a vote to take their busi
nesse and the recruting of the house into con
sideration on the 5th Jan. and in the meane
while have referred it to a committee to
report it. But the coming forth of this
Narrative to day from the secluded members,
make me feare a non agreement. Truely
Sr our distractions are such, and we so sur/
rounded with difficulties & dangers, that were
it not that I beleive God hath many in these
nations which are deare to him, & which are the
great interest of Nations, I should have little
hope of deliverance. And though we know
not scarce in what way to expect salvation,
yet the Lord knows how to deliver the godly
out of temptations. Sr, That you by yr faithfull
& wise counsell, fervent intercession, and inter
in God, may be yet more & more wth other wo
thide of yr Lord, the chariots of England and the
horsemen thereof, is the prayer of

Lond. 30. Dec: 1659

Yor very much obliged
Christian friend & servant
Will: Allen

Sr, Lest you meeting wth my name wth many
others formerly in severall books as appointed
Comissrs for the Militia of London by the
late Comission of Array, should suspect me
guilty &c I hereby give you to understand,
that I was so farre from acting under that
~~that~~ new power, that I wth many more Citizens
of London went to Lord Fleetwood and the rest
of the officers to beare my testimony against
their proceedings, and to desire them to withdraw
their force from the parliament doore.

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way, Beginning or entrance, wth a state of salvation! /

To the Reuerend and
his worthy good friend
Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of Christ
In
Kedderminster

Post pd

Vol. 1
BAXTER
LETTERS

fol. 191 of Baxter Letters in volume s

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Most worthy Sir

I sent to you, a pretty while since, a large letter, with my thankes to you for the booke you sent mee; I doe not know whether you received the same, but I was in some hope, that I should at your leasure (or may have yet) some few lines back from you. The summe of what I writ to you was this, that although those arguments you have put in, to prove that none but the regenerate believer hath any right to the sacraments bee very many & pressing, yet there seemes to mee to remaine some truth on the contrary side, & that it would bee better in my minde, that the matter as to the maine, were suffered to goe that way, if by any meanes it can. To this effect, I shall not adde any thing now more to what I have said there, but only propose these two or three questions wch I desire you not to thinke strange to thinke on: if I expresse not my selfe cleare in my meaning I know your present apprehension will helpe mee out therein.

1. Whereas uppon the profession of a regenerate faith you will account a man a Christian whether hee hath it or no, but will not uppon any profession that is lesse; And wee are ready uppon the profession only of the true religion in opposition to all others, with subjection to the ordinances (discipline, & worship, such as are going) to account him a Christian, without any inquiry, as to his regeneration at all: whether or no doth not the matter lye indeed in our owne handes (seeing the thing is but our owne account, & it is but visible membership, or the outward Christian which wee speake of) to make it as wee will: or to let it goe soe, as will serve the good & peace of the church best.

2. Whereas you suppose the unregenerate professor to have a right in foro ecclesiae, but not in foro dei; and that though the church [illegible] is to act according to his standing in foro ecclesiastico, yet hee, for his owne part, is to act only according to his standing in foro dei: then may not this bee questioned, wch you take for granted; to wit why the Court of the church should not include the man himselfe, as others, and so hee bee to act, as to externall communion, accor-

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ding to his right wch is visible, as the church does, in the meane while adiudging himselfe towards god, in a due sense & conuiction of his condition, how it internally fares with him.

3. whereas you suppose a man must bee esteemed according to his profession, & so should oppose, that a man must professe no lesse then a regenerate faith, repentance, obedience, & then if hee professe so much wch hee hath not, you will haue him to bee reputed a member, saint, sanctified, redeemed, aforesaid &c. Whether or no, wee may not esteeme a man to bee more then his professes: that is when hee professes himselfe to bee one that ownes the christian religion to bee the only true religion & so ioynes himselfe to the church, submitting to her regimen and gouernment in all things outwardly, & professes no more then this, I say, why may not wee here upon mercifully iudge of him or reckon him in true esteeme, a christian, saint, one in Christ &c. surely me thinkes, this is not unreasonable, that upon the least beginnings, so long as they tend thereunto, (& so farre as the profession is true) wee should bee beforehand with them in our charity, without limiting the same necessarily to what a man professes only. So our British diuines in the synod of Dort. De 5. Art. viz. de persev. Sanc. Thes. 1. Quibusdam non electis conceditur quaedam illuminatio supernaturalis, cuius virtute intelligunt ea quae in verbo dei annunciantur esse vera, iisdemque assensum praebent minime simulatum. Thes. 2. In iisdem, ex hac cognitione et fide, oritur affectuum quaedam mutatio, et morum aliqualis emendatio. Thes. 3. Ex his initialibus, etiam per externa obedientiae opera testatis, sumuntur, et ex charitatis iudicio sumi debent, pro credentibus, iustificatis, sanctificatis./

I pray Sir present my loue & kind respects to that right honest man my old collegiate Mr Sargeant, & accept from mee my thankfulnes for all your fauours./

The bottome of all Sir you see is but to saue a lye./

Your most respectfull friend
& seruant. Jo. Humfrey./

BAXTE
LETTE

Fol. 193 of Baxter Letters in

For the Reverend Mr Rich:
Baxter, Min. of Kidderminster
in Worcestershire

these.

80 Froome. May. 11th 1654.

Most worthily honoured Sir

Although I may not bee thought worthy your trouble to read this paper, & doe almost begrudge it my selfe, that you should bee put to the expence of so much (more preciously to bee bestowed) time about mee; yet must I crave the leave & pardon to make some request to you. I must confesse my selfe of the number of those, I pray god forgive it, that doe provoke him, to take you from us, by our over-esteeme of you, & I shall not satisfy my selfe, till I have seene your face in the flesh, that you may impart to mee some spirituall gift, to the end I may bee established, by the mutuall faith, both of you & mee.

Sir. There was two sermons of mine went to the presse in a little booke, about the admission to the Sacrament. Unto this, Dr Drake put in an answer; unto him, I returned my Rejoynder; I am not assured you have seene them all, but I am apt to beleeve it, upon relation. Now my petition to you is, that you will candidly give mee a few of your thoughts that lye uppermost as to this controversy; and not so only, but that you will give mee your serious advice & counsell, for my heart is much afraid of doing any hurt to the church of god with many zealous men are ready to charge mee withall. Good Sir! what doe you thinke I had best to doe! There are some London ministers (they say) answering mee againe; if I am in an error, I am most glad to bee answered, & I hope shall bee willing (if it bee judged necessary) to acknowledge it; if I have the truth on my side (as many humble spirits thinke) shall I let it fall! or will any abler men manage it better! I doe not know. Truly methinks Mr Gillespi his Aarons Rod blossoming, on wch men ordinarily trust, is more eminent for the mans learning & authority, then acute or cogent in his judgment; for my owne part I confesse my reading is nothing, & I must pre-desire you to bee tender in your good advice to mee, for your words will ~~[illegible]~~ stick very much upon mee, who am a man of a melancholish frame little looked upon, & little deserving. Those that see mee & doe not know mee, doe not like mee & speake evill of mee, those that doe know mee, thinke ~~better~~ otherwise of mee then they should; But god that knows my heart & judges aright, knows I am one that bewails my corruptions, that I willingly acknowledge my owne weaknesses & insufficiencyes, & that I doe something affectionately esteeme it the only happines for a man to fit himselfe to doe the busines of god alwaies, living under a quick sense of his presence, & rejoycing in the wages the worke it selfe brings with it; for as for the unexpressable glory to come, methinks that is a thing my heart dares but now & then aspire unto; truly I could even bee contented to bee annihilated for ever after, upon condition I could have an undoubted beliefe of the whole gospell with an assurance & sincerity of heart in the practise thereof, & so rejoyce in the testimony of a good conscience all my dayes of this life, ~~[illegible]~~ enjoying but that pleasure the service of god (in such an apprehension) would afford mee! But Alas! the truth is, the thoughts (many times) of the life affections of all men upon the earth in their severall religions; then, the doctrine of gods decrees in the eternall election & reprobation of particular persons; with, the misterious worke of Regeneration, & how the doctrine of good works hath hung in our protestant divinity (before your Aphorismes put some reason in it) I doe acknowledge with the deepest sense of my temptations, have made my life uncomfortable, not so much in slackning my devotions ~~towards~~ within my selfe, but hindering my endeavour as to the good of others; for when as I can resolve as for my owne part to venture my everlasting estate upon the religion I have bin bred to, in such, on such a course wch seemes to mee the best; I am often afraid to discompose ~~[illegible]~~ others, & cut them to the quick, but doe feele some pitty even at the bottome of my heart, to see the hearts, cares, & burdens of their spirits, least they should bee mistaken in all of it./ I hope you will make a charitable interpretation of my speaking this to you;

Good Sir! I hope to have a word from you to refresh the weary; I would you should put up one prayer or two for mee, for one that desires to bee confirmed more in foundation truths agt carnall reasonings & temptations, & so bee made more instrumentall unto gods glory. I beseech you disdaine not so much naked love & trust on you.

Sir, I am even now reading a booke of one Mr Crandon agt your Aphorismes, it much offends mee to see what manner of spirit men are of; I soone perceive, I am like to loose my money & time to boote; but nevertheles methinks I ought rather to blesse god for it, on your behalfe, 1. because the lord doth honour you highly to suffer for a good conscience, & modestly for your endeavours after ~~[illegible]~~ truth and (if indeed) peace. 2. because, this doth heavily give you occasion to exercise many sweete affections, & those graces wch otherwise might have layne still. Oh Sir! what a deale of humility is to bee exercised here! but ~~[illegible]~~, no disdaine; All others will condemne the man when they see his railing weaknes (wch hee acknowledges) but you must pitty it, & not fit your wit to his, poore man, that thought to doe god good service by it. 3. because I hope this hath awakened you with a loud call to vindicate & cleere up some truths of yours, wch otherwise might have gone to bed againe, before they had done their worke. 4 because, this mans language (& some other more conceited mens) is a good allay to those over high imaginations wee were apt to have of you; I must tell you truly, I have lately bin enquiring after you, with

way, beginning, or entrance, into a state of salvation!/

in the chapter throughout. Sir I presume you will candidly interpret what

Good Sir let mee againe beseech you to pardon mee this great boldnes, that am wholy a stranger (unles in my heart) to you, & that you will bee pleased to find mee a time to send mee back a few lines from you (passing over my weaknesses), & direct it for John Humfry Min: of Froome in Somersetshire — I have this with Mr Lawrence his Bookseller at the black Swan gate in London for ye afforesaid; I hope you will not bee [illegible] for this, or if I take the same time to come to see you./

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many feares (for we heare of your weaknesse) that the Lord would take you from us, seing we are so ready to make an Idoll of you, as if the Lord could not raise other instruments, to doe his worke, as well as you, when you have served your generation. And yet I hope in the tender mercyes of god that he will heare the poore prayers of many unknowne to you, to preserve your life till you have perfected the promised worke of revising your aphorismes, wch is so much expected & desired of judicious men. There is one thing I observe Crandon accuses you of, for not being determinate in what you deliver, whereas in my apprehension, the thing in your writings wch seemes most grating, is that you seeme to bee somtimes too dogmaticall & confident, wch though in some respects & some few particulars it may have its speciall use, yet for the most part a few mollifying words & submission will take better

But I shall trespasse; One thing I have to ~~signify~~ consult wth you. There is one John Timson, husbandman, who it seemes is a man that followes the plow all day & studyes, & then writes downe his thoughts & reades at night, A man that serves Mr Bolton, & is very eminent for his piety & feare of god, (as I heare) wch makes me much to regard ~~the~~ him, (as being the wonder of some ministers if they say right) This man hath wrote a booke wch he calls a vindication of Mr Humfreys free admission, wherein there is one materiall point ~~here~~ to the purpose, that you & I differ from him; It is this, I perceive he judges that the syllogisme you have framed does not containe the whole, the sacramt seales. Faith & repentance seeing hee is the purchase of the death of Christ Act 3.26. et 5.31. & therefore a benefit part of the covenant in Christ blood wch the sacrt represents, uppon wch, joyning with Mr Drake (that hath written so too) me thinkes he argues invincibly ad hominem. But ~~[illegible]~~ I have conceived the first grace flowes from Election, not the covenant. My reasons are, 1. Because otherwise All that are in covenant all Christians (that receive the sacrt) must have this first grace given them (& so be all saved) seeing the first grace is absolute & not given uppon any qualifications. Hee whosoever the covenant or promise belongs unto, must have that wch is promised to him absolutely, without condition, or else the promise & seale is not true, if the covenant did promise any thing at all absolutely. 2. Because I judge that faith is not the purchase of Christs death at least, as redemption, admission, & salvation is, (methinkes it cannot bee) But onely as Christ hath merited by his death to receive all power in heaven & earth (being raised to bee a living king) hee may bee said to have purchased the giving the first grace, or bestowing the spirit, for the gathering him a church (or the kingdome hee hath thus bought) yet does hee fetch that grace hee thus bestowes (as all power is committed to him from the father) ~~from~~ out of the absolute bosome of free Election. The same absolute, eternall, free grace, that appointed Christ for the worke of our redemption, does likewise keepe the application of that redemption (For else how shall the spirit who workes this proceede both from the father & the son, not the son onely) within his owne breast, yet so as hee dispenses, & gives it out, through the hands of the mediator./ On the other side, Mr Timson conceives, that the promise of the spirit to the naturall seed of Abraham doth include all the giftes & graces thereof wch me thinkes is somthing (in a letter I had yesterday from him that hath occasioned me to consult you in this) & If the first grace bee not promised in the covenant, what difference is there betweene an unregenerate Christian being in covenant, & an heathen (wch yet the scripture makes much every way Eph. 2. 12.) seeing, the conditionall covenant (Hee that beleeves shall bee saved) belongs to all the world alike? whereas, if this honest man thinkes aright, that when a man hath once embraced the Christian faith, & is brought in covenant, hee hath now the promise (a full, whole, promise as hee saies) of the first grace uppon the use of meanes Is. 42. 18. Is. 55. 3. Mat. 7. 11. ~~wch~~ (yet freely given) wch hee had not before (~~being~~ but without hope in the world Eph. 2. 12.) then his matter seemes to bee made a cleared matter./

Sir I beseech you looke uppon that little booke of Timson wherein methinkes is discovered a plaine, solid, unadulterate judgment, & a very honest heart (one houre or 2 will reade it throughout) & bestow uppon me your present apprehensions of it, especially as to this particular; and withall, what you thinke of that Mr Blake hath put in cap. 26 in his vindiciae foederis p. 40. ad 46. about the sacrts sealing, wch seemes to me but harshly, that wch hee might have spared, though in his maine worke I much like that booke. The syllogisme hee there frames, must bee understood thus; Hee to whome I give Christ conditionally, I give justification & salvation conditionally; But to thee I give Christ conditionally. Ergo. This conditionally must bee thus ~~[illegible]~~ inserted in his meaning or otherwise there will bee 4 termes, or a proposition false; now then put his minor, & conclusion together, both wch hee sayes are sealed (I give thee Christ conditionally, & I give thee ~~Christ~~ salvation conditionally, for that must come in the conclusion, being necessarily included in the maior when you have considered it) & it comes in the matter all to this, If thou beleevest, thou art justified, & shalt bee saved, wch is the thing we plead for to bee sealed (as included) in the maior proposition. And whereas hee argues onely, If our maior, or any proposition bee sealed, it must bee in order to the conclusion, it seemes to mee but frivolous, for we doe not stand to say, the maior is sealed quoad formam, but quoad materiam, we say not, it is sealed as a proposition of a syllogisme (that the scripture frames not) but as it is the tenour of the covenant (that the gospell does hold forth) in order to individuall application./ I am Sir

~~[illegible]~~. Your unworthy but most affectionate lover & fellow-labourer. John. Humfrey./

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For the Reverend and most worthy,
Mr Richard Baxter, minister of
Kidderminster, in
Worcester-shire./

Post payd 3d

Sr this letter was left wth mee to convey to you
I have not any newes to write to take you off from
yor more serious works wch makes mee
not write any letter to yu lest this be a
double charge therefore I remayne
yors

St.

My opinion is that the receiving the doctrine of Christ where it is preached, and subjection to the ordinances, suffice to membership & consequently to all church priviledges. Vid. 2d p. 15. By the ordinances I will understand, both of worship and discipline (what is going) that is as a man embraces the christian religion in opposition to all others, so hee submits himselfe to the externall oeconomy & regimen of the church to bee ordered by her in all things & to reproofe & censure uppon any disorder; when a man does this much, what can one outwardly require more as sufficient to any society & corporation? That which mainely confirmes mee in this, besides the fitnesse & reasonablenesse of it, is that thus it was from the beginning as it seemeth to mee. for when the apostles come to any place as Philip to Samaria, it is said they preached Christ, & the ~~[illegible]~~ people beleive, give heed to the things spoken, that is receive the doctrine of Christ, then they are baptized & continue to doe as the rest doe, that is attend uppon the ordinances & are ordered by them, & so they are members. This is all, & this contents mee.

The apostle grounds the baptisme of Cornelius family on the miraculous gift of the holy ghost which ~~accepted~~ act. (Act. 10.) by those with him ~~[illegible]~~ But this gift, ~~but this gift~~ was not inseparably ~~concomitant~~ accompanied with true faith & repentance, but often times without it; ~~If the apostle grounds them~~ therefore true faith & repentance are not alwaies necessarily antecedent to baptisme as to the part of the receiver, & the profession thereof to the minister, or therefore something short of a profession of true faith & repentance, is a ground sufficient for baptisme. It is further in dispute whether the lord doth not convey ordinarily the first grace to the election of grace by the initiatory sacrament according to those knowne texts Jo. 3. 5. Eph. 5. 26. Tit. 3. 5. which are not easily put of; I suppose in this thing the current of the fathers are not with you but those you have opposed; If it bee soe, then cannot regeneration bee necessarily antecedent to baptisme, seeing baptisme is the meanes or one meanes with the word, of attaining it; and consequently that so many are agt you in this thing, unles heere & there they agree not with themselves.

I pray consider that place to the Romans in the end of the 2d & beginning of the 3d chapter, where I suppose there is something for mee or for you very pertinent. For you, there are these words. Hee is not a Jew that is one outwardly. you may assume therefore, the outward Jew, is but equivocally, nominally a Jew onely, if hee were really a Jew, how saies the apostle, hee is not a Jew? Likewise, whose praise is not of men but of god; you may assume, The outward Jew then is so onely [illegible] in reference to men, as to their esteeme or account, but not in reality, truth, or account of god. I doe not know whether you will say this is convincing, I forget if your selfe have used this text ~~[illegible]~~ to this purpose, and it is not like a thing so apposite should escape you, if indeed it bee for you. well then, let us reade on. Neither is that circumcision that is outward in the flesh. This circumcision sure was not a thing imaginary barely in mans account nominall equivocall onely, but it was a reall thing, yet is it said not to bee circumcision, in regard of the saving fruits or effects, that whilest a man did transgresse the law to which circumcision bound him, god would deale with him all one, as if hee had no circumcision; as on the contrary when the Collossians were really uncircumcised as to outward circumcision, yet having the spirituall benefits of it in Christ, Paul saies, In whome also ye are circumcised. now then the apostle saies the outward Jew is no Jew, as the outward circumcision no circumcision. I pray reade the 17 & 18 verse & there wee have the outward Jew even defined by our dogmaticall faith, wee stand uppon, Thou knowest his will thou approvest the law, thus farre, there is reality in him. So St James speaking to the outward Christian that had faith without workes. Thou beleivest that there is one god, thou doest well, marke that, thou doest well, thus farre there is Reality then in the outward Christian; If I account him now a Christian uppon this, hee is not equivocally so; if you will goe further, & account him a Christian in regards of saving grace & the spirituall benefits [illegible] he is not indeed, in ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] as you say, but a nominall equivocall Christian onely. But which [illegible] there for mee, mainely, I thus urge. The apostle heere speaking of the outward Jew, whome hee reckons as no Jew (that is no inward Jew) & that transgressed the law, so that therein hee was worse then the gentile yet moves the question uppon this immediately, what advantage then hath the Jew, even the outward Jew? & answers, much every way. Let then this title which is in controversy between us, that will justify his claime to the same. For you to say, No, this will but justify the ministers part on his claime is surely without the text or any show at all for the distinction from the place. Lex ita non distinguit, et ita non distinguendum est. And now why may not I understand this advantage belonging to the Jew uppon the account of being one of the holy, peculiar people (Deut 14. 2. &c) as separated from paganisme into fellowship in to the visible church, as uppon the account of a lying profession (which I pray in the way where did every Jew alwaies make?) of a separation from the ungodly into the fellowship of the misticall body of Christ as you expresse it. Rest. part. 4. p. 105. which distinction alone while you grant us, it is plaine that as it is true as you say that the unregenerate are not sanctified Members, Christians &c but equivocally or nominally onely in the one sense, so it is, and must bee true, as wee say too, that they are so, not equivocally or nominally onely in the other.

A man may have a dogmaticall faith say our divines & yet perish with it true doubtles Ja. 2. 19. yet doe the scripture often attribute as much to such a faith as can bee possible to any. Ro. 10. 9. 1 Jo. 5. 1. &c. If thou beleivest that god hath raised up Christ from the dead thou shalt bee saved. From hence I gather that this dogmaticall is but the same, with saving, justifying God preaches the Gospell Act that beleivers shall bee saved, & wee have beleived that wee may bee justified, and that this faith justifies or saves initially. Thou shalt bee saved, doubtles, to wit provided that beleiving this (thou art also taught to doe what Xt hath commanded) thou walkest accordingly, as I have spoken in its place, to which adde this, that hath stuck with mee. If ye beleive not that I am hee, ye shall dye in your sins. Jo. 8. 24. If this proves not that if they did but beleive that it was hee, they should bee justified from their sins, & bee saved, yet it does hold forth, that the beleiving this (which is dogmaticall onely) would justify or save them initially, that is, was the way, beginning or entrance, into a state of salvation.

it seemeth to mee in the chapter throughout. Sir I presume you will candidly interpret what

among one that have bin shewne my owne weaknes already enough to

When Paul contends that a man is iustified by the workes of the law. By the workes of the law, hee mean workes, I take it, as would iustify him according to law if hee had them, and saies no man is iustifie hereby because no man hath them, as hee proves at large both of Jew & Gentile in the first & second ch: to the Romans, and so pleades a necessity of their beleiving that they may bee iustified: But when James saies a man is iustified by workes hee meanes not workes that answer the law & such as of themselves would iustify the doer, wch no man hath, neither Abraham himselfe, & much lesse Rahab whom hee mentions, but such workes as suppose faith in the Redeemer for the reconciling of the person, & covering his imperfections. And thus the two apostles disagree not, but while one saies I conclude a man is iustified by faith without the workes of the law, & the other, You see then how by workes a man is iustif & not by faith onely, the sense of both is, that, though a man hath not the workes of the law (the work the law requires of him) wch would iustify the doer if hee did them (but it is impossible for any to have these so that if hee bee iustified at all & not condemned, hee must bee iustified without them) yet is hee iustified by faith, provided that faith bee accompanied with some workes of another stampe wch are imperfect & not able to iustify him by law, yet are required together with this faith in the redeemer unto finall iustification & salvation./

Sir let mee request one favour of you, that you will bee pleased one morning when your spirit is in frame for it, to write downe a full but very short prayer containing the necessary heads in generall of ~~a prayer~~ those things fit to bee used by many of families, with their children & servants, as the Lord & your iudgment shall direct you, I suppose such a forme (if short) from you might doe much good, & I would give it to many of my people, if you will send it mee, & I like of it./

Your affectionately esteeming though unworthy freind
John Humfrey./

Vid. Hier. Er. p.97.98

Most worthy Sir

When I was with you at Kedderminster you told mee you had received your booke [illegible] your disputations on the sacra[illegible]. The booke I understood not that I had received (though delivered [illegible]) a weeke since and little more; I doe humbly returne you my very great thanks for it. / I doe [illegible] have heard a venew of arguments, and those running for with the streame (as to what concernes mee) [illegible] doe for the present beare mee downe. However the way that you goe, is not agreeable to my spirit [illegible] in regard it leades to that old customary roade of formality and lying, which once received againe [illegible] on, men will make no more conscience of then to goe to bed; when the words were proposed, Doe you forsake [the] divill and all his workes, the flesh and world? who heard to ever made any scruple to answer, I forsake them [illegible]. A thing I take it so nauseous to the hearts of those godly praying men in the Assembly that notwithstan[ding] all the Antiquity for their Spondes? Spondeo. Abrenuntias? abrenuntio. they could not away with it in their directory. These two things I must confesse are grievous to mee, to have formall men put uppon it, to professe that they doe unfeignedly believe or repent (taking beliefe as you doe) and tender Christians who are apt still to doubt of their sincerity to bee put uppon endles scruples and feares in doing their duty. [illegible] you reply two things mainely. 1. The case will bee the same here as to the profession of an historicall [illegible] I answer, It is not soe, for there are many differences I suppose might bee readily laid downe, but this one thing is satisfactory unto mee, that both of these, may say here, they are willing. A dogmaticall faith or acknowledgment of the Christian religion in opposition to all others, will cost the formall Christian no[thing], so farre hee is willing. And for the tender Christian that feares, doubts, & complaines still hee does not believe (to wit the truth of the gosspell, the scripture as hee should) it is manifest that hee desires, is wi[lling] soe to doe, otherwise hee would not complaine & feare of it. Now in the busines of profession, the will to mee, is the man altogether. E contra — You can looke to the [illegible]. 2. You distinguish (for some doe to the latter) It is not a profession that my faith is indeed saving or sincere, but a profession of such a faith as is for you to stand uppon. I answer This is unsatisfactory, for seriously, that understanding man that cannot when hee puts his soule uppon it, affirme the first, cannot neither affirme the last, and act in faith, when you have said all you can, which is I thinke but slubbering in this particular, and that which most still sticks with [illegible] I will mention this one argument more. If your opinion will hold tight throughout, then must you maintaine not onely that no Christian parent, but no Jew, unles a regenerate believer, might bring his child unto the initiatory sacrament. It is true hee was to accept of the Lords covenant as his portion and dedicate his child unto god, hee was to doe both, but yet however his child must bee circumcised. [illegible] you affirme this much, I suppose you are never like to bee believed, it is incredible that none but [a] regenerate Jew could lawfully circumcise his child; If you say any thing to it (which I would know) I suppose that you doe say, will rebound even to the further end of my opinion for free admission, and I shall lett it come there. / For my part I must acknowledge to you, that, that opinion which you have candidly laid downe as the papists p. 46. 47. does seeme to mee very agreeable, and that which should have bin embraced, and indeed is a draught of my owne thoughts to mee, (I pray who bee they that [illegible] best refined this? & where?) yet should I perhaps have read this in their workes at first & seene [illegible] they drive by it, I might have bin afraide to have received it, but now I have imbibed the [illegible] from my owne, and as I have thought impartiall meditations, I shall not lightly reject it, onely [illegible] they beare mee company in it, but in so much as that comes to, like them the better for it. And [illegible] thinks to conceive that it is Gods will, that men bee received into the visible church, that they may bee regenerate and converted & not onely for edifying them as regenerate (as your Mr Wood speakes p. 23.) is more reasonable, then to doe hurt to the protestant cause. I will goe farther, I thinke there is more in that saying Fides, non charitas, facit Christianum, then you doe; and that there is something in that potion of the Councill of Trent, that Fides does iustify ut initium, fundamentum, et radix omnis iustificationis. Caranza p. 491. Nos asserimus fidem etiam a charitate distinctam vim habere iustificandi per modum dispositionis et impetrationis saies Bellarmine, quoting those wordes of Austine, Ideo perfectam [illegible] fiunt dicit apostolus hominem, non de operibus, quia ipsa prima datur ex qua impetrentur cetera. Aug. lib. de predest. sanc. cap. 7. & Fides inchoat meritum. Retrac. l. 1. c. 23. And therefore where the scripture saies Qui credit [illegible] filium habet vitam aeternam. In hoc omnis qui credit iustificatur. &c. hee answeres In eiusmodi sententijs signi[illegible]catur, fidem ex parte sua semper iustificare, modo adsint alia quae simul requirunt[ur]. De iustif. lib. 1. [illegible] cap. 22. in fine. & c. 20. paragraph 4th. Onely when I would consider this saying. Faith iustifies initially. I would have the terme iustification taken in our protestant sense (for the papists confounding this with sanctification & leaving no roome indeed but in wordes for pardon, become so cloudy to us herein as [illegible] doe) but the terme Faith in theirs (which I thinke may bee rightest) and by iustifying initially, I [illegible] understand a bringing us into a way for iustification (if you will, in opposition to the state of the heath[en] who are said, dead in sin, or to Jewes & Gentiles Ro. 1. & 2. before they believe. Wee have believed saith Paul that wee might bee iustified) Initium dupliciter potest accipi (saies Amesius here uppon Bel. Enerv. 4. l. 5. c. 4.) vel enim notat initium motus ad rem efficiendam, vel initium aut gradum primum in re [illegible] now though hee deny that faith iustifies initially in the second sense, which intrenches on their confusion of iustification with sanctity, yet hee allowes in primo sensu fides potest esse initium iustificationis, vel [illegible]rum alijs eiusdem generis vel in suo genere. Hence happily is faith, a comming to Christ. As the bo[dy] without the spirit so is faith without charity. The body is the same when it is ioyned with the soule and when it is not, onely when it is, it is living, when it is not, it is dead: So is faith the same when [it] hath workes ioyned, and when it has not; Onely while it hath not, it does onely bring us in to the way [illegible] is dead as to the attainement of its end, but when it hath, it is living, & does attaine that iustification [&] salvation, which it was in a way for onely before. Those same persons faith unto whome James speakes [illegible] such, as if it had had workes ioyned, would have iustified them as for want of them, it could not [illegible] as it seemeth to mee in the chapter throughout. Sir I presume you will candidly interpret what I write to you, who am one that have bin shewne my owne weaknes already enough to keepe mee from troub[ling] the world with any more vain disputes, onely I thinke a man should bee ready to speake freely what his present thoughts bee) even then when that hee speakes is not truth. Now I have [illegible] received some prejudice in the instability of our divines, as to their notion of a iustifying faith (a[illegible] [illegible] it) Our first have held it a perswasion that my sins are forgiven [illegible] [illegible] Those after them mitigate it to a [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] to bee understood so apt to take. You of late make it an acceptance of Christ as lord and
[illegible] though wee are much beholding to you for in our preaching, yet does it seeme to haue Scripture for it
for that text Jo.1. if it were writ thus, to as many as beleeued on him, euen as many as receiued him it
something, but when hee expresses onely what hee meant by receiuing him, to wit euen as many as beleiue
on his name it is not cogent; besides our former diuines doe from hence gather their fiducia specialis miseri
& our Assembly doubtles (whome yet you make use of) understand it when they say faith is a receiving
is with them apprehensio as of old. That other text in Col. 2. As you haue receiued Christ walke you in h
appeares by the sense before and after to bee their receiuing him in their receiuing the gospell. As for such te
as whosoeuer will Rev. 22.17 there is no ground to make it reciprocall with, whosoeuer beleeueth; though you
seeme to bee sounde heere as to the maine. There are others that come neerer to the papists, and allow faith to bee
an Assent, & those not the least excellent, as those of Saumour. I doe suppose if these did yet come mo
neere, they might not yet goe farther from the truth; and according to our notion hereof, other points
bee drawen after it. The Scripture saies sometime Repent & bee forgiuen; sometime, Beleiue & thou
shalt bee saued; sometime, By hope wee are saued; sometime Doe this & liue, not onely as the voice of the
but of the Gospell. Now this exposition heere seemes to mee necessary, that in the understanding of scriptur
wee are still to adde & supply from one place what is not expressed in another; So that as when it saith
you bee obedient you shall liue wee are to supply prouided that obedience proceed from faith without whi
impossible to please god; so when it saith Beleeue & thou shalt liue, wee are to supply prouided thy faith w
keth by loue, or bee ioyned with workes. Beleeue & bee baptized & thou shalt bee saued, prouided thou then beest taug
all things Christ hath commanded Mat. ult. Onely beleife is most pressed, because it is the entrance or
doore to the rest. Euen as wee say to one if you get into such a place you are made that is dispositiu
when it is busines & imployment there that aduantages him: so say wee if thou doest but beleiue, thou a
saued, to wit, si cetera adhibeant quae fides ipsa adhibenda demonstrat. Yet to say a little more, I
not presently remember any where, that the apostles speaking or writing to Christians, when it i
plaine too many of them were unsound, does euer call uppon them to beleiue but onely to continuan
to suffer, & to walke worthy of their calling &c. whereas if faith bee an acceptance of Christ for Lord,
should bee mainly calld uppon them for, as wanting, to begin their beleiuing againe; but if it bee o
an assent to the gospell, then it is no wonder the scripture saies Beleiue only when it preaches to the
present infidell Jewes or heathens, that they might bee saued or brought into a way for saluation,
not to any that did already acknowledge Christ to bee the sonne of god. I am very apt heere up
either to take faith in that notion Bellarmine does, or else that it is such as may iustify morally as an instru
[illegible] & such doe. This haue I bin wont ordinarily to expresse thus. Justifying faith is the receiving
of a working habit, that is, the act of affiance, repose, recumbency, whereby the soule trusts, rests, hangs, roul
it selfe on Christ alone for pardon & life, as it findes him held forth in the generall tenders, offers, & sweet
tions of the gospell, onely proceeding from such a habit, as hath the other act too ~~[illegible]~~ whereby it puri
heart & worketh, to put forth uppon occasion, or else it is but a dead faith. Now this faith I haue counted
as an instrument, not mans, who doth not iustify himselfe but gods instrument, though mans act, w
out this. Unto iustification there goes two things, the imputation of Christs righteousnes for discharge
and acceptance unto life; & a valid donation of it to the sinner (See Dauenant. De Just. Hab. c.23. sol.
last is the grounde of the former, for a man must bee made iust, or god cannot reckon him so, (iusti const
Ro. 5.19.) the iudgment of god is according to truth. Now to the making a man iust, as there is the donation of
there must bee mans receiving (Accipientes — regnabunt Ro. 5:17) Christ is not ours though tendered or giuen, unle
receiue him: This receiuing then or apprehensio, which is our act, that is faith it selfe, god requires, and make
of to this ende. Hee makes use of it I say as his instrument of making Christ ours, to this ende (as hee hath
pointed it) that hee may accordingly reckon his righteousnes to us unto remission of sinne, and euerlasting salu
In your booke p. 419. to 431. you come to deale with mee particularly, unto which I doe suppose I cannot well ans
being inuolued in the maine ocean of the rest. I wished indeede your leasure would haue serued, you
haue already kindly expressed it) to haue let mee heare of you about this more seasonably. There
passage though ~~[illegible]~~ I cannot but take notice of, that touches mee, and hath ~~made~~ mee sorry, that I shou
so unhappy in the least, to deale uningenuously with you, especially in that thing, wherein aboue any, you
most to bee accounted of; and that is, that you are one, that can like a truth from a Bellarmine or Ar
as from a Caluin, or Melancthon. I should not therefore haue mentioned Arminius there as I did, becaus
lookes like a glancing at you, euen for that I say I like in you; nor should I haue said some diuines hold this (m
ing you most particularly) when it is generally the protestant doctrine (so far as that goes) as you haue now
shewne us at large. This was the double defect which your eye could so presently see and mention; but there was I m
confesse to you (& the more ingenuously, for the slip already past mee) a further defect in mee herein, which wa
the cause of both these, or else neither of them surely had bin, & that was my very ignorance, or inadue
sorry, that, that notion or conception of yours, was so receiued, & ordinary, but that you might indeede haue made use of it
the place I noted. Neuertheles as soone as my papers were gone from mee to the presse, I was in a doubt, an
suspition that those words of mine, might bee touching to you, so that I writ away quickly to him that orde
the presse for mee that, that place should bee altered, but it was my misfortune that the printer [illegible]
that sheet was newly wrought off, the very ~~[illegible]~~ time. You must therefore on necessity pardon mee being assured th
if those words of mine in my booke p.5. l.3. Some Eminent and those l.9. for them had bin left out, I had bin
pleased with you at a farre better rate as very much more to my owne liking, yet my booke not a iot the worse
same. There is another place before (passing in the way what followes where you doe not faire, to say I
doe not see, as to that distinction, wherein I manifestly understand with you) that does please mee in the gen
it as this distastes mee: and that is, in your answer to my 12 arg. where when I had as I supposed laid do
something more elaborately then ordinary, towards the shewing of that Reality so needfull for us to finde out,
answer not to your Equiuocally, you tell mee (uppon your looking more deeply, at the first glance happy a
thing then I can with a long times study) that what I say is but a sound of words, where you feele no
there, & see no light in the notion. This freedome I like hugely, where it is without slighting, and
[illegible] (I pardon the truth) came in rudely. Neuertheles I am apt to thinke if you will re
[illegible] consideration (but more then once) you were able with your better head [illegible]
[illegible] for my sake for [illegible] in that day [illegible]
[illegible]

The first argument in your booke p. 54 to 62 is this. Profession of a true repentance is required to baptisme. This in Johns baptisme, where it is expresse they confessed their sinnes. To this I answer, There are these things in short, 1. John was a minister of repentance. 2. That there was two parts of this ministry, his preaching and baptisme. 3. baptisme therefore is called the baptisme of repentance for the remission of sinnes, that is, an ordinance, or part of ministry, leading to repentance for remission. 4. That hence hee tells us himselfe directly, that hee verily baptized unto repentance. Repentance (saith a learned disputant hereupon) was one end of Johns baptisme, and that the end should antecede, perfect it realiter, what was in order to that end, implies a contradiction. 5. That accordingly John baptizes all that did but come to him & confesse their sinnes, even at the same time when hee calls some of them vipers. I need not turne to the texts (for these particulars) which I take up as obvious. 6. and lastly then, That this confession of sinne which these persons made to John, is to bee looked on, as a beginning or an entrance into that state of repentance which they tooke up by their baptisme. || 2. You urge those texts where Christ preaches repentance to prepare for baptisme, and those many where repentance is required to remission obsigned by it; particularly that of Act. 2. Repent & bee baptized. To this I answer, Bee it so, that these texts doe prove that true repentance is required of the baptized, or that baptisme it selfe requires this, of those that will bee Christians, yet they prove not I hope that all that which is required in true repentance (for order of the words sake) is necessarily to bee antecedent to their baptisme, which is soe most cleere. Repentance (ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων Heb. 6.1.) denotes amendment of life, not without its continuednes & istivenes, this is to follow, but not necessarily to antecede. doubtles, when 3000 are immediately baptized without tarrying one day the observance whether they reformed their lives or no. Besides, bee it granted, Repentance is required of the baptized, what is this yet to your profession? There is none of those texts you quote here p. 56. 57. nor any other I remember of all the multitudes comming to the apostles for baptisme, that speake of any profession made at all, onely what was signified by their submission it selfe to the ordinance, unles it bee of the Eunuch upon the occasion of a long discourse had with Philip, & that was no other, then, I beleeve that Christ is the son of God which wee approve; and that confession of sins to John (peculiar happily to his administration) unto which I have before spoken. If you will presse more I pray first, doe you finde it. Onely when some speake here of an initiall repentance I would not have it understood, as if there were two sorts of repentance, one initiall, and another saving, which makes the thing absurd to you; but that this confession here was an initium of repentance, as faith unformed (they say) is of a faith formed, that is, no other then the very same, onely not perfected before. And now methinkes [illegible] this wee might moreover distinguish of an inchoate remission (or justification) and consummate (before touched) in some good sence, well expressed, & not popish, there would appeare some solution perhaps to some of these arguments of yours, that as yet seeme to you to have none. / For my part I will not spend your time and trouble you, to mention more of them, but will aske you one question. Whereas you stand still on this priviledge, that profession that profession though in a hippocrite or reprobate, makes him a member or guest of the church, which you magnify too for such as that it is a fruite of Christs death, & the matter so weighty that the mistake hereof in pious men is the cause of their schisme p. 38. yet you contend with us, that they are but equivocally members upon that ground which is true, in you, to wit, because their profession it selfe (while you will have it to bee of no lesse then a regenerate faith) is but an equivocall profession, that is a manifest lying and dissimulation as to their owne consciences: Now would I faine know how these two things, which to mee are light & darknes, hold together: for indeed you have medled with this of in your answer to my 7th arg. If you had said onely, this is a priviledge of the church (to have liberty to admit such for the encrease of her outward glory) you might have winched of here, but now you speake of it, as the priviledge of professors themselves (to wit the common priviledge of common professors p. 39.) which you desire the truly godly not to begrudge them, being a part of that common grace which Christ hath died to purchase for the reprobate (professing) as well as speciall to the Elect (which perhaps you forget againe to mee p. 423) you cannot come off. Christ doubtles hath not shed his bloud, that a man should get any thing by his lying, dissembling, or that which is propter fieri a sinne. Indeed one may deny perhaps that the profession, or covenant-entring of the unregenerate themselves Deut. 29. 10. 11. 12. 13. is sinne propter fieri, because it is donne, but onely in facto esse for the manner of performance, and so presse it as other duties. I pray vouchsafe to see my Rejoynder hereon p. 252. with 253. 254. But this cannot I suppose passe with you, else were I yours, altogether. To conclude this. If you would allow with us a profession of a lower degree, that what is professed may bee truth, the unregenerate themselves bound to come over to Christ, when they will yet come no higher then would those sweet expressions bee much to embraced in your Rest; that Christ is so gracious, that if any will come quite home in spirit hee shall bee welcome, if hee will but come to a profession, hee is ready to admit him there, & that there are saints as separated from heathenisme that yet are not sts as separated from ungodlines, with the like; which now are to bee wiped out againe with that black name of loose doctrine for which you tell Mr Blake in some place you were perswaded god was angry with him; which words of yours (good man) I doubt might sinke too deepe with him. But God forbid my most worthy brother but that our heavenly father is more wise then to bee moved presently to deale with any of us, according to the speeches or spirits of the best of his children when they are over-zealously heated and engaged agt one another. / There is one thing therefore I will here humbly tell you, for it seemes to mee to bee something prejudiciall to you, and that is this you appeare still methinkes too engaged in the opinions, and matters you take up, even when your spirit I doubt not is most candid, yet is your expression so expelling, so violent, vaster seene from the very first; when methinkes the speech of Phocio might bee remembred here, If Alexander bee dead to day, O Athenians, hee will bee dead to morrow & the next day. If this bee truth now it will bee truth hereafter. This engagednes, eagernes, keennes is observed in your discourse it selfe, & not I onely, but some of greater quality have spoken of it, which sure is not so well in regard that it hinders a man from opening his minde freely to you, and receiving the good hee should. And therefore I pray bee not offended with mee for my giving you notice hereof. It is fit that something here become profitable to you, as the rest may bee happily to my selfe. This is it that your writings ordinarily cut your adversaries to the heart with Stephens hearers, rather then prick them at the heart (which were better) with Peters. And this temper you shew methinkes too much, in your busines of Association, about which you have expressions now & then, for which, those things I suppose might bee returned to you, which you say to Mr Prinne, where you are pleased to wax hot with mee, for that matter, which god forbid that I should approve though in him. For my part, it may bee on the contrary side, I am as much too cold & scrupulously remisse, who, whilst ~~our~~ my pious ~~ministers~~ brethren have proposed herein, the reforming of our particular congregations, as the end, upon which the joyned meetings of ministers hath no operation, It seemeth to mee not to bee so necessary, but the good things wee all agree upon might bee fit to bee done, if they can, though the clatter were let alone. If there bee any necessity here, it must bee either divini praecepti; or medii. For the former, if there bee such, it must bee either a command from the magistrate (as episcopus τῶν ἔξω) which is wanting, or from the word, which as to our outward stirre & meetings, is not imaginable. For the latter, it is to bee stood upon. If ordination were proposed as the end onely, that in the nature of the thing requires a presbytery, or if wee hold that discipline in our particular places was not to bee exercised, by the minister alone and his people but by a united power of ministers presbyterated (or their delegates, prudent chosen men for such an affaire) then might there bee pleaded here such a ratio medii et finis, even as betweene the necessary cause & the effect, that would have an it, and hold: But seeing the one of these, is not thought of or tenable, and the other will serve but in tantum [illegible] and no farther, My thoughts are, giving mee leave to speake freely, & setting aside what one may doe as the [illegible] not onely because they doe it, that a man may say of this matter, as the apostle does in another, about circu[illegible] Art thou bound (Art thou associated) seeke not to bee free, Art thou free use it rather. / [illegible] Yours &c most [illegible] great esteeme [illegible]

Deare Sir, the Lord preserve you, & bee not displeased at the very great esteeme [illegible]

Deare Brother
I have received two of yors, & hope you will pdon my delay of answer-
ing yor first, upon this true excuse, I could not do it till now. Necessity hath no Law.
I now take yors from amongst a dozen yt have laine unanswered.//
You have very much obliged me in addinge these free & truly friendly lines to yor
Journey & present labors with us. Expect not from me a discharge of this debt.
1. As to the matter before us, my owne thoughts have many an houre & yeare bin
tryinge ye way yt you propound, wth a greater inclination to it, yn ye contrary: And
to this day I must professe yt if my will might lead my understandinge, I
thinke I should be drawne into yt way. it would so ease ye minister of much of
his sufferings & ye Church of ye ungratefull worke of Discipline (for I must
suppose yt Discipline must be cast out) & quiett ye people, & fill ye Church &c.
But it will not hold. It pleased me upon a superficiall view, wn I should make
my reason ye rule of a Church modell; but ye more I searcht ye more I
saw yt it is dissonant from Christs modell & ye whole tenor of ye Gospell:
& yt it is agt all ye ffathers Judgmt & practice of ye ancient Church I need
not tell you.// But you say, ye other way [leads to formality & lyinge.] I
deny it: No otherwise, yn Christs offers of heaven do, to sound believers; wch
occasion many a man to lye. Any truth or duty will be an occasion of sin;
but no cause. If Xt had said to ye multitude of his followers, Ile give you
an everlastinge Glory, if you will forsake all & follow me (as he did) many
would have said, we consent Lord, & will follow thee: as ye Son to his ffather
[I goe Sir] but went not. Matt. 21.30. And must Xt change ye tenor of his
promise for feare of enticinge men to lye: No, he warnes men first to sitt
downe & count wt it will cost ym to be his disciples; & tells such as he sees
inconsiderately hasty in offeringe him their service, The foxes have holes &c
We do not make Lawes to force all men to say they are true believers;
yt were indeed to force most to a lye. But we tell ym yt Heaven is
purchased & offered only to true believers, yt Repent of sin, & had rather
be rid of it, yn keepe it, & will choose Heaven for their portion, rather yn
ye pleasures of sin for a season: & those yt yeild to these Conditions we
will Baptize: Now if this lead men to lye, it is no otherwise yn Christs blood
& Gods promise & Heaven itselfe enticeth ym to lye. were it not an excellent
desireable thinge, & ye termes of necessity, yn it would indeed be no temptati-
on to men to dissemble & flatter God wth their lips, wn their heart is not
stedfast in his Covent: But God will not make either Heaven less desireable
or ye Condition less necessary, for feare of temptinge men to lye. And why
did ye ancient Church keepe men in ye state of Catechumens so long, but
to prevent their lyinge, & fitt ym to Covent sincerely & understandingly.//
2. As for ye Assemblyes leavinge out ye Spondeo, Abrenuncio &c you have
no reason to imagine it was upon yor grounds. ffor 1o did they not leave out
also [all this I stedfastly believe] even ye infants profession of yor Dogmaticall
Assent? 2o They knew yt many Protestant Divines have written agt ye termes
of ye Covent as in ye Infants name; & so its like they did it to comply wth ym.
not from ye matter but ye person supposed to promise or professe. 3o They thought
best to keepe as close as might be to ye Scripture forme of Baptisme: But +
they could never be ignorant, yt Believinge in God ye ffather, Son & Holy Ghost,
doth as plainly include, Renouncinge ye flesh, world & Devill as to say [It is
day] includes [It is not night] or [Lazarus arise] includes [Lazarus, come
from ye state of death] // §. 3. As to yor two grievances I say 1o we
putt no formall men upon it to professe ymselves true Christians. They have
Reason wch we endeavor to informe, & free will wch may choose or
refuse. We call on ym first to be sincere, before they say, they are.//
And as to ye 2d of ye doubts of ye sincere, I have answered it at large. He
yt speakes of ye choice or purpose of his heart so far as he knows it
(endeavouringe faithfully to know it aright) doth not lye but do his duty
may not a man know whether he had rather have sin or grace? And may
not doubtinge Xtians professe wt they feele tho they doubt.// §. 4.
As to my answere 1o It is principally as to ye ministers assurance of their
sincerity yt I say A Dogmaticall faith is as doubtfull. 2o You confesse
yt there is but a graduall difference as to ye certainty of ye persons ymselves
3o And truly ye difference is small wth very many, as I have proved to you.
For ye Godly, many thousand of ym doubt as much of their Assent as of
their Consent being haunted wth temptations to Infidelity. And I never

+ It is not an
Act of faith
to believe yt I
am a believer:
so it is not one
of ye things yt
must be so done
in faith, as yt
we must have
a word for it:
but done in
uprightness
according to
ye best of our
knowledge of
or owne minds

mett with few yt seemed Godly in my life, but in their deepest agonyes,
even neere despaire, would easily be brought to professe, yt they had rather
have perfect Holynes yn sin; & if Christ were offered ym, they had rather
have him on his termes, yn all yt sin & ye world can do for ym. Putt ym
to it, had you rather have Xt or not, have sin or Holynes, have ye favour
of God or ye pleasures of sin, & they will presently give you ye answere
of a Xtian: Though yet they will not confesse ymselves sincere, bec they know
not yt this is sincerity. And as for ye ungodly, I like yor modell of pro-
fession never ye better, bec they can take it; but ye worse. God calls not for
such Professions. Bellarmine confesseth, yt such are members praeter Eccle-
siae intentionem. 2o If yt be ye Rule to judge of faith or Profession by, yt a for-
mall wicked man may take it, I could find out yet a better yn yors, yt he would
more easily accept, & cast out yors on ye termes as you do a true Profession.
3o But seriously do you thinke it is a Character of ye Requisite Profession
yt [it will cost men nothinge] & so such may willingly make it? No, its a cer-
taine signe, yt its none of yt wch Xt will accept, nor ever did prescribe, but
most contrary to it (in yt respect). Wn he so constantly calleth all his disci-
ples to deny ymselves, forsake all, or else they canot be his disciples; & to mortifie
ye flesh, & take up his yoke & learne of him &c & tells ym, they canot serve
God & mamon, & still preacheth Repentance from dead workes &c I shall
never take yt for ye requisite or necessary Profession of Xtianity, wn men professe
only yt wch will cost ym nothinge. 4o And yet you are out & kill yor owne
cause. For ye Profession of a Dogmaticall faith will cost a man his life
in many parts of ye world, & hazard it in most or more, & hazard his re-
putation & estate in ye far greatest pt of ye world: And wt will you have
men do in such persecution? ~~will~~ not you there be ye man yt will lead men
to lyinge more yn we do here? For there it will cost ym more to professe
a Dogmaticall faith, yn here to professe a full Christianity. And so it was
in ye dayes of Christ & ye Apostles in a great measure: or else we should
never have heard Rom. 10.10. [wth ye mouth Confession is made to Salvation]
& [he yt confesseth me before men, I will confesse him before my Father &
ye Angells &c] & [he yt confesseth yt Jesus is ye Xt is borne of God & God
dwelleth in him & he in God] & [no man can say yt Jesus is ye Lord, but by ye
Holy Ghost] &c You would not sure have one faith for men in persecution
& another for us yt have prosperity. // §.5. You say yt ye Xtian yt doubts of
his Assent, shewes yt he is willinge to believe: & ye will wth you is ye man: I
answere I like yor conclusion; but I have much ye advantage of you here:
for ye will hath not so full a power on ye Intellect as on itselfe. And so
such complaints will much more prove ye Acts of ye will, (I meane yt a
man hath ye will yt he complaineth yt he wants) yn of ye Intellect (yt a
man hath ye Assent yt he complains he wants): for in ye latter case, he may
say [were I perswaded it were Gods word, I should be willinge to believe it;
but so far as I doubt whether it be his word & true, I canot be willinge
to believe it] for who can be willinge to believe an untruth &c. But wn
I speake to men about ye Consent of ye will itselfe, I may more safely thinke
yt he yt laments his unwillingnes is willinge: And yet here I will have better
evidence; even a Profession of Consent to yt wth a life of willfull sinninge
rather yn wth Christ & Heaven: And will not even doubtinge Christians easily
professe this. // §.6. To my answere. (yt it is not Profession of Assurance, but
of consent itselfe yts requisite) you only say yt its stubborninge, & yt he yt canot
do both canot do one. But this is no proofe. I know ye contrary, from ye nature
of ye thinge & long experience. I againe professe to you yt I scarce ever mett
wth ye honest doubtinge soule in my life (yt was well in his witts) but I could
bringe ym plainly to professe yt they had rather have holynes yn sin, Christ and
Heaven & ye Love of God, yn all ye world, if they had their choice; & yet perhaps
never ye neerer beinge satisfyed of their sincerity. Nay I have mett wth more
doubtinge soules of ye two yt have said [I doubt I do not believe ye Scripture]
yn [I doubt I had rather have sin yn Grace or Christ or Heaven]. And
If it were as you imagine, I would not make a new Christianity to suit
every sicke fancye. Our labor must be to cure ym, & not to make ym a
Profession of such a Christianity as they know they have. Else yors also
must be cast away, wn men doubt of it. A sicke stomacke yt can eate no
wholesome food or casts up all, must not be ye Rule

of all ye Towne to date by. Shall God make no Covents wth men, because some distempered ones know not their owne minds? None of us know pfectly; but we must speake as we thinke & not dissemble. But yet I'le yeild to you, yt noe man can [act in faith] yt is, assurance, yt he doth well, beyond ye measure of his faith or assurance. But 1o to yor bare denyall, I tell you againe, yt follow & practise but this yor principle, equally in all other cases, & I'le not give a rush for all ye Christian service, yt yor doubting xtian shall do to God. They shall alsoe cast away thanksgiving, Sacramts, Psalmes of Praise, Prayer & all Christian duty, because they canot act in faith. //

§.7. As to yor instance of circumcizing Infants, 1o Either ye case of the Parent is ye same, as to ye faith necessary, for his Infant & himself or not: If it be, yn I have answered this at large in my Disp. 3. et alibi. If not (as some thinke yt a man not Baptizable himself if he were unbaptized, may yet sincerely & acceptably devote his Child to Christ) yn it is nothing to or case. //

§.8. As for ye Opinion wch you thinke so reasonable, in my Postscript I have told you, wt confusion ye Papists are in about it, & at what uncertaintyes. And agt yt & yor exclusion of ye wills consent from faith, I crave yor answere to what I have said to prove it [unreasonable], & to wt I have said to ye same purpose in my Disput. of Justificon, newly printed. In a few words, to speake ye same things againe, 1o I canot thinke yt Papist or Protestant should sett up a new kind of Church or Christianity in ye end of ye world. Dr Hamond hath recited abundance of ye ffathers to yor hand to prove yt all antiquity required, ye Abrenuncio, Spondeo, (as well as ye Credo) wch you are agt. If Tradition in ye forme of Baptisme be invalid, its worth nothing at all: Its here as cleere & full as for ye Scripture. Justin Martyr & many others tell you, yt they made ym all promise to live according to Xts Lawes before they Baptized ym: & admitted ym not to ye Eucharist, unles they did so. The more moderate thoughts you have of ye Papists, ye more should you abhorre ye casting off, so great a Tradition, & sure & constant practice of ye Church; yea & to make a new Church & Christianity now at last. This Course is agt their ffundamentalls. // 2o When you have lett in all ye rabble into ye Church yt will make yor profession wch costs ym nothing, wt will you do wth ym wn you have done? will you exercise yt Discipline yt ye Scriptures, & all ye ancient Canons of ye Ch: prescribe, & ye old Churches used, or will you not? If you do, you lead ym into a snare, & do more to their damnation, yn you could have devised by allmost any other way. Beleive a man yt speaks now in ye smart of daily experience: when you deale closely wth ye Drunkards, Swearers, Railers, Slanderers &c, for their Reformation, some will not be brought so much as to confess ye sin, but hate you & fly impenitently on ye reprover: Others will confess it & live in it from yeare to yeare. And if you publickly Rebuke ym or cast ym out of Comunion, they will so bitterly hate you (ordinarily) & so unreconcileably, yt they will either never heare you more, or heare you wth prejudice & abhorrence. So yt I looke on such wicked ones excomunicate as allmost Remediles & in Hell: And all this is long of you: this is yor Charity & mercy & opening ye doore to all: whereas, if you had let ym stay among ye Catechumens, where they should have beene troubled wth no Discipline, or Ordinance, but what is agreeable to their state, you might have had their eares & affections, & had ym in a way of hope: Nothing is well out of its owne place: Not a fish on ye dry land; nor a man in ye water; nor a bone out of joynt: nor a boy in his A.B.C. in ye higher forme yt learnes in ye Greeke &c And if he be to be whipt for not learning it, he will scarce thanke you for yor cruell mercy yt prefer'd him thither before he was ripe. // Well, but if you will not damne all those miserable soules by thrusting ym into a remedyles Condition, you must yn give over Church Discipline, & only Preach to ym or privately rebuke ym, & leave ym still in ye Ch: & to Sacramts &c. And if so, verily such a Church (& ye grounds yt would settle it as ye constant modell), is 1o too filthy & unlike to Xt, 2o & too new & dissonant from Scripture & all ye Canons & ffathers & ancient Churches, to be ever allowed of by me. I'le have nothing to do with it, nor stay in it, but when, meere necessity doth constraine me. // But ~~now~~ to psons fitt for a Church State, ye Discipline & Ordinances of Christ will do good (as I have alsoe tryed) by those very publike reproofes & censures, yt have made others rage & despaire). 2o doubtless ye Catechumens place is best for them yt you would undoe, by a preposterous advancemt. 3o I tell you againe ye Profession described by you, as formally made, may stand wth a flatt denyall of Christianity for ye time: yt is, ye same man yt saith [I take ye Christian Religion to be ye right, & I will submitt to ye Church & Ordinances] wch is all you require, (as far as I can understand you) may say at ye same time [But I love my profitts & lusts so dearly yt I will not yet let ym goe for Xt & so will not be ruled by him, or take him for my Kinge till I can spare those sins wch he condemneth.] And would you Baptize such? I pray read Austine de fide et operibus. // 4o And yet how unreasonable is it of you to require an expresse consent to be subject to ye Church or Pastors, & yet will not require ye like consent to be subject to Christ? what! must it be more necessary for men to be tyed to ye Pastors yn to Christ? I pray you if [I assent to ye truth] will serve as to Christ, why should not [I assent to ye truth of yor ministry] serve as to ye Church, without [I consent]. Is the servant greater yn ye Lord? or ye subjection more necessary. // 5o And methinks its evident yt yor Profession sincerely & understandingly made, contradicteth yor opinion, & implyeth all yt you thinke unnecessary. ffor you require a consent to submitt to ye Church & Ordinances; & yt essentially includes a consent to submitt to Christ, & to have & love him & God in him. ffor 1o It is to ye Church Officers as sent by Christ yt you will have men submitt. [He yt heareth you, heareth me] And no man can submitt to his Embassadors or Officers as such, yt submitteth not to him. 2o These Officers & Ordinances, are consented to as ye end, or as a meanes: Not the former, for yt were but damnable Idolatry: If ye latter, yn either as a meanes to God as ye end, or to some other separated end. Not ye latter, for yt is but ye pursuite of damnable Idolatry. If ye former, yn God must be first loved, & desired as ye end, before any meanes can be used to attaine yt end. And he yt useth those meanes to obtaine Regeneration (wch you expect) doth first desire Regeneration. And you say, wth you, ye will is ye man: & so he was Regenerate before, or at least consented sufficiently to ye same things yt we require his Consent to. // 6o Who is this Church, & who those Pastors, yt men must consent to be subject to, yt need not be called to consent first to be subject to Christ? Is it ye Pastors of their owne particular Church? God forbid Mr H. should say [I will not Baptize a man yt will not consent to my oversight, & be subject to me; but I will Baptize him though he consent not to Christs Governmt, or ye Spirits Sanctificatn & will not be subject to him]. Is it ye Bp, Classis, Synod or Pope? why its like yor Baptized person knowes ym not, nor hath so much to do wth any of ym as you; nay nor never heare from ym. Is it ye ancient Church? None of ym are to be preferred to Christ. And if this should hold, yn must ye Baptized presently renounce yor way: for ye Ancient Church teach him wt we teach, agt you. // 7o And how far must he consent to submitt to ye Ch: or Pastors? Is it to obey ym in all things, or in some? If in some only, wch be they, & who can here bringe you out of ye briars? If to all, or ye most great & necessary, yn do they consent to obey ye Ch: commandinge ym to obey Christ, or heartily to give up ymselves to him, & to love God: ffor this is ye greatest matter ye Church hath to teach ym: And shall a man be bound to promise to obey ye Church yt teacheth him to obey Christ & love God, & not be bound to promise & professe to obey Christ & love God. Or is he to be beleived yt promiseth this to ye Church, yt hath not done it allready upon all ye Churches teachinge while he was a Catechumene? If he can make good yt Promise, he may stay as well a day unbaptized and make it good to Christ himselfe. If he canot, he should not make it to ye Church. // 8o I have sufficiently proved to you yt all yt I require is essentially contained in beleivinge, & beinge Baptized into ye name of ye ffather Son & H. Ghost: you can make no sense of this else, but a new & intollerable sense; And I know you will not change this forme. // 9o And yt faith is essentially in ye will, & hath a volition Essentiall to it, is proved in yt it is, A Gospell, A Promise as such, yt is ye object of it: And it is Essentiall to a Gospell, to a Promise to be good to us; & so as such must be beleived in. The act of beleivinge beinge specifyed by ye object, it must be essen

to faith in a ꝓmise to be an act of ye will, seeinge it is Essentiall to a
ꝓmise to be good to us. || 10° It is so largly proved by many Criticks and
Divines yt πιστεύειν εἰς θεὸν &c is ordinarily an act of ye will, as well
as ye Intellect, yt I know not wt can be said against it. || 11° Divine vera=
city is ye formale objectum fidei: But Divine veracity is as eminently ye result
of goodnes as of wisedome or Power: And so certainly even ye act of Di=
vine faith in generall hath a volition or complacency of ye will essentiall
to it: for ye formall object informes ye act of faith. A forced Assent to bare [illegible]
truth is not yt faith wch is a duty or Grace. || 12° The will is ye fountaine
of morall actions, & ye acts of ye intellect are morall, but participative, so
far as ye Intellect is under ye will, & its actions imperate: so there is not
so much as any morall good, or vertuous nature in bare Intellectuall As=
sent alone: no more yn in my fearinge at ye bounce of a gun. || 13°
In Scripture, Beleivers, Disciples, Christians &c signifye the same thinge.
But it is Essentiall to a Disciple or Christian to be willingly such, or to will
and accept of Christ in yt Relation: so &c. || 14° As in the old Testament
it was ye worke of an Israelite, Covenanter or Ch: member, to take God for
his God, & to have no other Gods but he (wch is an act of ye will as well
as of ye Intellect, & expounded by Lovinge him wth all ye heart) so in ye
new Testamt it must be ye worke of a Christian (as such) to take Christ
for his Saviour, & to have no other. || 15° Were not faith an act of ye will
or inseparable from it, a man might be a Christian agt his will; & hate
Christ & openly renounce & persecute him. For this may stand wth such
a forced beleife as ye Devills have. || 16. A Beleiver as such is a Coven=
anter wth Christ, but Covenantinge is an act of ye will. || 17° ffaith is
called in Scripture, a Cominge to Christ, a takinge, eatinge, drinkinge,
Buyinge ye Pearle, a marryinge, a cominge to ye weddinge feast, a restinge
on, a trustinge in, a willinge, Receivinge, Embracinge, wth many the like
wch all are acts of ye will, as well as of ye Intellect: not only such acts
of ye will as have Assent itselfe, for their object, but such as have Xt
& ye ꝓmise, as an offered good for their object. || 18° The contrary unbe=
liefe is ordinarily denominated from ye will, & called Refusinge, Neglectinge, re=
jectinge, Nillinge, lovinge darknes rather yn light, despisinge & many ye like || 19°
The Gospell is essentially glad tydinge, & ye Preachinge of it is essentially an offer
of Christ wth ꝑdon & life; & not a bare historicall Narrative: And so yt faith
wch is ye reception of ye offer must needs be an act of ye will. I do but slubber
over all this too: for should I stand to cite & open ye ꝑticular texts, it would be
a voluminous worke. || 20° So frequent, plaine & ꝑemptory is ye Scripture, in
ꝓmisinge ꝑdon to beleivers, yt I must confess if I could bringe myselfe to ex=
pound all such passages as Bellarmine & you do, it would be a great step to my
disbeleivinge it: for he yt can make anythinge of it, may next make nothinge of
it. Acts 13.39. [By him all yt beleive, are justifyed from all things &c] No, say you,
not one of many of ym is justifyed, for want of ye addition of Love. Acts 16.31.
Beleive on ye Lord Jesus & thou shalt be saved &c Rom. 3.22 [The righteousnes of
God wch is by faith of Jesus Christ upon all ym yt beleive, for there is no difference]
v.26. [He is ye Justifyer of him wch beleiveth in Jesus] 28. A man is justifyed
by faith &c Rom. 5.1. Beinge justifyed by faith, we have peace wth God &c. Rom.
4.5. his faith is counted to him for righteousnes. so v. 9. 11. 22. 24. [but to us also
to wm it shall be imputed if we beleive &c] what non=sence would yr expo=
sition make of this imputinge faith for righteousnes? Hence also Baptisme im=
ports a state of mortification & newnes of life Rom. 6.4. And do not the
Papists make every baptized ꝑson to have remission of all sins; & yet say yt
without Charity no man can be justifyed or saved! What thinke you of all ye
elogyes of faith Heb. 11. whether it is there taken for a comon grace of the
unjustifyed. 1 Tim. 4.10. [He is ye Saviour of all men, specially of ym yt beleive]
2 Thess. 1.10. [Christ will come to be admired in all ym yt beleive] No, not in
halfe of ym say you. Gal. 3.22. 1 Cor. 1.21. Rom. 10.9. Joh. 1.12. [To as many
as received him to ym gave he power to become ye sons of God, even to ym yt
beleive in his name] yr evasion here is nothinge worth, as long as receivinge
him & beleivinge are equipollent, & all beleivers are ye sons of God (wch you
deny). John 14.10 Ye beleive in God (yts more yn Assent): beleive also in me
(so is this). Joh. 17.20. Acts 13.48. Heb. 4.3. 2 Tim. 1.12. Mar. 16.16. [He yt
beleiveth & is baptized shall be saved]. 1 Pet. 2.6. [He yt beleiveth on him shall

not be confounded] yes saith Bellarmine most such are confounded. 1 Joh. 5.1
Beleife & Love are made inseparable. 5.10. It is Love yt beleiveth or disposeth to
beleive, even amonge men. 1 Cor. 13.7. Act. 10.43. [whosoever beleiveth in him shal
receive Remission of sins]. Joh. 11.25.26. & 7.38. He hath everlastinge Life
5.24. Joh. 3.15.16.18.36. [Whosoever beleiveth in him shall not perish, but hav
everlastinge Life. He yt beleiveth on him is not condemned. Compare Pauls bi
curse wth those [If any man love not ye Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, Ma-
ranatha. 1 Cor. 16.22] & judge whether all those places comprize not love in
faith. Therefore Paul makes ym oft as equipollent. Eph. 6.24 [Grace be wth
all ym yt love ye Lord Jesus in sincerity] Eph. 3.17. Phil. 3.9. Heb. 10.38. Gal. 2.16.2
& 3.11.22.24.26. If you put of all those texts wth yor comment of a separabi-
lity betweene this faith & love, I may as well putt off all those yt promise salva-
tion to love itselfe, as promises yt may faile still for want of obedience or somewhat
else supposed. || 21o And indeed you canot in reason imagine yt ye difference
on ye will doth not much arise from ye different apprehensions of ye Intellect.
& so there is a difference betweene ye Assent of a Consenter & of a Refuser or
Neglecter. || 22o To conclude Christ is not beleived in as Christ, yt is, as a
Saviour & Physitian of soules, if he be not accepted & trusted in by ye will. ||
Those Reasons, wth ye many to wch you give no answere in my booke, do satis-
fye me, yt no Intellectuall act alone without ye wills acceptance of Xt as Xt
is ye Xtian faith wch hath ye promise of pdon & Salvation so constantly made
to it in ye Gospell, & wch must be profest by all ye Adult, before they be bap-
tized. Indeed it is agt ye very nature of ye soule to have a serious beleife
yt Xt is good in himselfe & to me & yet not to love or will him. A middle state
I know there is betweene ye ~~meere~~ workings of meere Nature & ye savinge state
of Grace; but yt is ye disciplinge worke of ye ministry, belonginge to ye Cate-
chumenes & antecedent to ye Baptisme of ye Adult. The difference is exprest
by Xt in ye ministeriall Comission: μαθητεύειν goes before Baptisme; but
διδάσκειν followes after. The first is in order to Regeneration, even to ye
beinge borne of water & of ye Spirit; ye second is for ye increase & preser-
vation. Yet those yt erroneously (besides ye intention of Xt & ye Church)
do enter hypocritically, do find abundance of helpes in ye Church to bring ym
to sincerity; in wch sense we grant ye Eucharist to be a convertinge ordi-
nance. || §.9. As for yor conceit of faith puttinge us but into a way to
Justificn &c (contrary to ye streame of ye Gospell) I would aske you wt
becomes of yor new baptized beleiver if he so dye? If he be not certainly
saved 1o All ye Papists are quite out, yt suppose Baptisme to put men into a
state of Salvation. 2o And ye Gospell is quite out, yt saith, He yt beleiveth
& is Baptized shall be saved. But if he be saved, surely it is not without
Regeneration or charity. Yet we all acknowledge yt ye intellectuall act of
Assent is ye enterance or Initium to ye wills acceptance: but so as yt accep-
tance is in ye same momt conjoyned, wn Assent is lively & effectuall. We
grant alsoe yt ye name of faith is sometime in Scripture applyed to As-
sent alone, as in case of ye Devills faith, & to Assent wth an hypocriticall
profession of Consent, as in Simon Magus's case &c. But we deny, yt it
is thus taken where it hath ye promise of pdon & Salvation: or yt sole As-
sent is ye faith prerequisite in those yt are to offer ymselves to Baptisme. ||
§.10. James doth indeed suppose ye dead faith & ye livinge to be both faith,
or Assent; but he doth not suppose ym to be equally alive or serious, intense
effectuall or operative. Can you thinke yt there is no intrinsicke difference, but
ye extrinsicke only, yt one hath workes added & ye other not? Why doth one
worke by love & ye other not, if there be no difference in ym? Why are
workes added to one more yn another, if they be both in ymselves alike? Is there
no difference betweene a faith yt purifyeth ye heart & a faith yt doth not?
Can you thinke yt if ye ungodly had ye same kind & degree of lively beleife
as ye Godly have, it would make no change on their wills & lives? It was
faith yt produced Abrahams workes & wrought wth ym. Ja. 2.22. And so fai
was pfected by workes as ye Tree is by its fruites, or ye corne blade by ye
eare: faith is livinge in order of nature before it is workinge; & workinge
in order of nature before it hath workes conjoyned: In its naturall beinge
workes make it not alive, either as Causes or Parts: And there is no other mak-
inge: For workes beinge effects of faith goe not before it, & so are not the
efficient cause of faith: Nor are ye constitutive causes or Parts, materiall
formall: This is not imaginable. But take faith not as faith, but as ye Con-
dition of Justificn (continued or finall) & Salvation, & so ye workes yt Jam

mentions make it aliue; not efficiently but constitutiuely, as beinge an essentiall part of such condition, without wch ye other part were dead, as to ye use of sauinge or such Justifyinge as James speakes of. You must not extend ye similitude of ye soule & body further yn James intended it. Omne simile est etiam dissimile. // §. 11. As to yor prejudice at or different descriptions of faith 1o The difference is not so wide as ye Papists imagine or pretend: Caluins psuasion or assurance, & Camero's pswasion or Assent, & other mens Recumbency, Affiance, Acceptinge, Receiuinge &c do differ lesse yn you seeme to thinke, if they be rightly explicated. you know Pembles undertakinge to proue Assent to ye Gospell & Affiance alone. // §. 12. To yor exceptions about Joh. 1.12. I spoke before. To Coll. 2.6. I reply Its true yt its ye receiuinge xt in receiuinge ye Gospell, yts spoken of: but not a receiuinge ye Gospell without receiuinge xt in & by it. It shewes you yt to receiue ye Gospell indeed containes a receiuinge Christ. [So walke in him] imports a continued loue & Obedience to xt ye Lord wch they are said to haue receiued. // §. 13. I doubt not but ye Scripture must be sett together wn seuerall texts speake of seuerall Conditions of life: But denyinge ym to be true is not right expoundinge ym or settinge ym together. If one text make a flatt promise of pdon or life to faith; another to Repentance, another to Hope, another to Loue, another to sincere Obedience: I will conclude both yt euery one of these hath ye Pmise, & yet yt all of ym together do constitute ye full condition, & consequently yt they are neuer separated: But I will not conclude yt most men ~~haue~~ are damned yt haue ye faith yt Salvation is Pmised to, for want of Repentance: Or yt most yt haue ye Repentance mentioned in ye Pmise are damned for want of Hope: Or yt many yt haue ye Hope are damned for want of Loue: & you may as well say, many yt haue Loue are damned for want of Obedience or good workes. Yet still we grant yt all ye Radicall graces, ffaith, Repentance, Hope, Loue &c do suppose a necessity of Obedience as their fruit, & of Perseuerance. But pseuerance is not another thinge, but ye continuance of ye same. The theife on ye Cross was presently on his Conversion in a state of Salvation, & so was Paul, ye Jaylor &c. And yet on supposition they had longer to liue, ye full condition is, yet [si cetera adhibeantur &c] yt is, yt Obedience & Perseuerance be adjoyned. // §. 14. Yor Obseruation is a mistake, a contradiction to itselfe, & to you. A mistake, ffor Scripture calls on beleiuers to beleiue: 1 Joh. 3.23. & 5.13. Heb. 4.1.2.11. Heb. 10.22.35.38. & Heb. 11. throughout. many more might be cited. xt himselfe oft bids his disciples, beleiue in him. Joh. 14.1. & 20.27. &c. And it is selfe contradiction to say, he bids ym not beleiue, but continue, wn continuinge to beleiue is beleiuinge. But its like, you meane only of [beginninge to beleiue] But if so, ye many warnings to take heed of an euill heart of unbeleife, & of hypocrisy &c is enough agt you. 3o And yor obseruation is agt you. ffor if men are not called on to beleiue, much less de novo to accept of Christ for their Lord & Savior (unles on supposition of former hypocrisy). Ile find you many texts yt Comand Beleiuers to beleiue, for one yt comands ym to take xt for their Lord: yet it supposed this as done before. // And you may note yt euen to Beleiuers, Salvation is oft Pmised upon pseuerance in ye faith, as ye first title sufficient if continued (though no doubt supposinge ye inseparable concomitants & ye fruits) Coll. 1.22.23. to present you holy, unblameable &c, if ye continue in ye faith, grounded & settled & be not moued away from ye hope of ye Gospell (here hope is included in faith). Heb. 3.14. [ffor we are made ptakers of xt if we hold fast ye beginninge of or confidence stedfast unto ye end] Here 1o ffaith is a confidence, & not a bare Assent, 2o It makes and continueth us ptakers of Christ 3o If it continue to ye end, or pt in xt continueth. So Heb. 10.38.39. Continuinge in faith is called [Liuinge by faith & beleiuinge to ye sauinge of ye soule]. Paul liued by faith in the Son of God. Gal. 2.20. so faith is or spirituall life. Eph. 3.17. Christ dwelleth in ye heart by faith. // §. 15. The Opinion yt you haue held hath ye name of an Instrument in it, wch I haue no mind to quarrell with; but not ye nature of an Instrumentall cause; but with ye name, you giue us only ye description of ye meere acceptance, wch is ye Condition of a free guift,

& is ye thinge I plead for, only addinge 1o yt ye Condition is suited to the nature of Xt ye guift, who is a full Savior, 2o & to ye ends of ye Donor, wch is his owne honor as well as or Justificn. // §. 16. The passage you aske pdon of, we need not speake of, beinge both satisfyed. Its liker Children yn sober Christians or Divines to make a great matter of smart touches & plaine or somewt unmanerly passages agt one another. I am as guilty in this as you afterward tell me I am: but I can say yt I can beare the like from another as easily as ——. I am as far out of doubt that Mr Humfrey & I would faine know ye truth, & embrace it if we knew it, as I am yt you dwell at ffroome. And wt matter is it yn if we talke plainly one to another, as long as we abhorre slanderinge & railinge. I am tempted sometime to be glad wn an honest friend doth gird me a litle with plaine dealinge, so it be friendly & faithfull, yt I may be ye more excused wth him for ye like. // §. 17. As to yor Parenthesis, whether you fairly recited my distinction, note once more, yt I made ye subjects of ye Right, divers (if in eodem foro): The minister coram Deo hath a right to admitt: wch you turn'd into [ye psons Right to be admitted] wch he hath none accordinge to my assertion, but in another court. They are not all one. // §. 18. If you thought I spoke sleightingly ad Arg. 12. it was but of ye notion & not ye man (ye consequence I canot help:) beare wth or pdon my foolish confidence & plainess. Ile promise you easily to beare ye like. // §. 19. At yor request I have once & againe reviewed yt point of ye worlds potentiall interest, & ye unregenerate beleivers actuall interest in generall Grace: & truly I can make nothing of it yet, wth all my litle witt, though willinge. If I ever were partiall in this point in my studyes, it was on yor side, havinge (for other reasons) a great mind to have found out a middle way. And were it not for temptinge you to error I would tell you, wt I have bin tempted to myself as a more plausible way yn yors: but I am overpower'd by ye Arguments given you in those disputations. But yet I must tell you, that I never departed from seekinge out a middle thinge betweene Regeneration & hypocrisy. You mistake me: I never doubted of yt. I only say yt this middle thinge is not ye faith yt Scripture promiseth pdon & life to, nor yt wch prima intentione institutionis Baptisme is due to coram Deo, or yt gives men right to claime Baptisme. I take ye middle thinge to be a state like yt of Nicodemus, or more, even a preparatory state to true Regeneration: like his Luk. 18. yt went away sorrowfull, because he could not be accepted amonge ye Disciples on lower termes; & pchaps some may goe further yn he. These psons are 1o some of ym amonge ye Catechumens or Expectants or Candidates of Christianity (where they all should stay till they are better) & some & most of ym crept into ye Church, partly by or negligence, principally by their not understandinge wt they do. But though these have hypocrisy, yt is, (a profession of wt they have not) so far as they pfess true Xtianity or justifyinge faith & holyness, yet they are not hypocrites in professinge the comon Grace wch they have. But these middle men should stay under ye first sort of teachinge yt makes Disciples, till they are brought to sett more by Christ & pdon & life eternall, & deliverance from Hell, yn by ye filth of sin & ye dung of a transitory world (& is not this a reasonable thinge) & yn by Baptisme they should be listed in ye noble army of ye justifyed Saints (for such titles have all Christians in Scripture) and come under ye second sort of teachinge [to observe all things yt Xt comands &c]. Impartially I pray you peruse my Argumts, & tell me whether this be not ye Scripture way, & suspend ye while, yor affections to yt wch you have conceited to be ye Rationall way. God by ye booke of Nature & Providence teacheth all men: yt is ye first order. Evangelizing tendereth Xt & life in ye Covent of Grace, & ye κήρυκες do proclaime a free pdon of sin, & salvation to ye world, on Condition they become true Christians, acceptinge Christ & pdon as offered, & followinge him afterward till they come to glory. This κήρυγμα is ye second sort of teachinge, belonginge to ye audientes, Catechumens or Expectants, till κηρύσσειν ye efficacy of ye word & Spirit, become μαθητεύειν, & yn men are entered in ye third order if they be sincere, & yn ye διδάσκειν, επιχορτειν, ποιμαίνειν &c is ye teaching & food yt is their portion: yet so as yt ye Institutor of ye ordinances, foreknowing yt multitudes would thrust into ye Church, yt were not intended in ye sense of ye invitation, & come without ye wedding garmt, hath so disposed of ye frame of Ch: worship, as yt it shall have an aptitude to helpe ym to yt Sanctificn wch they wanted. And in entering men must goe according to ye best of ye knowledge they can have of their owne hearts: God & mamon, are set before, Christ & Eternall Glory; and deliverance from Hell fire, is sett agt ye pleasures of sin for a season. He yt chooseth ye former before ye latter is really a Christian: And if he doubt whether he do it sincerely; yet if he do discerne, yt as far as his heart is knowne to him, this is his resolved choice, its his duty to confess ye choice & resolution wch he feeles. And if some unsanctifyed persons should be mistaken in their owne hearts thinking yt they habitually or resolvedly preferre Christ & Heaven before ye pleasures of sin, & so in a passionate moode be baptized, though it were their sin to be so far mistaken in ymself, yet not such a sin as putts ym out of ye way of further mercy; tho: yet they shall not have yt pardon & Adoption &c wch ex primâ intentione instituentis, are ye ends & present benefits of faith & Baptisme. || §. 20. I showed you enough in ye Argumt you answere to confute yor conceit of Johns Baptisme beinge but a meanes to Repentance. 1o wt was ye rise or nature of yt Confession yt came not from a heart repentinge? surely to say, I have bin a lyar, fornicator &c & not signifye repentance for it, is either as much as to say, I will be so againe, & so is a profession of sin, & not a Confession; or else it is an insignificant, ludicrous thinge. To wt end did they confess? 2o And on yor ground all ye world of ye Impenitent had right to yt Baptisme: you canot prove yt John Baptized those yt he called a generation of vipers, much less yt he did it without their Confession of Repentance. He yt said, [if we confess or sins, he is faithfull & just to forgive or sins] tooke not confession for ye act of Impenitents. But I have answered you in ye Argumt & or Comentators more on ye text. || §. 21. You imagine that Act. 2. et alibi true Repentance is required of ye Baptized, but not as antecedent: But I have confuted this from so many texts, yt beinge satisfyed myself. you must spare me a further labor in doinge yt againe wch you reply not to. And whereas you call for proofe of a Confession, I answere 1o In times wn it was like to cost men their estates or lives, sure it was an open Confession, openly to receive Colors or ye Confessing signe. 2o And ye Apostles words told ym wt they must by yt signe confess. 3o The short history of Scripture tells us not all ye discourses of all ye people. 4o And yet theres more yn you talke of. Act 2. 41. they showed yt they gladly received ye word, yt called ym to repentance before they were baptized. Act. 10. Cornelius & his company had more yn a Confession. And so had Saul Act. 9. And Act. 19. 18. 19. they did more. But wt need more, wn 5o The Scripture still saith, they beleived & were baptized. How knew ye Apostles who beleived without a Confession? were they heart searchers to all those 1000s yt they baptized? yn sure they would have past by Simon Magus or some of them. 6o And ye very forme of Baptisme had a profession & Covent in it, & so it need not any long narrative of it besides. 7o And Ch: Tradition gives us ye forme of Baptisme with ye Confession, as fully as any thinge in ye world. 8o And if really you would have all ye adult baptized without a Confession, yn infidels, of all sorts may warrantably be baptized: And yn wt talke you of a comon faith or repentance, wn it need not be confest: & no Pastor can know yt comon faith without Confession. These things are not of easy digestion. || And whereas you say it is ye same faith & repentance, but an initium only: I answere, If morally ye same, its all yt I desire: The least faith & Repentance of yt same morall species hath ye promise of pardon & life: we never say it is a perfect degree yt must antecede: But if by ye same, you meane any indeed not ye same (as you seeme wn you make it some comon thinge), you should tell us once at last, wt it is by a true description, & not still plead for we know not wt. All true Repentance is [from dead workes] wn it is in ye least degree, & yet we grant yt there must be a ꝓfess in it & in faith. || § 22. In yor great objection are many mistakes, 1o all false ꝓfessors are not lyars at all, much less [manifestly are & dissemblers agt their owne consciences] as you speake. many good say they Repent & beleive or choose Christ before ye pleasure of sin, & do not know yt ye predominant habituall bent of their hearts is another way; and so lye not though they are mistaken: There may be a reall actuall esteeme of xt & desire of salvation by him, wch at yt time may overcome ye stirrings & actinge & feelinge of ye contrary habitt; & so ye man may really do this much, & thinke he doth it from a predominant habitt, or wth all his heart; though wn ye feare or other ꝓvocation is over, it will appeare he was mistaken: This man lyeth not, though he speake untruly, & his sin is not such, as to deprive him of ye fruit of ye Ordinances, wch in a visible Church he doth receive. 2o It is not a liberty to mistake or lye, or enter unduely into ye Church yt xt hath purchased for all or any. 3o Nor is it ye use of Ordinances considered as a consequent of their dissimulation or mistake. But ye mercyes purchased & given ym are these 1o An offer of pardon & life to all yt wth ye weakest faith accept of xt. 2o He alloweth his ministers to receive & Baptize or apply other Ordinances to those yt do but professe this faith, & seeke admission. 3o If many come in without ye weddinge garmt some thinkinge they repent & beleive heartily, wn it is but some flashy uneffectuall act; & others grossly dissemblinge, yet as ecclesiâ judice, they have a good title to their station; so xt doth patiently beare wth ym longe, & not so charge this sin upon ym, as to cutt ym off or thrust ym out. 4o They have ye honor of being in Covent wth him, by a visible Covent: though there is a double difference betweene ye Godly & ym in ye Covent: 1o yt ye Godly have ye initiall Condition professed, & they have not: 2o therfore God is as it were actually given up, & xt & life given up in Right by ye Covent to ye Godly: The Covent is become a reall title to ym, as to ye first speciall benefitts; & not so to any others. 5o They are ꝑmitted to live under ye teachinge & those Ordinances (yea those yt Deo judice they have no title to but a Ch: title) wch have in their owne nature a tendency or aptnes to convert & save even those yt come unworthily to ym: & many thousands yt unjustly enter are thus saved. In yor way, if a dissemblinge heathen enter (who I thinke you will confesse hath coram Deo no title) yet there is a fitnes in Ch: Ordinances for his Conversion. 6o He is ꝑmitted to possesse much mercy, safety & many Church priviledges by reason of his station amonge a people sanctifyed to God: And thus he is borne wth, fed & cared for by ye Pastors, loved and tendered by ye flock who take him to be sincere, & watcht over, & receiveth communication of their helpes in worldly & spirituall things, even till ye Lord himself come & say to him, how comest thou in hither, not havinge on a weddinge garmt. All these are mercyes & advantages wch can proceed from no other cause or purchaser yn xt. And thus yor great objection is answered.

§ 23. Do you thinke I ever doubted whether we may presse unregenerate men to enter Covent wth God? If you are [mine altogether] if I grant but this, I must say yt I not only grant it, but make it ye worke of my life to endeavo it. I call all ye unregenerate to Covent wth Christ: but yt I seperate not ye externall signe from ye internall Covent consent. As I presse ym to Pray, so I presse ym to Covent. Desire ~~is~~ ye soule of Prayer, & words are ye body. I meane both wn I bid ym Pray; for ye words are no more a Prayer alone yn a corps is a man. I meane not [speake to God ye things yt never was in yor heart], but Pray: yt is, desire & speake: utter yor desires. So here; bare words are but a corps before God & not a Covent. Wn I call on ym to Covent I meane 1o to purpose or choose or consent & yn to ꝓfesse it: & a credible ꝓfession Ile take as a signe of Consent in my administrations, but not a knowne falshood. || § 24. All my words in ye 5th Rest are as agreeable wth this doctrine of mine as wth yors. If you cannot yorself tell wt ye Covent is yts short of ye true Covent, wch you would have all admitted to ꝓfesse, I know not how you can expect yt we should receive yt from you, wch you are not yet resolved (wt it is) yorself. I yeild to all yt you here desire viz yt ye unregenerate be admitted to any ꝓfession wch is true; but I would have none short of ye ꝓfession of savinge faith

yt Christianity sealed by Baptisme: And I must confesse to you yt it much con=
firmeth me in this to find yt I have ye ancient & present universall Church on
my side: And I cannot take up another sort of visible Xtianity itsf. now in ye
end of ye world, yn all Xts Church hath hitherto knowne. See wt I cited out
of Gataker or rather Gataker himself agt Davenant out of ye Fathers. Even
ye Papists require a profession of saving faith & Repentance & pronounce
all yt duely Baptized to be justifyed from all sin, & saved if they so dye
before mortall sin. // §. 25. I unfeignedly thanke you for tellinge me of
my faults: but ye truth is I am conscious allready & long agoe of all save one:
& yt is [Engagednes]. A Sceptick I would not be: If evidence did not engage
me, I must beleive nothinge & be of no Religion: But I am able wth con=
fidence to say, yt it is not bec other men byas me (but ye universall Ch:
as I said) nor bec I have once said it, or owned an opinion, yt makes me
sticke to it: But did I thinke it were ye truth they hold, I could this night
turne over to Anabaptists, Papists, Arminians or any. But I confesse wn
I see reason for wt I hold, I cannot let it goe so easily, as those yt differ
from me wish: And this displeaseth ym, who are eager to have all men of
their owne mind: but I cannot helpe it. Should I turne to you, I must be
more displeasinge to others. Just now as I am writinge, comes to my hand
A booke agt me (ye end of Mr Shepheard a Lawyer, of sincerity) written
by ye learned Mr Barlow, on ye cleere contrary, for my cominge so neere
you as I do. How can ye most ductile man please all in such a world?
You draw one way & he ye other: wt shall I do? even please God as
neere as I can whoever be displeased // I beseech you as you dis=
cover ye over eagernes of my speech & writinge, helpe me agt it by yor
prayers. I know it to be true. Yet not to belye mys. I must confess this
to you 1o yt I do not feele any passion or distast agt my Brethren any
more wn I speake so keenly yn at other times; but it is my naturall temp. to
be earnest in speech, & wn I write agt an erro. I am ready to thinke I should
lay open ye worst of it, & leave it naked. 2o And my judgmt alloweth
me much more this way, yn any yt I deale with will take well. Methinks
wn I dispute agt a sin or erro., I should call it by its owne name, & tell men
truly wt it is, & this by consequence (wch I cannot helpe) reflects upon the
autho.: And yn I too oft goe further yn I should, not well consideringe
how gratinge & provokinge some truths are to those yt are dishono.ed by ym;
& my erro. lyes in this, yt I have not bin so carefull as I should to silence
those truths for matter or maner, wch I might have foreseene would provoke
men: And indeed it is in disputation so hard a thinge in every word to doe
as we would be done by, & to aske, how would I be here spoken to mys.;
yt I have long allmost hated disputinge for ye accidents, wn God & men have
made it my unavoidable duty for ye substance. For speech, my tempe is
to be much silent, till I am entered into a debate, & yn to have an unman=
nerly eagernes, wn I feele no passion stirringe. // I never looke my dis=
putations should melt hearts; but wn I do wt Peter did, yn I find by Gods
blessinge some of his successe. Its Preachinge agt sin & not disputinge about
Controversyes with men yt are sett to maintaine ye contrary to mine, yt must pricke
ye heart. // §. 26. I rather feare I am too cold yn too hott about Associ=
ations. I can prove it as sure & as great a duty, as yor prayinge wth yor fa=
mily, pchaps as Preachinge to yor Parish: & most of yor administrations may
as well be called [a clutter] I thinke as yt we urge. Did you not Pray or
Preach I should take ye freedome, to tell you my dislike of it; & if you thought
me violent for makinge such a clutter, I would not so change my judgmt:
though I am too easily psuaded to cease provokinge men to duty yt take it
ill. As it is a duty for pticular Christians to Associate in a Church for pso=
nall worship, so is it for Chs & Pastors to associate for a Comunion of Chs;
& all should be concatenated. The servitude you shake of, is such you know as
ye universall Ch: hath owned, & stablished in their Canons as a necessary thinge
for Governmt, order, union & Comunion. I could not have taken it for a servitude to
have concurred wth ye universall Chs in so needfull & sweet & profitable a Comunion
Especially wn I observe how much of heresye or schisme was of old wont to be imputed
to ye withdrawinge from it. So much to yor first sheet. //

§. 1. In yor 2d sheet you begin wth a description of ye Condition qualifyinge for Baptisme: wch I yt you had done intelligibly: but Generalls are so comprehensive yt its hard to limitt yor meaninge. 1° The doctrine of Christ containes essentially 1° ye wordes wch are ye signes, 2° ye grammaticall sense, wch is ye signification, 3° ye thinge signifyed as such. 4° The end (for all signes are relative). Now he yt receiveth ye doctrine of Christ indeed, receiveth all this. 2° Receivinge is 1° by ye eye or eare, wch is no more yn to read or heare it, & yt is 1° unwillingly, wn men heare agt their wills, 2° or willingly, wn they consent to read or heare. 2° Or it is ye apprehension of ye Intellect, wch is 1° an understandinge ye sense of it, 2° or a beleife of ye truth, 3° or a knowinge ye goodnes of it, called estimation. 3° Or receivinge is yt of ye will, wch is diversifyed according to ye nature of ye object, 1° Its allwayes wth a complacency, volition or (rationall) Love, bec ye object is allwayes good. 2° wn its a practicall doctrine it is wth a consent to obey; & so of ye rest. Now it is not a humane act (yt is actus moralis) unles all these be in it: for if it reach not ye will, it deserves not ye name. If so without Equivocation Christs doctrine as such be received, 1° It is heard or read, 2° It is understood beleived & esteemed, 3° & yt as Doctrine, for ye end & sake of ye thinge expounded: & its more ye thinge signifyed, yn ye letter, sound or signe yt is received: 4° And it is Loved, & yt qua talis 1° as Xts, 2° as revealing such good & acceptable truths, 3° as leadinge to God & Glory, by pardon, holynes &c 5° And there is a purpose, consent or Resolution to obey it. If any one of these be wantinge ye Doctrine of Xt qua talis is not received, but it is an equivocall reception, & secundum quid only. By all wch it is evident yt in Scripture (or comon sense) no man receives ye Doctrine of Christ, 1° That doth not receive Xt himself as ye author of it, 2° & is not willing & desirous to have Xt, God & Glory as ye End, 3° That receives not Christ pardon, holynes by a complacency, consent & beleife, as ye signifyed matter & expounded good, 4° yt consenteth not to obey it. 5° much less yt understandeth it not, or beleiveth it not. If now you speake plainly as Scripture & comon reason directeth, yn you yeild me all ye cause: for this receivinge ye Doctrine of Xt is as much as I require. But if you meane any other receivinge, how should I know wt it is? [Be not offended wth me as most are, for anatomizinge Generalls, & not swallowinge yem in ye lumpe & darke]: 1° If you meane only a receivinge by ye senses, so do all Infidells yt heard or read it. I know yts not yor meaninge. 2° If you meane a meere understandinge ye sense, so alsoe do ye most desperate infidells & persecutors. 3° If you meane an Assent to ye truth only if this be dead & uneffectuall, it is but wt ye Devills have, & it may stand wth a refusall yet to have Xt for or Savior, yea wth an open persecutinge of ye Xtian name: But if it be lively & effectuall, workinge by Love, yn it is but ye initiall pt of yt true receivinge, wch allway moveth ye will to consent; & is savinge faith. 4° If you adde an estimation of ye Good, yn either Xt is esteemed above ye pleasures of sin or not: If he be not, yn such an estimation may stand wth renouncinge & persecutinge Xt: If he be, yn either by dreaminge opinion (& yts not true faith quoad actum) or by reall practicall beleife; & yt prevaileth wth ye will to consent & prosecution, & is ye thinge I plead for. So much about yor first qualificn [Receivinge ye Doctrine of Christ] only I would aske whether you can thinke yt any receivinge of Doctrine without receivinge Xt as Xt will make Xtians. // Yor 2d is [Subjection to ye Ordinances] viz [of worship & Discipline]. This alsoe must be anatomized as ye former, if we must understand it, wch you may suppose done to save a labor. 1° Here ye terme [Subjection] brings us word yt you lay it in ye will as well as ye understandinge (And yn do you call it faith or wt?) 2° Quoad actum you require even as much of ye will as I. Only I require [Subjection to Xt] nd you but [to ye Church in externall Regimt & Ordinances]. 3o But I pray you lay by partiality, & seriously thinke whether it be from ye name of Christ] or of ye [Church & Ordinances] yt we are called Xtians? And whether we are Baptized into ye name of Christ or of ye Church first? 4o Is it not a humane faith or subjection wch is solely or principally in man & not Christ? Christianity yn is a humane subjection or contract: 5o yea is it not a palpable contradiction to submitt to ye Church as Xts Ch: (wch is essentiall to it) or to ye Ordinances as Xts Ordinances; before we submitt to Christ himselfe. I have confuted all this in my [Safe Religion] agt ye Papists. 6o And it is a contradiction to subject ourss. to Ch: & Ordinances, as such, & yet not to use ym as meanes for Sanctificn & Salvation. No meanes can be used before ye end is intended: God must be loved as ye end, before you can truly (without equivocation) subject yorss. to ye Ordinances as meanes to him. 7o yea ye neerest end of these ordinances, wch is essentiall to ym is ye Holynes & Comunion wth God by Xt & ye Spirit, wch no wicked man can intend without equivocation. 8o And wt Ch: is it yt you meane (upon ye I take not yt) wch is more necessarily to be subjected to yn Xt? I know by ye Ch: you meane not ye Comon people: And I thinke you meane not a Synod of Presbyters, or else you would not take associatinge wth ym as a servitude & choose to use yor freedome. And if you meant it of Protestant Bps, you would not so much crosse their mind & way. Those con him litle thankes yt will teach as from ym, yt subjection to a Bp is more necessary yn subjection to Christ. Besides it is ye universall Ch: yt we are Baptized into: & so it must needs be ye universall Church to wm you will have ye Baptized subject: for phaps he may be of no particular Church. But really if you are of Bellarmines Ch: & mind (wch yet I will not thinke) in this essentiall point of Popery, you'le find wn you have thought on't as well as I, yt its ye very worst of all their works [yt we are Baptized into ye name of ye Pope implicitely at least.] wt other externall Regimt hath ye universall Ch: as one? A Concatenation of Chs may have an Association of Pastors in a Councill: but this cannot now be generall: & ye Canons of these you goe quite agt. 9o Even they yt plead for ye Headship of ye Pope or Councill (vid Card. Rich=lieu Defens.) do say yt he is not another Head distinct from Xt but is only a vice=Xt. Now it cannot be yt a Xtian should not first in order of nature be united to ye Head, yn to his servt. 10o A man may (in ye sense of Fr. S. Clara & ye tribe) be united to ye outward head of ye Ch:, & have an implicite faith beleivinge as ye Ch: beleives, & promise to be a member of it & obey it, & yet not know whether Xt were a man or a woman, created or uncreated, nor any more of him yn ye Irish yt say he was of ye two ye better man yn St Patrick, or yn Dr John Whites Catholicke Catechumene, yt beinge askt who Xt was answered [shee was not taught so far, but sure it was some good thinge, or else it should not have bin put into ye Creed]; or yn ye Mexicans yt learne only ye name [Christian] before they are Baptized, & most of ym or many forgett yt wn they come home (say ye Jesuites). But certainly these are subject even to ye Church, but materially & not formally: for no man can know wt ye Ch: is yt know's not Xt whose Ch: it is. For my pt, I do, as I would be done by. I would have no body thinke yt its more necessary to be subject to Me or my Associates yn to Xt: & so I will not thinke yt its more necessary to be subject to ye Pope, Councill or Bps yn to Xt: And I dare say Mr H will not tell his people [you may be Xtians without subjection to Xt, so you will but be subject to me]. 11o Even on yor termes I confess I verily thinke or Country should shutt out twice, yea ten times as many from Baptisme as on ors. For Xt beinge in heaven many would promise obedience to him, yt would never be brought to wt you desire [to be ordered by ye Ch: in all things, & subject ymss to reproofe & censure upon any disorder]. This is the very things they abhorre &

would not stoop to. 12° But is subjection to all this Discipline so essentiall to Christianity? sure yn you'le use it diligently. In how many have you used it? have yor made yor people by doctrine & exercise know wt it is? How can they be baptized into subjection to a Ch: & Discipline wch they know not? See yt all yt you admitt to sacraments know wch is the Church & wt is ye Discipline yt they must be subject to; or else they'le be void even of this sort of Xtianity. Sure if Albaspinaeus a good Bp say true yt he knowes not whether ever any in his age was so much as kept from ye Comunion, ye Papists practice but little Discipline, so yt ye summe of all their peoples Religion (of necessity) is [be ruled by us & you are Xtians]. In a word ye Church is ye great Corporation of Xt: & he yt is not united to him as ye Head, is no member of the Corporation, though he pmise subjection to Pope & all ye Prelates on Earth. And where you say, yt thus it was in ye beginning, were it not for making a volume of a Letter, I would show you as plaine as ye highway yt nothing is more untrue, & yt its quite contrary to Scripture & all ye Catholike Church. But I have done it Disp. 2. allready.

§. 2. As to yor point of conveying ye first grace by Baptisme, I have spoke to it in my Disp. et alibi fully, & showed you yt ye ffathers were not agt me in this, as you affirme. By Baptisme, wn they gave it such eloggyes, they meant not ye corps of it, ye outward washing alone, but ye body & soule of it, even [A hearty covent betweene Xt & ye soule solemnized by ye signe of washing in ye name of the ffather Son & H: Ghost] & so they not only required faith first, but even actuall Reformation (as Austin de fide et operibus fully, and Justin in his Apology & many more): And so Baptisme gave ye first pdon not principally, but secondarily, by obsignation of ye pmise, ye primary instrumt, & as Coronation makes a King, so it made a Xtian. But ye first inherent grace was ever ~~first~~ supposed, as I have oft pved at large: & in Scripture & all ye ffathers its past question. ||

§. 3. As to yor words from Rom. 2 & 3 I have at full answered that Argumt, but I pceive you insist more on yt you have in yor mind, yn freely to consider of wt is offered to ye contrary. 1° It is not only quoad fructum yt [ye no circumcision] is so called; but as all Divines comonly in defining sacraments, sometime define only ye materiall signe & actions wth their significacon; & sometime take in ye internall covenanting as ye signifyed essentiall (one being ye body, ye other ye soule of ye sacramt) so doth Paul here in one respect deny ye outward signe to be indeed Circumcision, yt is, not ye very ordinance instituted of God, & having ye pmise of ye blessing; but only a carkasse of it: & elsewhere calls it circumcision, bec ye name is taken from ye outward signe. 2d The Circumcision Rom. 3. 1. yt had ye advantage, was not only ye outward, before called [no circumcision]; but it was the whole body of ye Jewes containing good & bad; of wm v. 4. some only beleived not: so yt ye speciall advantage was to ye elect, & ye comon advantage was no more yn I have yeilded & expressed, together wth ye peculiar nationall pmises (of Canaan etc) to the Jewes yt belong not to us or any other. I yeild yt ye oracles of God are now comitted to ye Baptized, as yn to ye Jewes. ||

§. 4. You strangely talke of equivocall Xtians, viz yt they are so in my sense & not in ye other: as if yt did not fully show ye word to be equivocall: wt! do you thinke yt Sydus Caeleste is not equivocally called Canis, or Prata non equivoce rident, vel segetes fluctuant, bec it is a reall thing in its kind, wch these words signifye? You forgett ye nature of Equivocalls. || §. 5. Of yor initiall justificn by dogmaticall faith I have said enough. Usually in Scripture the assent mentioned implyeth consent. The Jewes confest ymsel. ~~to be~~ willing to be subject to ye Messiah, but beleived not yt this was he.

To beleive in a Savior is to beleive in a Physitian of soules. And who know=
=eth not yt this containeth Assent, Consent & Affiance, as any Physitian will
be understood yt requireth it. I grant it saveth but initially, bec there is
more to be done: But so yt a Papist will grant me yt he yt dyes Baptized
(presently) is saved. Their initiall justificn hath some sence, but yors I know
not wt to make of. To be but in a way towards justificn, is falsly called
initiall justificn! Why say you not, how far yt man is pardoned, & how far
not? Why all grant yt Assent is ye initiall act; but wee hold, yt wn it is
lively, effectuall & justifyinge, Consent & affyance are ever joyned. ||
§.6. Yor exposition of Paul & James I consent to. ||

To yor 3d sheet. §.1. ad Qu. 1 you may take ye matter into yor
owne hands, but God hath made but one sort of Christianity, at least ye
condition of ye Baptizeable. || Ad qu. 2. bec he hath a double con=
sent to seeke: God's & ye Chs, & if he venture on ye latter only, let
him answere God as he can. Ad qu. 3. You suppose a mans workes
to speake more yn his tongue; & yn they are a Profession: But if
you speake wth him you shall have more from his tongue; wch is the
naturall & Scripture way of opening ye mind. Its one thinge, wt may
give private hopes of a man; & another wt is ye Profession yt should be
taken as satisfactory for a publike administration. The synod of Dort
spoke of Baptized & ꝑfest xtians only. You see my paper will hold
no more. Pardon ye necessitated delay & ye plainnes of ~~yor~~

Yors unfeignedly
Ri: Baxter.

March 13. 1657/8

Vid. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. 4°
Concil. Arausican. 2. Can. 5. Siquis sicut augmentum, ita etiam
initium fidei ipsum credulitatis affectum, quo in Deum credimus
qui justificat impium, et ad Regenerationem baptismatis ꝑveni=
mus, non ꝑ gratiæ donum, id est, ꝑ inspirationem Spiritus San=
ti, corrigentem voluntatem nostram ab infidelitate ad fidem,
ab impietate ad pietatem, et naturaliter nobis inesse dicit, Apos=
tolicis dogmatibus adversarius approbatur
Can. 8. Siquis alios misericordia, alios vero ꝑ liberum arbitrium,
(quod in omnibus qui de prævaricatione primi hominis nati sunt) con=
stanti sententia hominem in gratiam baptismi posse venire con=
tendit, a recta fide probatur alienus.

To Mr John Humfrey

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Reverend Brother

Did you know my businesse & weaknes I know you would easily excuse my delayes in answering yor letters, & not impute it to a willfull neglect as also my present contracted brevity. As for my thoughts about yor controversy of the Lords Supper, you may gather much of ym from wt is said in my Christian Concord with or Worcester-shire agreemt. I beleeve yt ye great reasons of excluding men from yt sacramt doe respect it as an eminent pt of chu: communion; & therefore yt such exclusion must not goe alone but be conjunct wth exclusion from other speciall acts of communion also: & yt ministers must not do it but on evident & weighty cause, & upon iust tryall (in cases where tryall is necessary); & yt it hath bin a great evill in or dayes yt so many pastors have contented ymselves to exclude men from yt ordinance while they have continued ym in all other acts of communion with ye chu: & never (supposing iust cause) required ye chu: to avoyde ym. yet I am confident yt there is iust grounds of suspending some persons from yt & other parts of communion, before ye sentence may be passed on ym as men to be avoyded. In yor booke I observe yt you deny not discipline, nor to exclude excommunicate persons from ye Lords supp: & yt you reckon among these, such notorious scandalous sinners as are excommunicate ipso jure. Nor had you but more largely & clearly opened those two concessions, you would have taken of much preiudice from ye minds of ye offended, & prevented such harme as ye licentious may possibly receive by misunderstanding you. For every man is excommunicate ipso jure, whose obstinacy & impenitency is so notorious to ye chu: yt there is need of no tryall or sentence: this extends to too many among us: but it hath happened to you in this, as it did to me in writing of justification: while I was intent on my maine worke, & bestowed many words in confirming ye doctrine of James &c. I yeilded as much on ye other side as Protestants doe require, yet bec my seeming opposition was in more words, & my concessions in fewer men fixed their eyes so on ye former as if I had given all, or overmuch to works, & overlooked my concessions, bec they were not insisted on, as being not my worke. So are these two concessions of yors (& more such passages) so briefly touched, yt carelesse & passionate readers see ym not. // But you are pleased to aske my advice, wt you should doe in this case I will be bold to tell you my thoughts freely. I would advise you to draw ye saw no more but presently to write a briefe treatise containing these parts. 1o declare ye necessity of discipline, & urge ministers as speedily to set it up, yt so ye impenitent may be excluded orderly as you have already opposed yt exclusion yt seemes to you ungrounded & disorderly: & yn men will see yt it is not a iust but an uniust exclusion yt you are agt, & yt it is not uncleannes & libertinisme yt you countenance while you endevor even more yn by meere exclusion from ye supp can be attained. Be not too briefe in this, & presse it home & shew ym yt it is ye doctrine yt you stood for. And herein specially ye build upon yor concession yt ye excommunicate ipso jure may be excluded & avoyded without a sentence: (ye command being expresse, avoyd such; have no fellowship with ym, eate not with ym &c. wch oblige in a notorious case whether any chu: guide shall censure or not) 2o review (& if you agree with me recall) wt you have written agt suspension, (supposing it regular). if a man be drunke openly before ye sacramt so newly yt there is no time to try his repentance shall ye chu: presently hold communion with him, or shall they excommunicate him presently? neither I thinke. they know he is a drunkard & therefore are expressly required to avoyd him: they know not yt he is obstinate & impenitent & therefore must not excommunicate him. therefore they must avoide him till by iust tryall they discerne whether he be penitent or not. And to take every sudden & slight confession for true satisfactory penitence is but to elude Gods lawes & frustrate his ordinances of discipline, wch ye chu: hath ever more severely exercised. many other reasons I have for some iust suspention. 3o if you are of my opinion you should also acknowledge this power to remaine in ye officers of each particular chu: even in one minister where he is ye sole guide. if you thinke otherwise, yt none must do it but a classis, or a bishop, you may expresse it as far as you see cause. at least it seemes to me yt ye pastors of any chu: have not power to suspend his owne act & to apply ye precept (of avoyding such) in an evident case. 2o ye 2d pt of yor treatise (or ye first) I would have to containe ye true stating of ye question betweene you & others about exclusion from sacramts contracting ye difference into as narrow a roome as possible. 3 ye 3d pt should be a plaine close exhortation to ye licentious & unruly sort (wch are of great trouble) to acknowledge ye authority of their pastors & submit to their iust guidance, & not to grudge at ym & grieve ym, & account it tyranny to be under their governmt: particularly to come to ym frequently & voluntarily for advice in matters of salvation much more to come wn they are sent to be taught, or examined to yt end, whether before ye sacramt or at any other time. its an intollerable thing in my eyes, yt wn a minister is made ye teacher & guide of ye chu; & ye people bound to enquire of ye law at his mouth & aske wt shall we do to be saved, & wn six parts of his worke lies in such personall instructions resolving of doubts, Admonitions &c. yt yet any man should aske by wt authority doth a minister examine his flock. As if a scholler aske his master by wt authority he reades this booke to him rather yn another & calls him to say his lesson! Obey ym yt have ye rule over you & submit yorselves Heb: 13:7. doth oblige or peop: to ten times more yn ever I knew any minister put ym to. a minister may at any time require an account of their learning

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Mr John Humfrey

why not ym before ye sacramt: (tho: to yt much I say nothing) Here acquaint ye
people well wth ye ministeriall power & their owne duty to ym I am con
such a treatise of these 3 pts, will do more good & yet you more inst
& better answer you & satisfy yor opposers, ym any replies you can make to
Also I advise you to be sure to associate wth yor brethren of ye ministry, &
wth ym in all their meetings; & if they have received any offence ag
you, give ym all just satisfaction, & be sure to keep in unity wth ym. If you
have given out yt yor life is less exact & pious yn becomes a minister
this have bin so, freely confess it & give God ye glory of yor change; if
have not, vindicate yorselfe, for it is a comon report. tho: for my part
language of yor writings hinders me from beleeving yt it is so now, wh
ever you have bin. Sir I deale freely wth you as I would be dealt wth
according to yor encouragemt. // to ye rest of yor letter I can but tell you
yt I am sorry I cannot now have leisure to answer to ye particulars; I
am sorry to perceive yt you have any temptation to stagger in ... but
I pray & pray you see yt reason still acknowledg its imperfection, & submit
to ye certainty of divine revelation, wt ever difficulties or improbabili
in ye matter revealed may occurre. God hath many wayes to solve of
yt we see not 2o for yt of ye covent. 1o I confesse as you, yt faith is from
election, yet so as Xts death doth merit it remotely, tho: not as it procur
mission under ye notion of a satisfaction, ransome & sacrifice strictly
2o how far it comes from ye covt. & how far unregenerate Xtians are me
in Covent yn heathens, I have told you my thoughts in my Append. to
booke of Bapt. & in my answer to Mr Blake (wch I conjecture will
thought to exclude comon Xtians too farre): to wch in this hast I must ref
you. Sr. Pardon ye necessitated brevity of these desultory lines. the Lo
enlighten & stablish you in his truth & give you more of ye sav
& comforting virtue of it in yor soule, & make you yet more a bl
to his church. so heartily prayes Yor weake fellow servant

Kiddermynster June 20: 1654 Rich. Baxter

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Pray give my service to Mr [illegible], to Mr
I shall take care to discharge it.

To Mr John Humphrey Minister
at Froome in Somersetshire

[redacted] 25.

25

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Revrnd Sr

I am afraid yt I have so long disappointed yor expectations of a lre yt you may think you have just ground to imagine yt I am one of those, yt use to forgett ~~those~~ yt have obligations to so soon as ye necessity of yr affairs occasions them to be absent from them. And indeed I must confess yr were reason to place mee almost in ye same predicamt wth Mr Doncaster, if it were not yt yr is something more in my case, yn wt may appear to you at first view; and yrfore Sr I shall give you some acct of my self & yn I doubt not but yt I shall obtain more favourable thoughts from you yn otherwise I might have seemed to deserve. — My Voyage was indeed far more tedious yn I hoped it should have proved, for, wt by an obstinate Calm, and a little contrary Wind, it was the last of June before I gott to Newc. and yet, notwithstanding all the tediousness of such a Voyage, for my part I have no reason to repent yt I chose rather to go by sea than by land, for I may suspect yt Considering my constitution ye heat and toil of a land Journey might possibly have had ye same effect on me yt it had on one of Sr Wm Blacketts sons, who coming down by land wthin two or three days riding contracted a ffeaver by it, wch has cost him his life. — Immediately upon my arrivall here I was posted into Cumberld, whether I am also to go again to morrow, so yt I hope you will do me ye Justice to conclude yt this was ye first opportunity I had to assure you (Sr) that I am

Newc. July 10
— 75

Yor very much obliged Friend, &
Servt

Wm Gilpin.

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Some lres from Scotld assure us yt Landerdale doth not carry things so, before him at ye Convention as at first wee were told he did, and particularly yt Sr Patrick Hume did so vigourously oppose his nominating ye Comittee, yt he could not by any means attain yt point. However it is propounded to ym to consider of a Method for ye raising of Money to maintain those forces yt have been raised in yt Kingdome by vertue of a late act of Parliamt amongst them —— Sr Patrick was one night seized on in his own house & Comitted close prisoner to ye Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he still continues ——

Pray give my service to Mrs Silvestr, to Mr Sim[illegible] Mr Elond &c. — wt I am indebted to you for my post pray lett me know, I shall take care to discharge it -

26.

To

Mr Matthew Silvester,
at his house in Dogwell Court in
White Friers, Fleetstreet,

London

these

Deare Sir 6 Last of March.

Yors of the 24 came not to my hands till yesterday, & then in such
a way as is no great incouragement to me to write, for one unknown
on porter broght it from I know not who, Always, I am glad
I had it. And must in the first place returne my most hearty
thankes for that undeserved value you are pleased to put on me
Yor Letter is so full that in a Letter I cannot pretend to give
it a particular answer Especially being so straitned wth time
that I have not above halfe an houre to write in.
But by the assistance of God I shall compens it wth speedy
waiting upon you, & truely I never made a journey with
greater satisfaction, I had done it before, but to speake
freely (want of mony to discharge necessary debts at
my Last Lodging (for no manner of provision is made
for me) hath hitherto stopt me, but that rub will be over
next week I hope, And then God willing the week after
I shall be in Kidderminster where I hope none will know
me but yor selfe. Yet something I must needs now say
Our old obligations to C.R (~~[illegible]~~) are in my opinion cleer on
us, The violences of the army first against 11 members &
the yeere 1647 (wch I reckon as the root of our Evills) And
their continued violencies 1648. Their pretended change of
government, & all wch O. did (of wch you give an excellent
caracter) all those actions & what ever were the consequents of them
could not free this nation of the many oaths of God that
they were under. And as for poore R.P. alas he was
but an appendix of his fathers unjust violences, at best
he was made by his nomination (if it was not a cheat) And
as to the pretended Parlt which ~~confirmed~~ him where they found
him. 1o They were no Parlt, 2o no House of Comons for there
were 60 members of Scotland & Ireland who have had
nothing to doe in an English parlt, & those from Scotland
were as truely the representatives of Madagascar
as of Scotland. If they tooke an oath at the doore
Let them repent who tooke it, sure they did not by it
ingage the Nation, Many were sword men, most imposed
by the pretended Court, It was a strange Olio, such
a hodgepodge as can never be reckoned the representative
of either, much Less of all the kingdomes, In a word force
and armed violence deprived us of our government & hurried us
into confusions Now it hath pleased God to give us some hopes

that the souldiery shall be subject to the civill power And th
we may by the Lords blessing hope for a settlement. The ques
is not what government we shall have (Blessed be God we had
nay we have one If we can be allowed to returne to what
were when violence was first used to the Parlt) But the ques
is whither a sword shall prevaile to the apparent ruine of the
& state, Or if England shall returne againe to be governed
Parlts, This I thinke is a cleer duety to be endeavored
being a duety we need not doubt of Gods protection from
feares that are suggested. England I hope is not in a con
to feare a Parlt (Especially under the limitations agreed
If I know my owne heart I may solemly professe that the inte
of Jesus Christ & the good of his people shall ever sway me
beyond the interest of any or of all the men on earth. The
dangers they suggest shall I hope be cleerly satisfied. The
Eldest brother I know to be a wise just & excellent person
The second I am confident is not what it seems he is by en
mies reported to be: Those who love religion best may
have the greatest interest If they please, They are free fr
the guilt of destroying King & Parlt, God forbid they
wth their enemies to involve us in new confusions: That pro
dence wch hath so strangely raised the spirits of these
nations gives me hope that it is in mercie. For the Lord
sake ingage not in any thing wch may hinder you from
being the great instrument of union in these Churches, If
you should smile againe at it, I must repeat it, I am
most confident God will reserve you for that worke.
Let me but beg that you will not write till I see you
I have nothing els to loose, but I had much rather lose
much blood then you should use inke in such a cau
Oh if it were Gods will that you could come to Lond
How joyfully would I meet you a dayes journey from it
But I dare not hope for it, And therfor if before th
day sennet you give me no hopes of yr coming, I sha
by Gods grace be with you next week after, Deare fr
ingage not in that wch in my poore judgment may do
much hurt, Remember Nescit vox missa reverti, You
shall not be a neuter long, I trust to see you as you
have been often, A champion for the good old cau
You will pardon what I say in confusion, often interr
Debate must cleer one of us, we agree in the maine
I trust we shall agree in the means. Take heed of the
man by whom you sent me a message, He hath a br
& a heart [illegible] a tongue wch agree wth neither. You know
am you

For my much honored
reverend friend

Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the gospell

At Kiderminster

To our worthy good friend and faithfull preacher of Gods word Mr Baxter at Bridgnorth present these

Worthy Sir

These may certifie you, That whereas Mr George Dance our Vicar hath condiscended by an obligation of 500li to bind himselfe to give way and leave, that a godly learned preacher of gods word be chosen to be Lecturer, and to permitt and suffer him freely to preach in the Parish Church of Kidderminster without interruption or contradiction of himselfe or Curate, and also to allow for the maintenance ~~of~~ and encouragement of such a preacher or Lecturer the sum of threescore pounds per Annum, and him to be elected and nominated by us whose names are subscribed, and some others; we therefore having both heard a good report of your selfe, and some of us having had experience of your abilities and godly conversation, would intreate you to take upon you this service and labor, and with what convenience you may to come over for your farther approbation and tryall, that satisfaction soe neere as possibly may be given to all, which we suppose would be very convenient in many respects if on Thursday next in the morning you could be heard to exercise amongst us, soe hoping, that the Lord, who hath opened this dore of entrance, will also direct your way unto us, we take leave and are

your affectionate friends

Kidderminster this sixth of March 1640/1

Sr I pray yu be cleare to venture upon it at furthest for yor comming doth very concerne us & if yu give 20s for supplie for Sabboth day it shall be payd you — [illegible]

and meet if you at [illegible]

John Corbine
Francis Cowper
Thomas Longmore
Robert Greene
Edw. Richards
Thomas Ware
Edward Baldwine
Roberte Whittell
Abraham Plimley
Thomas Reade
Simon Harrisonn

28

88

Worthy Sir

Our place being now vacant, and we destitute of faithfull laborers in the worke
of the ministery: ffrom the experience we have had of gods blessing uppon yor
labours formerly amongst us Doe with mutuall consent make choyse of you
for our Minister, to preach the gospell amongst us, And therefore doe humbly
and earnestly intreate you to put on the bowells of compassion towards us,
(being as sheepe without a sheepheard) to returne unto us before the next
sabbath, to bestow yor labours amongst us. who love and honnor you
and shall to our power be ready to afford you all due encouragement &
assistance in the worke. Soe (in hope of a thankfull assenting Answear
expecting yor returne to us according to our expectations) we remayne,

Yor truelie affectionate freinds

Mr Richard Hunt Bailiffe
Mr William Browne Justice
Mr John Radford
Mr John Pearsall
Mr John ffreeston
Mr John Doolittle
Mr Symon Potter
Mr William Synee
Mr Nicholas Pearsall
Mr Tho: Berrie
Mr Edward Baynam

Mr Nathaniell Brookshee
ffrancis Lindon
Tho: Bellamie
Tho Doles
John Elsmore
Edward Hill
Tho: Pearson
Tho Best
Tho: Launder
John Reynolds
Tho Ward
Richard Clarke
John Cooper.
John Peiston
Gilbert Launder
Tho: Housman
Will: Hayward
John Dawkes
Will: ffreeston.
John Wanston

ffrancis Bowyer
Richard Hemming

Mr Tho: Burton
Mr Silvanus Sare
Mr John Dorbin
Hugh Milbridge
Tho: Longmore
Edward Walden
Gregorie Warnam
Nicholas Morry
John Low
Richard Payton
Richard Jones
Daniel Rogers
Richard Hall
Humphrey Milles
George Ron
Lancelot Harrington
John Warrington
Will: Bowyer
Bartholomew Fergus
Tho: Lovell
Richard Sholtnam
Will Butcher
Edward ffarell
Tho Wanderton
John Millard
Gilbert Wheeller
Henry Wheeller
Will Lane
Tho: Lawrence
Tho Robinson
Ezekiell Butcher
Will: Mills
ffrancis Mills
George Cobb
Richard Willetts
John ffoxall
ffrancis Hill
ffrancis Blunt
Tho: Hornblower senior
Tho Hornblower Junior
Samuell Handly

Henry Hunt
William Doolittle
John Wall
Tho: Payne
Anthony Harris
Will: Mounfort
Tho: Smith
Richard Wimont
Nicholas Webb
John Nutt.
Tho: Greaves
Tho Pagett
Will Bourne
James Chillott
Will: Best
John ffield
Tho: Hunt
John Underhill
Edward Hill
John Hall
Hugh Ware.
Nicholas Lure
Richard Baker
James Howly
John Browne
John Handly
Edward Thomason
George Greaves
Robert Hayes
John Greenes
Nicholas Norrell
James Carber
Rich. Radford
Tho Webbe.
widdow Ashmore
widdow Greaves
widdow Read
widdow Baker.
widdow Doolittle
widdow Griffin
widdow Richards
widdow ffeild
widdow ffooler
widdow Wheeler

P.S. But what Oath should be made as things now stand [illegible] good of

Edward Pitt
Richard Whitthall
Tho: Nicholls
Anthony Doolittle
Tho: Jacobes
Edward Jacobes
William Smith
Michaell Bettenson
Will Clarke
Will Acton
Walter Wilbee
Henry Malpas
[illegible] Clarke
[illegible] Sharpe
Richard Potter
John Mills
Tho Hoope
Henry Baker
Edward Mounfort
Tho Norbury
Henry Webster
Edward Potter
Edward Lake
Edward Thurston
Edward Hill
Edward Synder
John Yates
[illegible] Harrington
[illegible] Pitt
Robert Chittell
Tho Synder
[illegible] Jacobbs
[illegible] Chittell
John Harbutt
[illegible] Potter
Edmund [illegible]
[illegible] Hastins
William Pitt
William Norbury
Symon Plymer
Robert Hill
he souldiers Abraham Plimley
Lawrence Pearsall
Thomas Read
Thomas Doelittle
Francis Colman
John Carpenter
John Plimley
Edward Chamberlayne
Nicholes Freeston
Thomas Freeston
Lawrence Freeston
Francis Carter
Abraham Doolittle
John Brettell

John Potter
Rich: Williams
Ed: Woodward
John Yorke
Robert Moreport
John Griffin
John Stamer
Tho Wilkes
Joseph Doolittle
Paull Doolittle
Griffin Haddock
Tho: Crutchley
Will: Browne
Will: Hawkes
John Poole
Ed: Cleane
Walter Spittle
John Coles
John Freeston
John Greene
Will: Griffin
#4 Rich: Baker
Walter Mellard
Will Joyes
Symon Doolittle
John Doolittle
Humphre Doolittle
Humphree Tilsley
Will: Nicholls
Edward Aston
Nicholas Wheeler

The yongmen
John Pitt
John Pearsall
Henry Pearsall
John Browne
Tho: Bellamie
Ed: Baynam
Phillip Doolittle
William Doolittle
Will Guinnall
Richard Olgborough
Josiah Cowper
James Pitt
Ed: Griffin
Tho: Ffarrington
Will: Wheltnam
Robert Brooke
John Rylands
Ed: Browne
Robert Bellamy
John Henly
Richard Bennet
Nicholes Guinnall
Tho: Doolittle
Tho Yeats
Nich: Spencer
John Mainfort
John Gilberts
Richard Warham
Daniell Wall
Richard Barber
Will Read
John Hill
Henry Malpas

Hon[illegible] truly honored
an[illegible] reverend Minister
Mr Richard Baxter

9

To his Honoured ffriend
Mr Richard Baxter
at his House in Southampton
buildings in London these
deliver.

29

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But what Acts should be made as things now stand for the good of

Sr

I Received the three Bookes you ſent a pretty [illegible] ſince by one of or Ludlow Carryers, and am deſired by the reſt of or
Benefactors to preſent you with their hearty thanks for yor great Kindneſs manifeſted by yor readineſs and good aſsiſtance towards the
Carrying on of so good a worke. Sr I had given you an accompt of thoſe 2 things yor first letter mentioned long before this time, but I was
deſirous first of all to be a little further ſatisfied concerning ye one of them as to ye truth of ye report. And in order to this affayre, I ſent
for ye man that lives at ſome conſiderable diſtance from me, that was chiefly concerned in ye thing. it was above [illegible] moneths after
I ſent to him before I could get him to my houſe to diſcourſe him about the buſineſs, when he Came I found him to be a man =
well ſtockt with Reaſon truth & Credit, well read in History and of a good eſtate for livelyhood in ye world, whoſe name is Richard
Gilley of Herefordshire. He gave me an accompt of ye truth of the thing with ſome variation from what I was at first informed =
with by ſecond & third hands. And ye ſubſtance of it is as followeth. about five years agoe, as he was returning from Ludlow to his
own houſe in Herefordshire much about ye middle of ye Evening twilight as he was going over a ſtyle (not at all Concerned with any
kind of Liquor, for he profeſſeth he had ſcarcely drank in ye towne that day) on a ſodaine as he was halfe over a certaine ſtyle in his
way home there aroſe a great ruſhing winde, and came puffing up as it were into his very mouth after an unuſuall manner which
ſtartled him very much, and Just at ye foot of ye ſtyle there appeared a thing horrid to looke upon in ye ſhape of a ragged Bear
ſhaking & frumpeed up all in a heap, & ſeemed to ſtare upon him with a great payre of ſawcer eyes ramping up towards his
face as if it would have devoured him. upon ye back of this terrible thing appeared ſomething in ye ſhape of a man, habited in ye
faſhion of one Scott by name who was deceaſed certaine Months before. immediately this appearance mounted up by him with a
ruſhing noyſe of wind, and Just as it was riſing up ſeeming as if it would come over him or through him, this Mr Gilley ſpake to it
ſaying in ye name of the Lord who is there what art. The Apparition of a ſodaine paſsing by him with a whiſpering ſoft & harsh
kind of ſpeech Cryed forgive me. Mr Gilley makes anſwer The Lord forgive thee for I do. Immediately ye Apparition gives a
push by him and as it departed from him his Cheek was ſcratcht and his Band was torned from ye neck to ye hemme thereof
and as it went up a hill thereby along by a liveing hedge ſide it craſht and made ſuch a horrid & formidable noyſe as if
it had been torne all to fletters. Gilley was all the while upon ye ſtyle in amaze, and had not power to move neither forward
nor backward till ye Apparition was gone out of ſight & hearing after which Gilley in ſome meaſure recovered his Spirits
and came to himſelf againe & retreated over ye ſtyle. made all the haſte he could to get to a certaine place about a mile
ſideward his way home to a neighbors houſe and when he came there he Stared ſo upon ye people. as if he had been =
frighted out of his Wits, And did not know that his Cheek was ſcratch'd or his band torne till ye people told him of it. =
Afterward he was very Melancholy for 2 or 3 houres that night, and at length Came perfectly to himſelf and began to tell
his ffriends & Neighbors of what hapned, and every Body that heard of it Concluded it to be Scots Spirit. And that he in
his life time had done ſomething or other that was unjuſt or Injurious to Gilleys Concerne. After this Scott was never knowne
to appear more or trouble ye world any further by any kind of apparition at all ever after. Now this is to be noted, that =
[illegible] before Scott dyed this Mr Gilley had occaſion to travell a [illegible]
to go along with him as a Condey or gard for ye better ſecurity of ye Carriage of the money to Gilleys ſiſter which was put up
(they ſay) in two bags, and afterwards put into a Wallet, which was thrown upon ye horſe Backe. and being not fixt [illegible]
they going up a steep hill [illegible]

his life time had done something or other that was unjust or [illegible] to appear more or trouble ye world any further by any sight of apparition at all ever after. Now this is to be noted, that [illegible] before Scott dyed, this Mr Gilley had occasion to travell [illegible] to go along with him as a [illegible] or gard for ye better security of ye Carriage of the Money to Gilleys [illegible] after which was put up (they say) in two bags, and afterwards put into a Wallet, which was thrown upon ye horse Backe, and being not fixt to ye [illegible] they going up a steep hill lighted & turnd their horses [illegible] before them, and not much minding their horses as they went up ye Hill one of ye horses that Carryed ye money [illegible] Wallet wherein ye two fifty pound bags of Money were they not minding the motion of their horses past by ye [illegible] on ye ground, and when they Came to a certaine gate in ye way they tooke their horse but missed ye bagge on [illegible] horse backe which was dropt a little behind them out of their sight, and Mr Gilley sends this Scott to search for [illegible] the while he held ye horses at ye gate. Scott going back to looke for ye Money found it a little behind out of Gilleys sight and taking up ye bagges opened one of ye fifty pound bagges and tooke out twenty shillings, and made up ye bagge againe, which money was not missed till the Morrow, and Scott denyed and bitterly forswore ye taking of it, and about three quarters of a year afterward dyed and dying in such a wicked forsworne state had no rest till he had asked Gilley forgivenesse. And Mr Gilley freely granted ye same having a strong fancy & apprehension upon him at that time, that Scott had this money (notwithstanding he denyed it in his life time and supposed he could not rest till he asked him forgivenesse. This Mr Richard Gilley with his own mouth very lately uttered to me for truth in every particular as I relate it to you. the ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] whereof I refer to yor most deliberate & serious Consideration.

As to what ~~I say~~ I can of my own knowledge on a thing of the same nature it is briefly thus. my Brother departed this life about ye middle of August Ano Dom 1661. And about five weeks after his decease ye night before ye Apparition in my Chamber, his Chamber being next to it, about two of ye Clock in ye morning being newly awaked ~~out~~ of my first sleep I heard a noise in his Chamber as if a tall weighty man of a sodaine had started out of his bed, and walked barefoot up & down ye roome. I did not know what to make of it, But ye next morning I rose betimes on purpose (before any Body else in ye House was up) to see what was in the roome, and if any Body had layn there that I did not know of, But there was nothing to be found, the bed was made and ye door was shut, and nothing was in ye roome. The next night after about 12 of ye Clocke and a clear moone shine night, as soon as ever I had layen down in my bed, and put out ye Candle, as I lay upon my Backe and before I could set my self to sleep, I heard something come like a man barefooted from my Brothers Chamber to mine; and into my Chamber it Came without any Clinkering of ye latch, and yet I could perceive ye door to open as it were halfe way, and a man to come in as if he had a silk gowne on his Backe, that I observed did rubbe as it were with a kinde of rushing against ye door & ye post of ye door ~~shutt to~~, and so came to ye bedside, & made as it were a stand there. forthwith after yt the two Corners of ye upper sheet did flap shake flutter & wave against ye sides of ye bed on both sides as well on ye farther side of ye bed as the hither side (on which I presume ye Ghost was) as fast as Aspen leaves in a high wind, after that it continued some space of time, then there was a hand layd on ye pillow whereon I lay moveing along ye pillow whereon I lay towards my head as if it designd gently to touch me, it came so near to me that I thought ye very next motion must of necessity touch me being not able to endure that in my conceipt, I threw my self to ye farther side of ye bed, the hand still pursued me so long that I fancyed ye next motion must touch me againe, I could not suffer it but leapt and sate upright on ye bed, and being startled at it began to looke about me, and towards ye beds feet within ye Curtaine on ye bed there plainely appeared ye shape of a man from ye head to ye knee. I beheld it plainely as I could have done a reall man a certaine space, it stood there a certaine time I guess about a two minutes, and it seemed to looke upon me with a Cheerefull clear and smiling Aspect having ye resemblance of a double figure in its Countenance, much of it of my Brothers complexion when he was alive with ye colour forme curle & length of his haire intermixt with a grey one part of it as if anothers mans haire more antient then his had been mingled with his so likewise was ye forme of his face in appearance as though anothers mans face had been intermingled with his to have made up a compleated one Exact figure yet nothing bigger then if it had been my Brothers [illegible] face in perfect health strength & vigour of manhood & maturity of years as my Brother was when [illegible] hedged. After I had made [illegible] sodaine observations of ye figure that then appeared, it began with a soft gentle pa[illegible] [illegible] sitting upright upon my bed having ye cleare light of [illegible]

[illegible] in mind that he could not pay [illegible]
[illegible] it pleased him to enable me to pay that debt I would see it discharged [illegible]
What ye Apparition [illegible] be fully satisfied sodainely vanisht and I never saw or heard any further [illegible]
very night immediately after ye Apparition vanisht, I layd my self down in my bed, and slept as well (thanks [illegible])
as ever I did in my life. So here (Reverend Sr), I have given you a true & full Accompt of the two things you [illegible]
and refer ye whole to yor discretion whether you adjudge or think it fit and worthy to be printed or not. I remaine Sr
in all sincerity & gratitude

Ludlow March ye 4th 1682

Yor most Humble faithfull
And Affectionate friend & Servt
Edward Whitcot

I give ye same accompt upon Request
to Dr Moor in Cambridge which by
Letter I transmitte to my Uncle
Dr Whitcot in London

Revd Sr You have very much gratifyed me by yor two books: Your very style & mode of writing is so suitable to my genius, yt it pleaseth me even where I canot consent to the matter: I read this weeke two new french mens books on ye Revel: (Systema & Jurieu 2d) & yors more pleaseth me than either. I gladly read yor full proofe yt ye conflagration must goe before the judgment & resurrection & ye great coming of Christ: But I see nothing yet to convince me, yt there will be another conflagration after it, & yt ye new heaven & earth shall be burnt or banish at ye end of a 1000 yeares; or yt another resurrection shall follow it, or 1000 yeares end yt Kingdome: Nor do I believe Mr B. yt Christ reigneth not now he sitteth at ye right hand of God, & yt his reigne is but for 1000 yeares, & yt he ceaseth reigning when ye Kingdome is given up to ye father. The Initiall preparatory Kingdome, is before ye Perfectiv, and ye Kingdome of fruitive reward, shall continue when ye acquisitive Kingdome is at an end. As to ye length of ye day of Judgmt, I think God judgeth 1° By Conviction & sentence 2° By Execution: And yt 1° ye Day of Conviction wch introduceth execution will be quick & short, & 2° The day of Execution endlesse. 1° If ye sun can at once inlighten all ye eyes on this earth, God can at once shew all mens consciences (& others) ye workes (sins & duties) of all: 2° Execution is Gods chiefe sentence, & yt will be longer than 1000 yeares. Either you thinke all ye dead will rise at ye conflagration, or not: If all at once, then ye initiall Judgmt of Conviction & sentence must be at once, or els ye risen world must be unjudged till God can have while (1000 yeares time) & wt case will they then be in: for if they rise by degrees, & goe one by one to judgmt, wt shew have you for such an opinion, yt ye dead shall be 1000 yeares rising: If none rise at ye beginning or progresse of ye 1000 yeares, (or none but saints) then why call you ye 1000 yeares ye day of judgmt: I see no sense here but Dr More's opinion yt ye Resurrection is only of Dead Martyrs & eminent Sts from an aereall vehicle into ye ethereall: & on earth of ye species & not ye individualls; wch I will not suppose you to defend.

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As to yor doctrine of ye Jewes conversion I have told you somewt of ye reasons of my dissent: I am past doubt yt ye ten
x tribes were sent back with ye rest: yt (tho mixt with corruptions)

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say yt it is ye false Catholick yt must answer rate ye false ... so if you
Experience will tell us how ordinarily they have together received the
But what Acts should be made as things now stand ... good of

ye Romans found them there, & yt allmost all ye Infidel Jews were kill'd by Titus, Trajan & Adrian, & ye scattered Jews are but ye progeny of a few then left, & yt ye Christians were ye maine body of ye nation left, & had ye liberty of their Country (too small & barren to conteine them), & yt ye fullness of ye Gentiles coming in by Christs assuming visibly ye Imperiall sword Judea was ye noblest of all nationall Churches, proportionable to its greatness, Though ye Christian Jews soone lost their names by marrying & joyning wth ye Gentile Christians.

As men in youth hear sleepily of death because they think it not neare, so we in ye age of ye world read sleepily ye fullfilling of Scripture prophecies because they were done so long before our daies. I admire yt men yt have well read ye Romane & Church history can think so much of ye Revelation unfullfilled, & can expound it as some do, & pray & hope for yt as yet undone wch God did so long agoe more wonderfully than many millenaries yet expect. yea, they reproach wt was then done, & yet pray & hope for ye like.

I would you had told your sence of (This Generation shall not pass &c. I differd from pag. 3. l. 20 21. Christ is called The Son of God in both respects of filiation. Other things I trouble you not with.

I am so much taken with your history of prodigies, yt I purpose to put my scraps into yor hands (so much as is not lost) & not only so, but to furnish you with some from a friend, if you will reprint your booke while you stay here, & adde these as a supplemt: For I see you have good skill in selecting & contracting. I pray tell me whether you have any to sell (& when)

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and refer ye whole to yor discretion whether you adjudge or think it fit and worthy to be printed or not. I remaine Sr
in all sincerity & gratitude

For Mr Gervase Mather
at Major Thompsons
howse at Newington

Worthy Sr

Not any want of desire to comply wth your desires, but my owne present infirmity under wch I now Labour, must plead my iust Apology wth you that I have not returned an Answere sooner to you Letter: I have communicated your Letter to the Gentlemen concerned in carrying on this great worke of printing the Bible in the Originall and other Learned Languages, who have given me commission to tell you that they rest satisfied in your deniall of the words reported to be spoken by you, tending to their disparagement, and that if you please to send for the Copies, wch are due unto you, they shall be delivered on demand: And since that quarrell is at an end, I shall desire to be excused, if I refuse to lay the grounds of a new, by naming the men from whom I had that Information: only in the generall, they are fide digni, and their Testimony no way to be doubted off: and this I must professe in the presence of God to be true: Had you perused the Propositions, published by the Undertakers, wth the Designe annexed unto them, those Papers, would have freed you from all these iealousies expressed in your Letter; and informed you in particular, that men of the best eminency of both perswasions, are by the Propositions engaged in this designe, And I must desire your Pardon, if I refuse to subscribe to your Judgement (to wch yet I attribute very much) that the worke would have found better reception in the world, if other men had been intitled to this worke, for we are very fully assured, that the Commonwealth of the Learned, rest abundantly satisfied in the sufficiency Integrity, and Piety of the present Undertakers: If there be any thing else in wch I may serve you, you may command

Feb: 24
1654

Your very Loving friend and fellow Labourer
Bruno Ryves

31.

very night immediately [illegible] ye Apparition vanisht. I layd my self down in my bed and slept as well (the
as ever I did in my life. So here (Reverend Sr) I have given you a true & full Accompt of the two things
and refer ye whole to yor discretion whether you adjudge or think it fit and worthy to be printed or not. I remaine
in all sincerity & gratitude

U. D

For the Reverend and my worthy
friend Mr Richard Baxter
these

I returned no answer to this Lett
of Dr Rynes, because he refused
to name the author of his
misreport to Dr Walton

LETTERS.

fol.221. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

2

Dear Sr If in my last I seemed to doubt of yor willingnesse to
3.2 helpe, and wch yet I sayd I believed, yet I thinke true faith may consist
I wth some doubting, & you have confirmed my faith by experience, &
I hope you will yet doe it more. I had thought to have troubled
you at present wth some questions about original sinne but, I crave
leave first to desire yor solution of some difficultys about Christs incar
nation. I have talked wth one who thought or seemed to thinke that
Christs body & soul were ye patterne of humane nature & that he did actu
ally as man exist before Adam was created, & I remember he alledged
the eighth chap: of ye Proverbs for proofe of it where Christ speaks
of himselfe that he was wth God before ye world was created. I find
it to be Tertullians opinion de resurr: carnis. n.5 or chap.5. that
Christus homo futurus was ye patterne & to prove it he brings in ye words
of God in Gen.1. sic enim praefatio patris ad filium faciamus hominem ad imaginem
& similitudinem nostram. Et fecit hominem deus, id utiq quod finxit, ad ima
ginem dei fecit illum, sc. Christi. now these words may seeme to prove the
fore mentioned opinion. & if any man aske how could Christ be sayd
to take flesh afterwards, I answer that he then tooke flesh either
by assuming it ~~[illegible]~~ to his spiritual or more pure body
or by changing his ~~former more pure~~ or spiritual body into flesh, this
answer I ghuesse may be made from some other passages in Tertull:
as in his booke de Carne Christi about n.6. or chap.6 he says thus Atqui tunc
quoq inter illos angelos ipse Dominus apparuit Abrahae sine nativitate, cum
carne scil. sed vos hoc non recipitis, non eum Christum recipientes, qui jam tunc
& alloqui, & liberare, et judicare humanum genus ediscebat in carnis habitu
where he seemes to hold that Christ appeared then in true flesh wch he calls
also habitum carnis. & how he might change his flammed body into flesh
appeares by what he says presently after of ye Angels. Constat angelos
carnem non propriam gestasse & in carnem autem humanam transfigura
biles ad tempus, & a litle after he says possunt nihil ipsum converti
in carnem, qui semetipsos potuerunt convertere in carnem, where by the way
he ascribes a power in angels to create & he adds this reason plus est naturam
demutare (as he supposeth they did themselves into flesh) quam facere mate
riam. This is an opinion wch I can rather wonder at than solidly confute.
& I professe I dislike it yet I crave a few words to satisfy my
understanding & to make me abler to confute an error. But there is
a second opinion though not concerning ye incarnation of Christ yet con
cerning his ~~h~~ assumption of ye humane nature wch is farre more pro
bable, & yt is that Christ did assume an humane soul ~~[illegible]~~ before
Adams fall ~~[illegible]~~ before his conception by ye Virgin
Mary. & ye reasons of it are these 1o ye Scripture says that ye 2d Adam
was from heaven & came down from thence, wch some use to prove ye former
opinion. 2ly when Christ was ready to dy he prays to his father in these
words John.17.5. And now oh father glorifie thou me wth thine own selfe
wth ye glory wch I had wth thee before ye world was, here Christ prays
for glory wth God wch once he had had but then had not

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not be meant of ye glory of his Godhead for that is alwayes
especially wth God, nor can it be meant of ye glory of his flesh fo
that he had not before ye world began, unless ye former opinion
true, & therefore it must be meant of ye glory of his soul wch
he did once possess in glory, but had for a time, while he lived
earth, layd aside that glory wch now he prays for againe. 3o. It
was necessary that fallen man should have a mediator actually
existing otherwise nor dutys of his could be accepted wth God who
is of purer eys than to behold ye least iniquity. 4o. the scripture
nowhere says that ye word was made a soul but flesh.
& Cht says a body hast thou prepared mee because his
soul was existent before enjoying glory wth God before ye begi-
nning of ye world, & in this respect man might be sayd
to be made after ye likenesse of God, that is Cht, as Tertul.
speaks, because he received a soul pure & wise & spirituall such
an one as Cht had, This opinion I tell you true I dare
not peremptorily deny it & therefore earnestly desire yor thoughts
about it, The Lord increase yor graces & guifts for ye common good
of his church & yor own comfort & happynesse, & put a wise &
holy answer into yor heart to ye requests of

Yor very loving friend
& brother Abr. Pinchbeck

March. 1. 1658.

as ever I did in my life, So here (Reverend Sr.) I have given you a true & full Account of the two things
and refer ye whole to yor discretion whether you adjudge or think it fit and worthy to be printed or not. I remaine
in all sincerity & [illegible]

BAXTER
LETTERS.

Fol. 222. of Baxter Letters in volume shown

Sr I thanke you for yr answer to my last by Mr Mosely, had I then read what you had printed about ye state of ye justifyed after grosse sins I had not troubled you wth that question, I hope Sr if I trouble you now & then wth some questions so be they be not frivolous you will not be weary of well doeing but as you have begun to instruct & informe mee in many things soe you will hold on, especially since if my memory faile not you have promised mee yor helpe in what you can, I have many reasons to apply my selfe to you & this is no small one that I judge you a man whose very heart is upon peace & loveing communion & therefore who will not presently censure & grow strange upon such questionings as mine are, nor doe I judge you unable to resolve mee as well as I can hope to be resolved, besides did you but know ye content my mind has in any resolutions & how in some weake measure it stirres mee up to prayse God & pray for you, & makes mee more to love his church I am sure you would be heartily willing to doe what you can for mee, Sr I thanke God & you for your booke of confirmation, what I wrote to you last about erring I wrote out of a pure love to you & ye church, & a deeper sence of yor frailty considering that or great forefathers Tert. Aug. Hieron: had their failings, & ye very bad consequences of any slip by you. — Sr I pray pardon mee if I write any thing impertinently, & give mi leave once againe not to cavil but to learne as Trypho sayd to Justin Μή με ὑπολάμβανε ἀναδέχειν πειράζων πυνθάνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ [illegible] μανθάνειν περὶ τούτων αὐτῶν, ὧν ἂν ἐρωτῶ, looking over yor confession lately I find p 247–248 that God has given over ye power of pardoning sin into ye hands of ye redeemer & this you call a great truth, I desire therefore that you would resolve mee why Cht has taught us to pray to ye father for ye pardon of sin, & why it should be ye generall practice of Chrians not to pray to Cht so much for pardon as to ye father for Chts sake. I had thought to have troubled you wth some questions about Originall sinne but I am resolved first to aske yor leave In ye present I desire God to increase his guifts & graces in you & make you more & more usefull to his church, & if it may be ~~also~~ to mee in particular

Yor cordial friend
Abr: Pinchbecke.

Decemb: 11 · 1658.
Covent garden
Westminster.

Honest Mr Bates remembers
his hearty love to you.

as exactly did in my [illegible] here; (Reverend Sr. I have given you a true & full Abstract of the two [illegible]
and refer ye whole to yor discretion whether you adjudge or think it fit and worthy to be printed or not. I remaine
in all sincerity [illegible]

For ye Reverend & his very good friend Mr
Richard Baxter pastor of ye Church of
Cht in Kederminster in Worcester-
shire these

3

4

Dear Brother,

If you had not some suspicion of that willingnes to serve you, which you are pleas'd to professe you believe to be in mee, mee thinkes you should not compliment with so many Apologyes for your writing. Only my leisure being very disproportionate to my willingnes, I must crave your patience & pardon for my delayes. As to your 2d Q. I know you doubt not of that kingly power of Xt wch I assert: & I thinke you doubt not but Xt may, & must be pray'd to, even as the Redeemer: but yet it is most common in Scripture to find commands & examples of prayer to the Father for his sake, & it must be our usuall course, for these great & evident Reasons. 1. Its only the Deity that worship & honour is ultimately due to, & (so) to ye mediator in his humanity ~~but~~ by ye way & as a meanes: 2. Subordinates are imply'd in each other. He that goes for pardon to the Father, it's imply'd that he must goe by the Son; & he that goes to the mediator goes to him as mediator, & (so) by him goeth to the Father. 3. The Father still pardoneth & judgeth as the principall cause, tho by the mediator as ye chief officer or Administrator. And (so) when he said John 5. 22 that the Father judgeth no man, it excludeth him not from judging by the Son, but from judging any other way, that is 1. on any other termes, 2. or by any other Administrator then the Son. Even Heathens are judged by ye Redeemer, for abusing mercyes leading to Repentance, & sinning against some meanes that had a tendency to hopes or recovery. 4. If Xt should pretend to be ye principall efficient or Donor of our pardon as man, or the ultimate end, or terminus of or worship, he should directly contradict his very office, & undertaken worke, wch is to be a mediator, the way to the Father, & to bring man unto God. No creature that ever was made is so unwilling as Jesus Xt as he is man, to take ye worship or pretend to the efficiency proper to ye Deity. To conclude. Note hence the greatnes of the sin of Idolatry, & the grossnes of their error that are so forward to pray to the Virgin Mary, & other saints; & how tender wee should be of giving to a creature the worship due to G. when Jesus Xt himselfe is so averse from receiving it as to his humanity! Seeing it is a sinfull prayer that intentionally stops in Xt as man or mediator, & goes no further. (so) usually its fittest that ye expression goe [illegible] further, & yt wee aske of the Father, 1. to pardon us for ye sake of Xt, 2. & by him. tho ye last being done already in the Gospel needs not so constant

expresse requests). my love to mr Bates & mr Manton. I remaine

yor brother Richard Baxter.

To Mr Abraham Pinchbeecke

[illegible] strangely vanisht and I never saw or heard any further
very night immediately after ye Apparition vanisht I layd my self down in my bed, and slept as well (than
as ever I did in my life. So here (Reverend Sr) I have given you a true & full Accompt of the two things
and refer ye whole to yor discretion whether you adjudge or think it fit and worthy to be printed or not. I remaine S

Worthy & much honoured Sr

I received yors of Septemb. 2 wherein you are pleased to desire yt I would assist you with Directions how to move in this ensuing Parliamt for ye service of ye distressed Church. A hard province! & it would savor of arrogancy in me to undertake it, as if I were fitt to be yor Director. You have beene a Member of Parliament, & so are fitter to discerne yor duty in such a station, yn I can be, who want ye advantage of experience. Yet though I dare not presume to direct, I shall adventure to cast in my broken thoughts, submittinge ym to yor more experienced Judgmt; & this lest you should think I neglect yor desires, or lest Conscience should charge me with ye neglect of any duty in which I may do ye least service to ye Church.

1° I know it is ye affaires of ye Comonwealth yt you will be most put upon; & ye right composinge of or differences there, would be of great advantage to ye Church. But of this I shall say but little, as knowinge it to be out of my way. Only I may tell you this much of my thoughts, 1° yt I looke not for any settlement to purpose till we have agayne ye ancient forme of K. Lords & Comons: & ye sooner this is done ye sooner we may have quietnesse, & some little ease of or psent burdens. But who shall doe it, & how it should be done, I presume not to meddle in. 2° Were I in yor case, I should much distinguish betweene ye wayes of God, & of men in or late changes; & admire providence in ye midst of mens miscarriages, & suit myselfe to ye will of God while I disowned ye corruptions of ye creature; & therefore takinge things as I find ym, disposed principally by ye hand of God, I would consider how to improve ym to ye Comon good; though I would dye rather yn owne ye sins of men by which they seeme to us to have beene effected. 3° And I would before I entred ye Parliamt most diligently search my heart, & labor to rid it of all passion & faction, & inordinate respect to man; & resolve to approve it wholly unto God, as standinge or fallinge only by his Judgment, & so not to be swayed a jott from ye right, by ye votes or censures of any men whatsoever. wch I ye rather say because I have perceived yt in Parliamt faction & passion, & ye censures of men have too much power to byas some men, to swarve from that moderation & equity, wch they would incline to, if they were from under those temptations. It is there with you as it is with us in ye ministery: if a man comes not up in all things to or mindes, we have psently such a censure for him, wch shall tempt him to comply, though to ye forsakinge of his principles: & others beinge contrary minded censure him as much for his differinge from ym; so yt betweene both, its impossible to escape. If you suite not in every speech & vote to ye mind of the ptyes (for doubtlesse there will be such), one side will censure you as a discontented enemy to ye Government, & ye other as a temporizinge complyinge Courtier. Looke therefore directly to God & Conscience, & yn let it be a small thinge with you to be judged by men, but take up with ye comfort of divine approbation, as conscious of yor owne Integrity.

2° As to matters of ye Church my thoughts are as followeth. 1° Hearken not to them yt would have you let Religion alone, as yt wch either belongs not to you, or wch you may sooner disturbe yn mend: nor to ym yt would have you deferre it till you agree about ye matters of ye Comonwealth. But either begin with ye things of God, or else let one pt of each day be for ym, yt both workes may goe on together, or else let a Comittee for Religion psently be chosen wch may prepare things to yor hands. Have not Parliamts sped ye worse because Gods matters have beene cast behind, neglected & delayed? If an Act were but psented to ye L. Protector for securinge Religion in ye maine, either with or before any Act about ye Governmt, ye passinge of it would so exceedingly satisfye ye jealous doubtfull minds of many yt it would be ye surest way to breed a mutuall confidence, & secure a closure & just compliance in all things necessary thereto. For I observe yt amonge many pious people yt are sober (yea & amonge many of ye vulgar yt have less sense of Religion) it is their Jealousies of ye Pr.s soundnesse in Religion, & faithfullnesse to ye ministery, wch is ye maine cause of their distance & distrustfullnesse in severall respects. And what readyer way to satisfye all such Jealousyes, & to unite us, yn ye passinge of such an Act or Acts for securinge of Religion in ye maine. And as you truly say yt it is ye fata Ecclesiæ yt must inspirate ye fata regni; so if you looke back Experience will tell us how ordinarily they have together received their mutations.

But what Acts should be made as things now stand for ye good of ye Church? Let these generalls be first premised, & yn ye Qu. answered.

1° most carefully avoyd extreames in ye matter of Toleration. Abhorre their opinion yt say ye Magistrate hath nothinge to doe in matters of Religion & yt would have an universall Toleration for all yt shall seeke ye subversion of ye faith of Christ: And yet take heed of beinge too forward in imposinge on others. 1° Impose nothinge to be necessarily subscribed, but what is expresse Scripture, or (if any will needs goe further) wch hath ye note of Catholicisme [ab omnibus ubiqz et semper receptū] 2° Let this rule extend to ye termes as well as to ye sence; (for 1° no honest man will subscribe to one word against his conscience: 2° And they yt must be Judges may make ill use of ambiguous or insnaringe ~~[illegible]~~ termes, against good men.) 3° Impose only necessary truths & not points of inferior nature. 4° And so distinguish betweene tollerable & intollerable Errors, & restraine only ye latter. 5° Its not ye beleivinge of untruths yt must be restrayned (would yt could be done)! nor yet ye professinge what a man beleiveth when he is comanded or called to it: But it is ye seducinge others by ye teachinge of those untruths. And this may be restrayned in consistency with ye liberty yt is granted in ye Instrument of Government.

I have observed some leadinge men yt are for Toleration, exceedinge forward in consultations about Impositions & restrictions, to swarve from Scripture phrase to putt in many niceityes & controverted points, wch they knew many sober godly ministers would never subscribe to: & at last I suspected, it was to undoe all, by overdoinge; & to force all sober men to seeke for Toleration or else to be laid by, yt so ye rest might come in with ym, or ye excludinge of ym might disgrace ye Imposition. Nothinge yt I remember hath more divided ye Church in all times yn presumptuous Impositions, & layinge its peace upon humane or doubtfull things & forcinge all to ye opinions of ye strongest in points where there was no possibility of a Comon free Consent. 6° In a doubtfull case, I had rather erre in grantinge too much liberty yn too little. For ye ejectinge of usefull ministers in ye Churches necessity is a businesse not to be easily ventured on. 7° Use this Rule herein. Eject not any ministers for any errors, but only such as he is like to doe ye Ch: more hurt by if tolerated, yn all his labors will doe good. And eject none for non-subscription, except when his subscription is more necessary yn his labors. 8° All yt is desireable to be done against errors, is not feasible: & yt wch may be done at other seasons, may not be attempted in or present state, lest we make ye Cure desperate & overturne all. 9° For ye effectuall Propagation of ye truth & unity & ye suppression of heresyes (exceptinge gross Blasphemyes, or denyinge fundamentalls) I thinke yt as things now stand, ye best way is not to fall upon ye hereticall by notable penaltyes as Imprisonmt &c, for yt will be their gloryinge, their confirmation, & ye multiplyinge of their ptye: but to helpe ye orthodoxe unanimous Ministers to as many advantages as you can, as 1° Publick countenance & comendation of their way to ye people 2° Publick maintenance 3° Publick meeting places, 4° Associations, with ye rest aftermentioned: by wch they will more successfully beare downe most errors yn by fire & sword. yet Popery resteth so much on humane strength & violence, yt it must not have ye same forbearance or easyer opposition, as many other errors wch in ymselves may seeme as bad: for they can have so much countenance, maintenance & supplyes from beyond seas, yt may beare downe a bare discountenance at home. 10° though formes imposed to be subscribed should be from Scripture to a word, yet when it comes to punish men for teachinge errors, it is ye sence yt must be ye matter of ye accusation; & somewhat must be left to ye wisedome of ye Judges in matter of Interpretation. And therefore it is supposed yt competent Judges for ye worke be appointed.

Havinge premised these ten Generalls, I come now to some particulars desireable. //

The Act or Acts for Reformation I should desire might containe these particulars

1° Settle ye Comittee for approbation of Ministers: for they have done much good: if you see meet you may adde more to ym. Or if you thinke good to appoint ye like in ye Countryes, let it be but one in ye North, one for ye West, & one for Wales & ye Marches: because too many will occasion an easyer admission of ye unworthy. If I were a Papist or other enemy to truth & unity, I would endeavor ye corruptinge ye ministry by admittinge ungodly insufficient men as ye most effectuall way to beare ym downe both. Pious people will never rest satisfyed with ye most plausible ungodly minister, & so are tempted to wayes of division.

2° Establish in each County ye Comittee for ejectinge scandalous Ministers: & adde some more Comissioners, & assistinge ministers (in some Countyes at least): because there are not enow to keepe constant meetinge: but be sure yt you doe not on any

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officers put in any but Pious carefull men lest all be marred. The accusation of some against ye last Parliament was, yt allmost all yt were Parlt men were thought fitt to be added; & so yt corrupt ministers might not have beene without friends: but I hope it was undeserved. //

3° If there be any intollerable errors yt you would restrayne, briefly adde ym to ye enumerated errors in ye said ordinance for Ejection E. g. The denying of the Godhead, incarnation, manhood, death, resurrection, ascension, sacrifice, Intercession, Kingdome & Dominion, Judgmt of Jesus Christ. The denying ye Godhead, miracles of ye Holy Ghost. The denying ye truth of Scripture: or ye necessity of sanctific & holy obedience: Disswading men from prayinge, publickly or in familyes; from Readinge, Hearinge or Praysinge God. Denyinge yt Xt hath a true Church or ministry on Earth; wth others ye like. But still be cautelous here lest you marre all by overdoinge. And let not men be made offendors for a word misinterpreted by others; but for owned doctrines, or certaine intollerable errors insisted on. //

4° There is great reason yt they who neglect all Discipline (while they owne a Pastorall charge) & yt omitt all private Instruction & Catechisinge (beinge not disabled) should be enumerated in ye Act to ye Negligent. But yt I leave to yr consideration.

5° Let some visitors (as was in ye Universityes) be appointed in each County to goe to each Parish where they see cause, & enquire into ye abilityes & conversation of ye ministers, not havinge any power hereuppon to cast ym out; but to give more certaine information to ye Comissioners for Ejection. And let ye testimony of ye visitors be valid: (For 1° where ye people are worst they will not accuse any minister but all defend him, if he be bad. 2° And ye assisting ministers livinge in ye remote pts of a County know not oft, what should be knowne of ye offendors.) Let these visitors have power to call ministers & wittnesses to ym.

6° Let ye Comissioners have power to force in wittnesses (wch they have not).

7° Let great Parishes in Cittyes & markett Townes have more yn one minister. To which end let some course be taken, yt Tradesmen Lawyers, Physitians &c may be assessed accordinge to their estates, who now pay nothinge in most places.

8° Pass some Act for ye securinge of all ye present maintenance of ye Church from Alienation, if it may be done.

9° Let approved ministers through ye Land, have ye security of a Law, for ye holdinge of Assemblyes for mutuall Edification, & unanimous carryinge on ye worke of Christ: & for Associatinge in ye severall Countyes to yt end: & choosinge ym Moderators or Presidents in each Association, & continuinge ym as they find cause: & for Ordination in ye said Associations.

10° Let ministers be secured in ye discharge of yt pt of their office accordinge to Gods word, wch consisteth in Publick admonition of notorious offendors by name, or such as have beene admonished privately in vaine: & also in Prayinge for ym by name, & lastly in warninge ye Church to avoid ym if they be Impenitent. If any Law be against ym for this, let it be repealed. And doe not stand raisinge Jealousyes agt this from apprehensions of possible injury from ministers, & so fall a makinge Rules & limits for ym. But consider agt yt 1° By yt course you delayed & frustrated ye desired Reformation & order of ye Church once allready in ye longe Parliament, wch hath brought this misery on us. 2° The Scripture is or only Rule, & we can acknowledge no other in Gods worke save only for indifferent circumstances. 3° Even in those it is ye office of ministers to be ye Guides of ye Church in sacred things, & therefore who else should be trusted with it. 4° There is such abundance of difficultyes in or way as to ye exercisinge of Discipline, from ye rage of ye censured, ye backwardness of or flesh to such ungratefull workes, & sufferinge wch might be expected &c yt you have no need to stand hanginge ministers & restrayninge ym. Doe all yt you can to drive ym on & it will be too litle. We are certaine of this by too sad experience. Might I consult with flesh & blood, I thinke I should gladly forsake all my maintenance & preach for nothinge even every day if I were able, so I might but be excused from Church Guidance & yt litle pt of Discipline wch I exercise. 5° You will expell ye most able conscionable ministers, if you will not suffer ym to Guide their owne actions by their owne Judgment but by other mens against their Consciences. Therefore leave it to ym whom to admitt to Sacraments & publickly admonish or reject. 6° But because you will say yt at least some will be too strict & wronge ye Church, I shall tell you how you may sufficiently remedye it, & there's not other Remedye yt I know of: (for while men are men their workes will savor of their Infirmity).

1° As long as Patrons, People & Approvers or Ordainers stand at ye doore, I hope you
will make ye more carefull choice. If able wise men be chosen to ye worke they may
& must be trusted with ye worke wch they are chosen to. 2° But if such shall slide in
as afterward shall miscarry, Punish ym as discretion shall direct you, or cast ym
out agayne if ye fault require it. Italis, Let yor Comissioners for Ejection have
power to doe it. Amonge ye Crimes expressed, let this be one, [If any Minister shall
by Publicke Calumnyes, or unjust Censures, injure his flocke] my Conscience will beare
yor Penalty, but not ye neglect of my duty. But yt I pray observe withall those rea=
sonable Conditions: first yt Gods word be ye Law yt we be tryed by. 2° yt ye assistinge ministers
be Judges in this case equally with yor Lay Comissioners; 3° yt it be not ye first fault
yt men be ejected for; but a Continuance after admonition; 4° yt you eject men for no
fault but what (as aforesaid) makes him more hurtfull yn usefull to ye Church: 5° Especi=
ally yt you deale as severely with ym yt are remiss in Discipline, as with ym yt are rigorous.
for it is but an opposition & enmity to Gods worke, wch humane nature is so backward to,
if you shall let men neglect it at pleasure, but punish those yt you thinke doe too much.
Therefore let this alsoe be added in ye order for Ejection, yt [If any minister shall usually
after warninge neglect first privately to admonish offendors, by himselfe or others, & yn
publickly to admonish ym if they be Impenitent, & yn to cast ym out if they so continue, he
shall be ejected]. Do this, & we are content yt you doe ye other. And if ye times will
beare it, I heartily wish both were done. But in ye meane time I see, yt Jealousyes &
vaine suppositions of ministers overdoinge, doth raise horrid apprehensions of things, yt
are seldome like to come to pass. You trust ministers with ye time of Sermons & Prayers
&c; you might say as well, [who knowes but they may call ye Congregation at un=
seasonable times, or hold ym till midnight, therfore let us limit ym] yet you see by ex=
perience no Cause for this: so here. ||

11° Let ye ministers (or if you will) with ym some Justices (where any are in ye Parish) or other
officer of yor owne have ye disposall of ye Church (ye place of meetinge) in time of duty;
least by ye unresistable intrusion of unmeet persons, Sacraments & Discipline be all driven
into private houses. There may be matters of Discipline transacted, wch every ungodly
scornfull enemy is not fitt to heare. As debates, Confession of some Penitents &c.

12° Let a Penaltye be imposed on all persons yt shall raile against ministers, or unjustly reproach
ym, & goe about with slanders to make ym odious: for ye life of ye Papists Cause doth lye
in this designe. If any shall terme approved Ministers Seducers, Preachers of false doctrine
Dogs, Wolves &c, let ym have such just remedy, if ye charge be not proved, as Lawyers, Phy=
sitians &c may have if they be slandered in matters of their profession: or let ye offenders
be used as Scolds are &c. || So much for Reformation about ye Ministry & Ordinances directly. |

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2 Against Prophaness we desire yt yor choise Endeavors may be used, for it is not all ye
sects in ye world yt trouble & greive us so much as ye Prophane.

1° Let an effectuall Course be taken yt all Children or as many as is possible may be taught to
read English. And as far as may be each house to have a Bible.

2° Let People be constrayned to submit to ministeriall Instruction & Catechizinge at least so
far, as to confer about ye matters of Salvation: And let ministers (as aforesaid) be driven
on to Catechizinge or personall Instruction of all.

3° Let all be compelled to heare ye word in some open allowed Assemblye: and let not ye pro=
phane yt goe no whither have ye shelter of yor toleration.

4° Make some Law agt ye scorninge at Godlyness; or at least some publick declaration agt it,
yt so poore Ignorant people yt are scorned out of their Religion may have ye encou=
ragement of ye Lawgivers Judgment for ye resistinge of such temptations: & you may
disowne ye cryinge sin with more detestation yn yet it hath beene disowned: Instancinge
in some particulars, as forbearinge sin, familye dutyes, &c.

5° It will never be well till we have either more zealous Justices yt must act, or else
there be greater penaltyes on Magistrates & Constables for neglect of their duty; especially
yt some be appointed to looke after Justices neglects herein.

6° Quer. Whether it might not doe well to have a standinge Examiner subordinate to Justices
in every Parish, where is no Justice (at least) yt shall be sworne to looke after Drunkards,
Swearers, Scorners at Godlyness &c, & authorized to Examine witnesses; & bound to deliver
in his evidence to ye magistrates? One or more of ye faithfullest inhabitants, & of best un=
derstandinge, would thus convict more offendors in a yeare, yn Justices doe in many; because
of ye distance & trouble of prosecution & other reasons. And it were to be wished yt all
yt by ye testimony of ye Authorized Examiner & of ye Justice, shall be witnessed & recorded
to be Comon Drunkards, Swearers, Scorners at Godlyness, Alesellers yt cherish Drunkeness,
&c should have no vote in choosinge Parliament men, Mayors, Bayliffs, Churchwardens,
ministers &c but might be so far disfranchized, till they give a satisfactory testi=
mony of their Repentance & Reformation.

3° For unity we desire | 1° yt you doe not only (as before) authorize Associations in order to unity but earnestly perswade & presse ministers thereto. And impose nothinge yt may give just cause of avoydinge ye Assemblyes, but presse on yt Discipline wch may remove ye stumblinge blocks, & more purge ye Congregations: & yt publish yor dislike of lawlesse separations; & let ye united Pastors & Churches have ye Countenance of ye State; deale tenderly with Dividers; but doe not entice men to Division by yor Countenancinge ym.

2° Let some further meanes be tryed for ye reconcilinge of ye Presbyterians, Independants & Prelaticall. A free chosen Convocation is best in its season: but at present I feare they would be so divided amonge ymselves, as would rather widen yn close the wound. The same I feare if you should call but a dozen ministers of severall Judgmts to a Consultation. Yet if you tryed but this much first. Let ye Comittee for Religion send their desires to one or two of ye most moderate Bishops, & to one or two of ye most moderate & best esteemed Presbyterians, & as many of ye Congregationall way; yt (without any consultation with ye differinge ptyes) they would send you in 1° their concessions to ye rest, & their necessary demands as for their owne way; reducinge ye difference to as narrow a compasse as possibly they can for ye Peace of ye Church, 2° And their Judgments, how ye closure must be made. And withall yt you send to one two or 3 moderate, able men, yt are addicted to Pacification, & are for a closure of all ye ptyes, beinge engaged in none of ym; & desire their Judgment in briefe, on what termes the severall ptyes may close so far as to hold a comfortable Comunion without desertinge any of their Principles; & so, if it be possible they may be brought to consent to such termes: if not, at least you may comend to ye nation so much of Church order & Discipline expressly as all of ym are agreed in. This is no impossible worke to be done. I prove it by experience. There is an Agreement lately published by ye Westmorland & Cumberland ministers, of so great moderation, yt may well shew you ye possibility of this. The Worcester-shire Agreement, yt Presbyterians ordinarily subscribe to as not inconsistent with their Principles in any necessary thinge learned & godly Congregationall men offer to doe ye like. And so have some moderate Episcopall men. And yet somewhat more may be done for a closure & ye contentinge of all ptyes, if you would forward it yn any of these have thought meet yet to publish. I made an attempt with Bp Usher, not two yeares agoe; & he & I agreed in halfe an houre: ye termes I could tell you in a few words: & I beleive yt Presbyterians & Congregationall men, may yeild to ym, without changinge their Judgments in any thinge yt hitherto they have professed to take as necessary. //

3° yor Assistance alsoe we desire in one point for uniformity & Reformation together & yt is, to Authorize some one Reformed version of ye singinge Psalmes to be Publickly used. The old ones are not tolerable when better may be had. All ptyes are against ym, & yet all continue ym. We dare not change ym in ye Country, because we know not what one version to choose wch all will follow: & we apprehend Uniformity here very desireable. One of ye Prelaticall way of late in print derideth us, yt we durst venture to make such alterations in ye Church as we did & now dare not take downe these palpable corruptions for feare of displeasinge ye people. The London Ministers live amonge men of so many minds yt they apprehend ymselves ye unfittest to begin; All looke to you. A word will doe it; there's but one of these three wayes 1° Either appoint ye version, allowed by ye Assembly & Reformed in Scotland, 2° Or appoint a Comittee of learned men to make a better: or to comend ye best to you. 3° Or (wch I like) approve of ye Scots & Mr Bartons last printed together in opposite pages or columnes, yt men may choose wch they see meet (for there is no third yt deserves to stand in competition). And let these be allowed, at least till a better be provided. This you may doe now speedily in yor begininge.

Sr ye pticulars wch I putt by way of Caveat & ye phrasinge of ye rest where there is any respect to humane Lawes, I rather expect yt you should pdon, yn much regard: but for ye substance of ye most I crave yor serious consideration of ym.

And in Conclusion because I am more assured yt I am right in my Generalls yn in all pticulars, I shall conclude with one or two such generalls. 1° In all Consultations about ye Comon wealth, ye maine skill lyeth in twistinge so ye Interest of Prince & People yt ye People may feele yt ye Princes Safety is theirs, & may not be tempted to looke at it as opposite; & yt ye Prince may feele yt ye Peoples Safety is his Interest & may not be tempted to espouse any private divided, opposite Interest; yt so there may be mutuall Confidence & Conjunction of desires & endeavors (wch only a twistinge of Interests can secure) & jealousyes may be laid by. //

2° Be so tender of ye subjects private wealth, as to preserve ye Comon wealth; & so dispose of ye English Armes, as yt England may be in a Capacity of assistinge ye distressed Protestants abroad; if not, yet at least of awinge their Persecutors, by of power & readynesse, if we should be called to such a worke.

3° Be very solicitous for ye unitinge of ye severall ptyes where such Principles are maintained yt are consistent with Comunion: & settle or Recomend so much to the People as they are all agreed in. Not alltogether stoppinge there, but takinge up with yt still more can be attained, rather yn to let all alone as it is.

4° And let me warne you by all possible diligence to counterworke delayers, yt would draw you to spin out yor time in doinge nothinge, & let opportunity no more slip through yor fingers: Dispatch somethinge if you canot doe what you would; & rather yn stand upon ye preventinge of every possible inconveniency, lay a defective establishment till ye next Parliamt; & yn experience may tell you wherein it must be amended.

I shall adde no more but these generall wordes from three sayings, wch so much please me, yt they are often in my mouth.

1° In yor Consultations for ye Church, have regard to Learninge, but more to Theology; & most of all to practicall Godlynesse, yt it may flourish: For

Veritatem { Philosophia quaerit { Theologia invenit { Religio
Felicitatem { quaerit { invenit { possidet } Pic. Mirandul.

2° In yor Controversall debates, see yt you neither goe against sound Reason nor against ye doctrine of ye Universall Church, much less agt ye sacred Scripture: for

Contra Rationem { Contra Ecclesiam { Contra Scripturam
nemo sobrius { nemo Pacificus { nemo Christianus } Augustin.

3° In all yor Consultations about Reformation Unity & Toleration be sure yt you so carefully avoid ye extreames of uncharitable rigor, presumptuous Impositions, & Licentious toleration of Church destroyers; as yt we may have

{ In necessarijs { In non-necessarijs { In utrisque
{ unitatem { Libertatem { Charitatem } vulg.

If all will heartily goe The Lord direct protect & prosper you & give a better issue to yor Consultations, yn these Nations doe deserve or looke for, or yor enemyes desire. Et pardon ye failings & accept of ye bold & hasty suggestions, wch yor desires have comanded from

yor servant

Sept. 15th. 1656.

Rich: Baxter.

To Colonell Harley goin
Parliament | in Ri
When men were raiſed to ſ

34.

London, Dec. 14. 1657.

Sr

Tho: utterly a Stranger to you, yet a speciall Occasion necessitates this Address. Having an alternate Course in a Lecture here in the City, upon some speciall Reasons I have asserted ~~that~~ the outward Call to the Ministry, in an Ordinary Way & Case, to be Regularly by Ordination. The other Lecturer, having openly disclaim'd his Ordination he had once received, gave in sundry Arguments directly against it; as viz. that there is no such Institution; 'Tis from popish Priests, &c. to the great Offence of ye Ministry of this City, & ye most sober Christians. When I had in my ~~ye~~ next Turne answerd his Arguments, he flyes to humane Testimony. And this very Night he produces in the Face of a very full Congregation, yor 2 Sheetes for the Ministry, & openly reads severall Propositions for the Justification of his Opinion. The Principall Place was yor ~~the~~ Answ. to ye 7th Obj: in ye first Sheet, yt Souldiers & such like may be constant & ordinary Preachers. I suppose you speake what I finde here de Facto, rather then de Jure. One Word from you will resolve ye Question, & give much Satisfaction to many hundreds to whome your Name is pretious. I earnestly beg this Favour of you with all Speed; for the next Monday I must give in my Reply in the same Place. May I but farther desire from you a positive Answer only in one line to this Question; Whether it is your Judgmt that gifted Brethren, never ordaind to the Worke of the Ministry, may ordinarily preach ye Gospel in publick Assemblys, as the Case now stands with us in England, there being an abundant Supply of ordained Ministers. Ile adde, without the Approbation or Consent of these Ministers, yea to their Offence. If possible be pleased to returne an Answer, tho: but in three Words, this Weeke to

Yor unworthy Friend & Fellow-
Labourer in the Worke of ye Gospel.
Tho: Willes.

Direct yor Letter to ye
Minister of Botolph-
Billingsgate, London.

35

For the Revd: his much
Hond: Friend Mr Baxter,
Minister of ye Gospel,
at
Kedorminster,
In
Worcester-shire.

Post pd.

Reverend Sr,

whom I love and honor in the Lord. my cordiall love & service premised. Sr, though
I am wholly a stranger to you, yet not unto your works, nor to many that are your
friends. and by what I have read & heard. I am encouraged to give you the trou-
ble of reading these few lines. Sr. I understand yt Mr Wilkes. writ lately to
you. about som differance that is betweene him and my self. by your answer
(if the inclosed be a true coppie) I perceive. he has not fairly presented things
to you. Sr, Mr Wilkes was pleased to lye such a stres upon ordination. as to affi-
rme. 1. that it was a sin for any unordained man ordinarily to preach. except in
case of Absolute necessity or for approbation. 2. a sin for people to heare such
and yt no salvation was ordinarily to be expected from such. labouring very much
to draw people from hearing such. though never so sound. able. or holy. with
much to yt purpose. I declared my judgment for ordination. according to the
congregationall way. I being so ordained. after an ordination yt I had be-
fore. and upon this last ordination I now stand and act in my place according
to my measure. & my weake labours are not through grace in vaine in the Lord.
he having laid so great a weight upon small matters. I did in soberness of
spirit declare that to the making good what he had said twas to my understanding necessary that
he should. 1. shew a ~~law~~ word of command. word of institution. to justifie ordi-
nation as is now ~~practised &~~ contended for. 1. Joen. 3. 4. 4. Rom. 15. 2. to prove a succession of
Right ordination down from the Apostles to these dayes. such darkness was upon my
understanding yt I could not for the present see how they could make proofe of ad-
ue derived ministeriall power. in an uninterrupted line of succession from the
Apostles downward to this present time. 3. that the Apostles did ordaine as ord-
inary Presbyters. yt their call. commission. gifts. & works was Extraord-
nary. I had formerly proved. yt they did somthings as ordinary Presbyters.
as preaching praying etc. I could readily grant. but yt they did ordaine
as ordinarie presbyters or pastors. was upon their hands to make out who
did lye such a stres upon it as Mr Wilkes did. 4. that that Presbytery
in the 1. Timo. 4. 14. was a classicall presbytery. I had proved before. yt
severall learned men were of opinion, yt twas onely the presbytery of
the church of Ephesus with the Apostle. 2. that other learned men we-
re of opinion that twas an Extraordinary presbytery. there being severa-
all others Extraordinary officers with the Apostle. 5. that themselves we-
re as true as lawfull a constituted presbytery as this in Timothy. 6. that
this presbytery in Timothy did ordaine one or another to a presbyte-
rall office. Timothy they did not ordaine to any office. he being an Eu-
angelist before. 2. Timo. 4. 5. and they being but an ordinarie pre-
sbytery they could not confer an Extraordinary office. 7ly to prove ordin-
ation to be Essentiall to the making of an officer. that tis of absolu-
te necessity to the being of our office or power. I judged it was not, of ab-
solute necessity, and to what I said I added your reasons in your 7th prop-
osition. which to me were worthy of due consideration. and told the people,
that the giving light to these things might prove a mercie to many. and sat-
isfie som yt were unsatisfied about what he had said concerning ordina-
tion. etc. and whereas he had told the people that twas a sin etc. to heare
such yt were not ordained. I made use of your ninth & tenth proposi-
tion. which seemed to import the contrary. however I concluded nothing
but left the prudent to passe your two sheets. and judge of the truth approved
to them. As to gifted Brethrens Exercising of their gifts. I was for
it but with cautions. as I told my hearers. I spoke enough against
every mans Exercising his gifts & turning preacher
who conceited themselves fit and able
for so great a service.

telling the people, what confusion & destruction. this would lead too. and then closed up with what I had written severall yeares agoe in my Treatis called the unsearchable Riches of Christ. page. 296. many weak and slight spirits in these dayes thinke it as easy to preach as to play, and so they hop from one thing to another. and those yt are not qualified for the least and lowest imployment, yet judge themselves fit enough for the greatest & weightiest imployment in the world; and yt which would certainly break the backs not only of the best and strongest men, but even of the very Angels, should not god put under his everlasting armes. no labour to that of the mind, no travel to yt of the soule. and those yt are faithfull in the Lords vineyard find it so. Luther was wont to say, that if he were againe to chuse his calling he would dig, or doe any thing rather then take upon him the office of a minister. And many other eminent lights have been of the same opinion with him. Read also my marginall note vize. 2. Cor. 2. 16. who is sufficient for these things? Almost every upstart in these dayes thinks himself sufficient. who am I sayes Moses. who am I not saith every green head in these dayes. And truly Sr, by what I understand by your letter. & by your first sheet. I don't see but yt you and I are as fully one in this point. as two men can be. I read your Answer to the first objection in your first sheet. & did no more but read it. knowing that many would be more apt to be sattisfied with your judgement in this point. then with any thing I could say. Sr I did declare my honorable, & high esteem. & love. to the godly presbyterian Ministers. and both my frequent hearing of them. and my being acting for their good. having been a poor instrument, to help diverse of them to good livings. that have proved blessings to the people amongst whom providence has cast them. and standing by them in generall cases. as I lookt upon no man to be ever the less a minister. for want of ordination. especially yt which is now so much contended for. I did declare yt I own & stand fast to it in my judgment & conscience. to this day. yt what I have longe since written concerning the duty. dignity. and authority of the ministry. in the above mentioned Treatis. in that Treatis I thinke I have said enough. as to those things. Dear Sr, these things I thought meete to give you notice off. yt you might not be troubled nor grieved at any flying reports concerning me, my judgment & practise. & to undeceive you. if Mr Willes or any other has given you to understand any thing contrary to what I have written. Sr, if it might not be to troublesom to you. I would desire to know whether the inclosed be a true coppie of yt letter yt you sent to Mr Willes: And also a coppie of yt letter yt he sent to you. and yt partly because he has no coppie of it himself. & so cant shew it me. & partly because I cant understand the passages in your answer without a sight of what he has written. if any thing else you in your wisdom shall judge meete to give in it will be thankfully received by him

him who is

worthy Sr.
Yours in all Christian observance
Tho: Brooks.

ffrom my house on fish-street
hill. Lo: (next doore to the Rose)
this 24. Decem. 1657.

Sr. I must humbly begg your pardon as to the slips of my pen. I being in much hast. going out of town. haveing not so much time as to reade over what I have written. +

To the Reverend & his much honoured
friend Mr Richard Baxter,
Minister of the Gospell at Kedderminster in Worcestershire these

London, Dec. 24. 1657.

Worthy Sr

Your Letter came very seasonably to my Hands, & did fully my Expectations & Desires, & gave abundant Satisfaction to very many both Ministers of this City & Christians. And truly it did in all Points so fully accord to that Doctrine I had deliver'd, that I cannot but looke upon it as a singular Providence both for the Confirmation of the Truth by the Evidence of an unthought of Testimony, & for the Establishmt of many Christians to whome yor Name is precious. For I was bold, after Sermon & Prayer, before ye Dismission of ye Congregation, to declare unto them the Contents of yor Letter, for yor Vindication from what you was charged with openly, ye last Lecture-Day before, sc. the Patronizing of the Contrary Opinion. And so I put an End to that Contest in that Place, for Peace sake, & for the sake of Truth transferr'd ye further Prosecution of it to another Place. But the better Part of ye Auditory (for a great Number of profest Anabaptists & other Sectaries were crouded into the Church, & at ye Close made a great Disturbance) were so fully satisfy'd with ye Doctrine I had deliver'd, & ye Testimony by you given to the present Truth, that in a narrow Church pestred with a Crowd of profest Enemies to ye Ministry yt kept many others out, upon a sudden Motion of a Contribution to some poore Ministers (disabled by Weakness for ye Worke of their Calling) & Ministers Widows, to be gather'd at the Church-doore, desired only as a Testimony of their Love to the ordained Ministry pleaded for, there was collected & I have received above 30 li. One Gentleman, but in a meane habit, who would not give me his Name put into my Hand 5 li. This I cannot but take Notice of with Thankfullness to God, as a singular Testimony of the Cordiall Affection of many of our Noble Citizens to the Gospel-Ministry & as good Ground of Hope, yt notwithstanding the vigorous & violent Attempts of all sorts of Adversaries against it, the Lord will still preserve amongst us this great Ordinance. But I am the Reproach of all sorts of Sectaries, & posted up in Print by some of them; so that I conceive I shall be necessitated (as some of our Ministers have desired me) to publish the Substance of my Sermons for my Vindication. If my Reproach should come to yor Eares, I hope you will not receive it without giving me some Information. I suppose you are as fully sensible as my selfe that the Designe of this Age managed by Jesuiticall Agents & their Instruments, is against ye very Foundation of ye Gospel-Ministry, & they have prevailed with 1000s to the drawing them quite off from the true Ministry (O the sad State of such Soules!) upon the Account of ye pretended Falseness of their Call as Popish & Antichristian, the chiefe Arguments I have had to doe with in this Controversy. And yet this I confess for want of Reading & Ability I am least able to deale withall. I could heartily wish you would undertake the Vindication of our first Reformers, who received their Ordination, ex confesso, from popish Bps. I doe not well remember whether you have

spoken of it or no in yor Christian Concord. However seeing it is a Matter of no small Consequence, & the publicke Interest of ye Gospel-Ministry is therein concern'd, & I who am ye meanest & weakest of the Ministers of the Gospel, am necessarily engaged for the Publick Management of this Matter in this great City (a Burden under which I groane, & were it not for one Word of Chr. Mat. 28. ult. should fall downe under it) ~~that~~ ye Cause of God through my Weakness might not fall to ye ground, I could heartily beg, if I might be so bold, some Light from you for the clearing up of ye Truth in this Particular. At least if you would be pleased to point me to such Authors, who in yor Judgment have most fully handled this Point, I should take it as a Favour, seeing ye frequent Returns of Service here in the City, will not afford Leisure for the Reading of all, nor halfe yt is written upon this Subject, in that short Space of Time, wherein I am to dispatch it. For I am unhappily engaged in a Controversy I never before studied. Perhaps you'll condemne my Rashness in undertaking it. But he that has been thrust into the Water must swim out as well as he can. I have endeavoured to engage the Revd Brethren ye Ministers of this City in the Management of this Interest in their severall Congregations. The Ministers [illegible] should be [illegible] instructed by their Fidelity to speake [illegible] good Christians for the Truth. I conceive Ministers might doe well to cleare up their Call to the Understandings of their [illegible]

Sr Pardon ye Rudeness of throwing into this Piece of Paper more then I [illegible]; And accept my hearty Thanks for the sing[illegible] Favour you have by yor Letter, done

yor unworthy Friend & Servant in ye Lord. Tho: Willes.

[illegible] so far agreed with one another, as to pro

For the Reverend his
much Hono^d Friend
M^r Baxter, Min.
of y^e Gospell at
Kederminster,
In
Worcester-Shire.

post pd

London Dec. 24. 1657.

Revd Sr,

9

I am sorry I have this Occasion so oft to interrupt your serious Studies. But did you but know how much Satisfaction yor Letter gave to many Eminent Ministers of this City, being a Casting Voice in the Present Controversy, wherein the Opponent lay'd so great a Stress upon yor Judgment, I suppose you would see no Cause to repent of your Paines. But to invalidate so cleare a Testimony I am inform'd (I know not yet how truly) of a Designe to draw something from you that may at least in Show give some Countenance to the Contrary Cause. And you may easily judge that he that so confidently in an open Assembly would make use of yor printed Papers for that Purpose, will doe no less by what he can procure from you in writing. This I judg'd meet to give you Notice of, that you might be ye more Wary in what you shall write to any upon this Occasion. If Mr Brookes of Fishstreet Hill (the Adversary with whome I have to deale in this Controversy) shall himselfe write to you with his owne Hand, I need give you no other Character of it, then his false English. That which I heare he will desire of you is an Account of ye 2 Questions I propounded, or the Manner how I stated the Matter to you. For they are not satisfy'd with yor Repetition of them in yor Letter, whereof they desired, & I denyed them not, a Copy. Whereupon they desired a Copy of my Letter to you which I had not to give them. I suppose it will not be requisite to give them a Copy of my whole Letter (but that I leave to yor Prudence) but of ye Questions onely. Two things I thinke I was mistaken in, viz. 7th for 5t Obj. & in speaking of Souldiers being Preachers, which I cannot peremptorily ~~[illegible]~~ charge upon them yt opposed me; neither doe I remember that I did in my Letter so represent it. But whatever Letter or Report of this Matter shall come unto you, I will give you some Light in it by a briefe Account, ~~[illegible]~~ to the Truth whereof hundreds can give Testimony.

Being called by the Choice of ye Parish to preach in an Alternate Course the Lecture at Fishstreet Hill, whereof Mr Brookes was to supply every other Turne, I seriously consider'd with my selfe what speciall Worke I should apply my selfe unto for the Benefit of that People. My Resolve was to insist upon that which was the maine of a Christian, ye Power of Godlynesse. In prosecution of this Designe I thought it meet to lay this Foundation & to proceed by these Steps, sc. 1. To shew that there was Salvation for poore Sinners held forth in the Gospel. 2 That God had authoriz'd the Ministers of the Gospel to tender this Salvation. 3. That it was the Scope of the Gospel wherein this Salvation was tender'd to engage them to Godlynesse. 4. That the Gaine of true Godlynesse was greater then all earthly Advantages. 5 That they that would attaine this Advantage, & that Salvation must not rest in the Forme but prosecute the Power of Godlynesse. The first Stage I quickly past in one Sermon. The 2d I finisht likewise in another Sermon upon Rom. 10. 15. How shall they preach except they be sent? This Subject I judg'd my selfe bound in Conscience at least briefly to handle, for the Removall of some Prejudice against the Ministeriall Call, which I judg'd might be occasion'd by a Sermon which I heard preacht by another in the same Place. But I did it without the least Reflection; so that I believe no man conjectur'd the Occasion of my Doing it. This Sermon occasion'd the Controversy. For tho: Mr Brookes had before certify'd me in Writing that he was ordain'd by Fasting & Prayer & laying on of Hands without the least Signification of his Dissatisfaction therewith, whereupon I assur'd him, upon his owning that Call, I should preach nothing ~~but~~ that might give him the least offence, tho: (I say) he had signify'd this to me upon a meere Suspition that I was prejudic't against him upon this Account, whereupon I had prepar'd the forementioned Sermon, yet the same Day not long before I was to preach it, he wrote to me to desire me to wave that Subject for he was dissatisfy'd ~~for~~ with that Call, ye Reason was principally bec: he scrupled Imposition of Hands. 'Twas then too late for me to change my Determination; yet for his sake I wholely wav'd the Matter of Imposition of Hands, telling the People, that being I would give offence to no man I would not at all dispute it. The Substance of what

I spake upon that Point was briefly this; That none could Authoritatively preach the Gospel but those that were sent of God. That God sent 2 Ways, either Immediately & Extraordinarily as the Prophets & Apostles; or Ordinarily & Mediately as Pastors & Teachers. That the ordinary Way of sending these was by Ordination. That Ordination was a solemne Setting apart of a fit Person to the Worke of the Ministry by them that were themselves invested with that sacred Office. So (said I) we reade Elders were ordained in every Church & every City Acts 14.23. Tit.1.5. And the Manner we reade Acts 14.3. by Fasting & Prayer & Imposition of Hands. But bec: we meet with 2 Words in the New Test. χειροθεσία and χειροτονία, & bec: some scruple this Ceremony, I told them I would not determine whether it were to be done by the laying on, or lifting up of Hands. Thus you have the Sum of ye Doctrinall Part of my Sermon. Now the following Day Mr Brookes comes up & takes Occasion hence at once to declare & disclaime his own Ordination, in these Words, I was (said he) solemnly by Fasting & Prayer & laying on of Hands ordained to the Worke of the Ministry. But I doe not stand upon this Call, for if I should I should stand upon the Sandy & a Quagmire. Then as the Reasons of his Dissatisfaction, he gave these 7 Arguments against Ordination, which I will give you in his owne very Words. viz 1. There is no Precept of Christ, there is no Statute Law of Heaven requires this at our Hands; there is no Institution, there is no Law of Christ requires it. 2 Matthias Acts 1.26. was chosen into the Roome of Judas without this Ordination. 3. That Ordination that is agreeable to the Apostles Institution is an Ordination that is Antecedent [or Subsequent to Election, but the Ordination we are now speaking of is an Ordination that is precedent to the Peoples Election. 4. I cannot finde in all the Scripture but that Extraordinary Gifts were given when Persons were ordained by Imposition of Hands, & in as much as these Extraordinary Gifts are ceased, I see no Ground for the continuing or Keeping up of that Worke. 5. I finde that what is spoken concerning Ordination & Imposition of Hands, it was still managed by Extraordinary Officers. 6. The Power under Jesus Christ of Calling to Office is given to ye Spouse the Church of Jesus Christ. 7. It is generally confest amongst Protestants, that the Ordination that did first proceed, [or was first receivd] in this Nation, was from popish BBs & sacrificing Priests. This was the Ordination, as Protestant Writers against the Papists one a other doe sufficiently testify. — Now Job.14.14. Who can bring a cleane thing out of an uncleane These were his Reasons. Now this Sermon gave a generall Offence to the Ministers of the Ci all concluded I was concerned to answere it. Hence came this Contest which I have now p an End to in That Place, for the more Peaceable Prosecution of ye Doctrine I had delivered nother. All that openly appeare my Enemies in this Cause are Anabaptists, & such like. The Sr I have given you as briefe an Account as I could of ye whole Matter, for the Determination whereof yr Letter has struck so great a Stroke. The Lord preserve yr Life, encrease yr Strength & make you yet more Eminently Instrumentall for the good of his Church, to the Glory of his Name; Amen.

Your unworthy Friend & Fellow-labourer
according to my poore & meane Ability
Tho: Willes.

2

For the Reverend my much
honoured friend Mr
Richard Baxter
Minister of the Gospel
at Kidderminster

For the Reverd. his much
Honord Friend Mr
Richard Baxter,
Minister of the Gospell
at Kederminster

In

Worcester-shire.

post pd.

Decemb. 17. 1657.

100

Sr

Yors of Decemb. 14 I received this day. Two Questions I perceive you would have me answere. 1o wts my Judgmt in ye case as proposed by you, 2o wts my sence in my two sheets for ye ministry, especially in ye first in answere to the 5th Objection. To ye first, I have told you my sence in ye last sheet, & in my Christian Concord, as plainly as in few words I can; & now I must use much fewer. & shall only say, yt I marvaile any wise & good man should deny Ordination to be a duty, consideringe how plaine & full ye Scripture is for it, & how constantly from ye Apostles dayes, ye universall Church hath used it, without exceptions, till now of late. In darker cases we are ye more to be pityed wn we mistake: but wn God speaketh so plainly, we are much to blame, if we will not understand. But if any should doubt of ye Ceremony of Imposition of hands, me thinkes they should not Question ye Duty or Conveniency, much less ye lawfullnes of ye substance of Ordination, wch lyeth 1o in Approbation, 2o & solemne investiture, by ye Ministers of Christ. If every man shall be Judge of his owne fittnes for ye ministry how soone would ye vineyard of Christ be pestered wth Ignorant proud selfconceited psons, fitter to lead men to sin yn to holynes, to Divisions yn to Unity, to Hell yn to Heaven. I have in this Congregation many able judicious Christians, yt thinke not ymselves worthy to be servants to a Godly minister; but an Ignorant, raw fellow, newly entered, & scarce well acquainted wth any of ye abler sort of Christians, & very scandalous in his life, run away from us lately into ye worke of ye ministry, pretendinge a necessity of improvinge his talents, & obeyinge ye call of God. And if there be a necessity yt men be not their owne Judges in this case (ordinarily), who can thinke yt God hath not setled any certaine way for an orderly admittance. will he have order in all ye world & not in his Church, wch is dearer to him yn all ye rest of ye world besides? But Scripture hath saved us ye labor of long disputes by its plainnes? wt reasonable answere can be given to ye Scripture evidence produced by yor ministers in ye Jus Divin: Minist: & by mr Tho: Ball? And to ye case put by you, It is my Judgmt, yt though probationers & other unordained men may occasionally Preach in publike, under ye direction of ye Pastors of ye Churches, & may frequently Preach in Publike in cases of Necessity; yet wn there is no such necessity, but there is a competent supply of able ordained ministers, & wn ye Pastors of ye Churches approve not of their preaching, I thinke it presumption & disorder, & a sin yt hath very much light agt it, for such men to undertake to be ye ordinary teachers of a Christian Assembly: yea though a few Pastors yt breake ye unity of ye Church should approve of ym contrary to ye Judgmt of ye rest. The Reasons of this my Judgmt & ye fuller explanation of it, this roome & hast will not allow me to expresse. Indeed my Judgmt lyeth in ye midst betweene ym yt would have ye guifts of godly men unserviceable to God, & ym yt would have order cast out of ye Churches, & Pride & selfconceitednes become ye Byshop to make every man a Teacher yt hath but high conceits of himselfe. And I wonder yt any humble modest man should in so high a callinge, & so great a worke yt is attended wth such a dreadfull reckoninge, presume to run upon his owne selfe-esteeme, & neglect ye Judgmt & Approbation of others. And who can be fitter to Judge & Approve, yn ye unanimous judicious faithfull Pastors, yt are best able to Judge & may be presumed to be most deeply interessed in ye interest of Xt. Alas, how much different was ye case of old. Gregory Neocaesar. was sought after & faine to be Ordained in his absence, because he did so cautelously fly from it. Epiphanius incurred ye displeasure of Johan: Hierosol. for Ordaininge one in his precincts, yt had run away from ye office & was there surprized. It was ordinary yn for men to fly from ye office in apprehension of their unworthynes, & ye Byshops to pursue & send after ym, & lay ye charge of God upon them: but no man was found yt Questioned ye lawfullnes or duty of Ordination: I thinke no man yt was a Christian. || For yor other Question I answere yt in those two sheets I have fully expressed my Judgmt for Ordination, though not for ye absolute necessity of it to ye very Beinge of ye ministry in all kinds & cases. I had thought, I had spoken high enough for it wn I compared it to Baptizinge, as beinge such a solemne makinge of a Minister by way of Investiture, as Baptizinge is a solemne makinge us Christians by ye like investiture. Though yet I will not say yt they are in other respects equall. however Calvin consent to call Ordination a 3d Sacramt. And as for ye passage wch you mention in ye first sheet ad object. 5. (for so it is, though you say ye 4th) I must say yt it is hard measure yt those words have met wth. Some Brethren of ye Congregationall way, whom I very much love & Honor were offended wth those very words wch you mention as supposinge I had purposely wrote ym to dishonor ye Proceedings of ye Approvers

& ye Comissioners ymselues, by saying yt some of ym are Soldiers. And did I ever thinke yt any Brother of ye same way would take ye same words in a sense so much on ye contrary extreame? How should one speake plaine enough to be understood? Truly I must needs professe yt I was far from intending ye sense yt either of those partyes do imagine. I never meant either to reproach ye Approvers, because some of ym are Soldiers, or to condemne their proceedings; but only because some mistaken persons yt pretend speciall respect to ye Army do charge us with hindering all but ourselues from ye improving of their guifts, I told ym how little reason they had to except wn its so likely yt none of ym if worthy will be kept back. Nor was it my intent on ye other side to approve or maintaine ye Practice wch I do recite, of sending forth ye unordained to be fixed Teachers (unless their Approbation be any Ordination): But I meerly intended to tell ye Objectors, how ye present case of fact or practice confuteth their Objection. I talke not of Preaching Soldiers but of Soldiers joyned with ye Comissioners, as intimating to ye Objectors, yt its not Ministers only yt Judge of mens fitness, & keepe ym out yt are unworthy. In a word my meaning in ye answer of Object. 5. in ye first sheet, was only to stop ye mouths of unjust objectors, neither owning nor condemning the Approvers, but barely reciting wt is done. And my Judgmt about Ordination is plaine enough in ye 2d sheet in ye seventh Proposition. O wn will ye Lord of peace unite his servants & beautifye & strengthen ym by their unity, & hence imploy their united force agt ye comon enemyes of his Church! I hope this is yor daily Prayers & endeavours as it is unfeignedly wth

yor weake fellow=servant

Ri: Baxter.

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To my Reverend Brother Mr Thomas
Willes Minister at Botolph's
Billingsgate, in London.

Deare Brother

I received yors & therwth a letter & yor [Heaven upon earth] (a very solidly usefull, weighty piece) from or freind Mr Willes as his guift. I intreate you to returne him my hearty thankes, as I do my owne to you for ye ~~ff~~ brotherly peaceable expressions in yor letter. I thinke not just to send you any copy of Mr Willes letters without his consent, no more yn I would send yors to him. But I may justly give you his Question in terminis [viz whether it is yor Judgmt, yt guifted Brethren never ordained to ye worke of ye ministry, may ordinarily Preach ye Gospell in publike Assemblyes, as ye case now stands wth us in England, there being an abundant supply of ordained ministers, I'le adde without ye Approbation or Consent of those ministers yea to their offence.] Of ye answere I returned to this Question you may ye better judge by an exact comparing ym. You see here is no mention of any ordination supposed, but all excluded. I did not know yt you were ye man yt Mr Willes had his controversye wth wn I wrote to him: for he told me not who it was. And indeed I am very glad to find in yor letter yt you are so much agt unworthy, selfconceited mens intrusion. For I must professe to you, Deare Brother, yt upon my great & long experience of ye case of professors in these parts, I am confident yt if we should all tell or people, yt all of ym yt are guifted & inwardly called should turne ordinary Preachers, we should have almost all ye humble judicious able Christians stay behind, as thinking ymselves unworthy: & abundance of Ignorant, unhumbled, unable novices, yt understand not ye Catechisme, would go forth & preach. I speake upon such experience of their dispositions, as yt I am past doubt yt this would be ye event. And yn wt a case were ye people in. I have bin perswading some able private Brethren to ye worke & canot overcome their apprehension of their unfitness. The pson yt I intimated in my letter to Mr Willes, was one yt was not so much as used to come to or private meetings, nor had bin intimately familiar wth any of ye growne Christians; & was under Church admonition for stealing (by cozening a mans goods from his son on ye Lords Day wn we were at ye publike Assembly, & confederating wth ye said son to run away from his father, & gather up his debts at London, & meet him in Ireland) & also for being a comon notorious lyar: yet this man is slipt into ye station of a preacher; & to get in, did counterfeit my hand, & 3 or 4 other ministers, & wn ye forgery was discovered made abundance of lyes to hide it: wch he now confesseth all: but yet (though he do not well understand ye Catechisme) he tells us wn our censure we passe upon him, he dare not disobey ye call of God; but preach he must: & because he hath an earnest plausible voice, it greatly accepted wth ye people (even good men yt do not know him.) With you, perhaps judicious Auditoryes, refusing to heare such men may restraine ym. But wth us it is but stepping into Herefordshire or ye skirts of Wales & almost any man yt can talke loud may be applauded.

And I am glad to find yt you are for Ordination, & differ only of ye way. I perceive Mr Willes intendeth (though as unwillingly) to fall to writing, & I see Mr Ives hath called him to it: I feare it will but increase or flames. I beseech you, Deare Brother for ye sake of or Lord & masters interest, be very tender of ye peace of ye Church & of ye Love of ye Brethren, & pitty ye poore miserable world yt are hardened by or divisions, & so continue yor impartiall respect to Gods servts, & follow after peace wn it seemes to fly from you. I do not perceive by Mr Willes letters yt he doth lay so great a stresse on Ordination, as yor words of him import. I could wish you would lovingly (& presently) goe to him & confer, & pray yorselves into this much unity, as to draw up in one sheet or lesse, yor comon agreemt about Ordination, & agt ye intrusions of ye unworthy, & publish it wth both yor hands subscribed. I thinke it would do much good & prevent ye hurt yt yor printed contendings may occasion. I have not mentioned such a thing to him; but if you will take ye honor of seeking peace, & tell him yt I made this motion, I thinke he will yeild (unless Mr Ives booke hinder it, wch may seeme to call for some answere.) Its strange to me yt I should be agreed wth you both, as you both say I am, & yet yt you should so strongly disagree wth one another, as to provok

To my Reverend Brother Mr Thomas

109 ffor my Reverend Brother Mr Bryan at Shrewsbury.

Sr As soone as you were gone from me, lest you should misunderstand my answers to ye Case propounded by you, I wrote ym downe, & wth enlargements here send ym to you for yr further consideration.

The Case. A minister of a large Parish, wch hath many Ignorant & many knowinge people, hath not administred ye Lords Supp: since his cominge to yt wch is many yeares, because he hath no assistinge Elders, nor can procure any; yet ye people earnestly desire it, & are ready to submit to any Instruction, or Examination of ye Minister. But it beinge in a Towne where are 3 or 4 more Publicke Churches, where Elders are setled, & ye Presbyterian Government exercised, ye Pastor of this Congregation is afraid lest by administringe ye Lords Supp: without Elders, he should seeme to dissent from ye rest of his Brethren, or should give occasion of their trouble or offence, or of division amonge ye Churches. The Question is,

Whether this minister should continue to forbeare administration of ye Lords Supp: or what course he should take?

Ans. I shall give you my answers in severall Propositions, which also take in ye incident cases, wth in yt by you propounded. // But first resolve, 1o Whether is this minister ye Pastor of a particular Church? or only a Preacher to those yt are no Church in order to their gatheringe? or at least a Preacher to those yt take him not for their Pastor? 2o If ye first, yt doth he know which are ye members of his Charge; or not? And if yea; by what way doe they discerne ym? 3o Is ye Presbyterian Government Government exercised by ye Brethren where he liveth, in yt pt of it (by Classicall Assemblyes) wch he is to resort to for direction; or is it only exercised in distinct independant Parishes? 4o Hath ye said minister consulted with ye Classis, & what is their advice? 5o Doth ye minister himselfe take ye presence or consent of fellow Elders to be of that necessity to his power of rejectinge ye unworthy? or not?

To ye first you answere yt you take yr selfe for ye Pastor of a true particular Church.

To ye 2d yt its comon with you there to judge ye whole Parish to be ye Church and so doe you.

To ye 3d yt there are no Classicall meetings. To ye 4th yt you have asked as you had opportunity ye Judgment of ye Ministers in ye Towne & Country; & those in ye Towne are modestly sparinge in their answers; but those of ye Country tell you yt in another place you might administer ye Sacraments without Elders, but not in Shrewsbury.

To ye 5th as I remember you seemed yr selfe to be not fully resolved. //

Prop. 1. The Receivinge of ye Lords Supp: & ye holy Comunion of ye Saints therein, is a Duty which each particular Church is obliged to, ordinarily; & a mercy which they are all bound to value and seeke after; & they may not rest without it. Therfore if you will not administer that Sacrament to yr Church, they are bound to seeke for another minister yt will.

Whether it be not essentiall to a particular Church to be combined for such holy Comunion in Gods ordinances (as their neerest end) I will not now determine (though it's not very difficult): But yt its their duty is past question.

Prop. 2. It is ye duty of each Pastor of a particular Church ordinarily to administer ye Lords Supp to his flocke. // Whether it be essentiall to yr office yt it be for this end as well as Preachinge, & to be a minister of ye Sacraments as well as of ye word I need not now inquire. Yr duty ordinarily is unquestionable. // Wherfore it followes 1o yt you may not ordinarily as you doe, neglect it: you have allready forborne many yeares, & on ye same grounds are like to forbeare as long as you live; or to deny it many of yr people to ye time of their death: And how many are dead allready to whom you have denyed it? 2o Or if you cannot doe it; you should leave them, yt they may have one yt can. //

Prop. 3. It is not ye worke of a Classis or any Church Governors to judge whether God should be worshipped in his ordinances or not? nor to judge whether ministers shall deliver, & Chrs receive ye Lords Supper or not: But to determine of undetermined Circumstances in the maner for ye sake of order & decency; & to see Gods owne Lawes put in execution. // Therfore it is presupposed yt ye Church must hold Comunion in this Sacrament, & ye ministers must deliver it. For order supposeth ye things ordered; & decency supposeth ye subject or substantiall duty, wch must have this decency. //

Prop. 4th. No man can prove yt ever God appointed any Elders to governe his Church, but, 1o such as were ordained therto, 2o & gave up ymselves to ye worke of oversight as their duty by office (though as Paul himselfe did, they might labor with their hands in case of necessity to avoid a greater evill), 3o And such as had power to Baptize, 4o And power to Administer ye Lords Supp, 5o & power to teach ye people accordinge to their opportunityes & abilityes. // Therfore those Elders are not of divine Institution as a Church office, 1o who are taken as distinct officers, or a distinct order from ye Pastors or ministers of ye word & Sacraments, 2o who are unordained, 3o & have no power to Baptize, 4o nor to Administer ye Lords Supp, 5o Nor to teach accordinge to their opportunity & ability, 6o And

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About calling an Assembly.

To my Reverend & much honoured Bro-
ther Mr Thomas Manton Preacher
of the Gospell at Coven-Garden
these dd

London

Leave this with Mr Tyton at the 3 Daggers
in ffleetstreete neere ye Temple to bee
dd as above.

Humble Dreamers I am ready to thinke an Assembly would heale us: & yet if it fall among selfconceited unpeaceable (tho: pious) men, yt are wedded to a party, or to uncatholick principles, & then I think an Assembly would do ye hurt. But I am in hope yt ye generality of ye nation are much moderater Beleevers now &c. It is not setting either Presbyterians, Independents, or Episcop in ye saddle that 1. The establishing ye doctrine discipline & worship yt we all agree in, & leaving ye rest to a tolerable liberty. 2. And ye uniting us in Loving Communion. 3. And the drawing us on to a faithfull practise of wt wee are agreed in, yt must heale & make happy this land. And wch way will best accomplish these ends I leave to wiser men to resolve. The Ld direct you & strengthen you for & blesse you in ye extraordinary labours. Pardon this unsatisfactory answer from

Ye very willing but weake fellow servant
in ye Lords worke Ri: Baxter.

Rec: febr: 1. 1658

~~The 2d edition I could dispense~~
~~wth but not ye first~~

Dear Brother

I am sorry yt I am uncapable through ye greate weaknes of my understanding to say anything yt may conduce to ye satisfaction of yr selfe, or those by whose instigation you say you write, in soe very weighty a case as you propound. Its weighty in respect to ye present settlemt & more in yt ye resolution will seeme to looke as farr as all future Assemblys of this nature. Wn ye last Parliamt was called I studyed ye case, & consulted some able Ministers of London about it (& since wth some of Scotland in their case) & none of us were able to discerne whether a Generall Assembly rebus sic stantibus would doe more good or hurt. Truly I can doe noe more but tell you of ye contrary argumts yt puzzel mee, & soe helpe to hinder rather then to resolve you.

1o For ye Affirmative. 1. The Parliamt by ye humble Pet. & Adv. is engaged to publish a Profession of ye Religion to bee owned by ye Nation. The Assemblys Confess: allready extant will not serve the turne upon my certaine knowledg, without very greate injury to Religion & ye Church. The Papists yt insultingly call us to prove a succession of a Ch: yt hath owned all ye 39 Articles, will have much more advantage now. The Parliamt canot with honour (it seemes) establish a Nationall Profession by any lower advise then a Nationall Assembly. 2. Experience hath taught Divines many things since the last Assembly, wch may tend to a better determination & to Moderation & Peace. 3. Above all or Prelaticall offended Brethren & or comon quarrelsome people will never reverence our settlemt if it bee not by a Nationall assembly freely chosen by ye Pastors. 4. It will not have soe much authority with the Pastors themselves. 5. Our longe distraction & ye present expectations from this Parliamt seeme to call lowder for it then ordinary. 6. If they doe not all yt is expected its like they will doe much yt is of greate necessity (as ye restoreing of Confirmation, ye agreeing on a better version of ye Psalmes & divers such things). 7. The calling of them will engage ye Parliamt to a reformation & settlemt.

2o For ye Negative, I am ashamed to set down my argumts. 1. That wch is of all ye weightiest, Its two to one but ye Assembly will not agree; but by clashing & contention more uncover our nakednes & grieve or friends & rejoice or enemys. 2. Or if they carry it by a Major vote agst ye dissenting pty, they will fly too high by uncharitable & unpeaceable impositions on Dissenters, & soe lay a foundation of greater divisions. I look into ye Countrys aboute mee, & thinke whoe will bee chosen; & I know they will bee men of much diversity of Judgmt, & most of ym stiff & tenacious to their partiall principles, tho: good men. I find Assemblys for meere Communion & Voluntary assistance of each other to bee of very greate benefit to ye Ch: But Nationall Assemblys or any other yt have but an advantage of Imposing on their Brethren, as if they were Lawgivers, will hardly bee kept from destroying Peace, yt is from ruining ye Ch. Thus they have done in former ages. Canoneers have battered us. Councells brought in ye Pope. They must bee for Communion. They are dangerous for Canon-making & Imposing. The Major Vote is never (or most rarely) ye wisest: and wee are all of us by ye disadvantage of or knowledg soe Independent & selfe-sufficient yt wee are every man a Synod to himself, & allmost incoherent through or selfe-conceitednes. 3. The late Assembly-men will bee engaged in their old quarrells & soe will bee ye more Implacable. 4. And (as smaller reasons on soe by) they will doe less in a moneth then one or two men would doe in a day or two. And they will delay ye Parliamts resolves & will put ye State to charges or not bee able to live at London. But these last are trifles. Were I but able to know what men will bee called I could ye sooner bee resolved wt were best. But truly in ye midst of these difficultys I dare not bee confident any way, but I may tell you which way I most incline, & that is // That an Assembly bee called only on these termes. 1o That ye Parliamt declare yt tho they honour their persons, yet yt noe discontented persons may thinke yt ye Assembly is a prolongated Party, they will have none chosen yt were of ye last Assembly. 2. That they bee freely chosen by all ye Lawfull Ministers of England (or else wee loose allmost all or ends; & doubtless ye best part every where will make a better choise then ye Parliamt will make). But let none bee called out of Wales or but 2 or 3 for they canot spare them. 3. That ye Parliamt acquaint ym yt Healing & not rigid dividing Impositions is theire chiefe worke & that they restraine them from tedious contendings. // These are my thoughts, but I am very hesitant & dare bee noe perswader. Wn I am at home amonge an Unanimous Ministry, of noe faction, meeting only for edification & Communion, I am greatly in love with Ministers Assemblys: but when I mett you last at London I brought home wth mee a greate disrelish of them. Wn I meete yet with Peaceable

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[illegible] who are [illegible] officers, or a distinct order from ye Pastors or minist[illegible] of ye word & Sacraments, 2o who are unordained, 3o & have no power to baptize 4o nor to Administer ye Lords supp, 5o Nor to teach according to their opportunity & ability, 6o And [illegible]

To Mr Edge

About Aſſociation.

30.

Dear Brother

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I am glad you are about Associating in yor parts; & I should alsoe be glad if I could any way further you in it: we lose much by or distance; & or strength consisteth much in or union: Mr Dury (even now wth me) is motioninge a setled course for correspondencye amonge ye Churches at home and abroad; & where there are no Associations it canot be carryed on. As for us in these parts, we have some thoughts, of revivinge & perfectinge or Agreemt, wch will be thus (if God will) 1o By makinge or Confession of faith somwt more exact & full. 2o By reducinge or generall Agreemt for Comunion of Churches to these 4 Articles. 1o That we will teach all in or Parishes publikely & personally & yt in order & wth diligence accordinge to or time & power & yt we will teach no doctrine contrary to ye word of God or or Confession &c. 2o That we will (for ye Constitution of or Churches) take none for adult members wm we must admitt to Ch: Comunion in ye Lords Supper &c but such as have personally professed Christianity, i.e. faith & holynes, by a credible profession. 3o That we will exercise ye undoubted acts of Discipline in or Churches. 4o That we will in Associations hold comunion of Pastors & Churches. —— These two (ye Confession & this short Agreemt) is all yt we take as of stated necessity for all yt will hold comunion wth us (supposinge yt they contradict it not so as to nullifye it by contrary doctrine or life). 3o But we will leave it to ye whole County, or to particular Associations to make wt further Agreemts shall be thought meet, about subordinate mutable Circumstances. But these shall be left to each mans Liberty and changed or dispensed wth as there is cause. All yt I can now say to you by way of advice, is but thus to tell you wt we are about, or do intend, if God will, in wch you see or judgments. The Lord strengthen & succeed you all in his worke. I rest

Yor weake Brother

Rich: Baxter.

Aug. 24. 1658.

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...Abilityes & Integrity, number & other Advantages, we humbly propound to you y^e R...
these things following. 1° y^t you will be pleased speedily to take y^e business into yo^r
Consideration, that if you know no just impediment, would effectually agree upon some
Profession (or more) y^e best you can find & would unanimously commend it to yo^r owne
one, & if you see meet to all others in y^e Land; And for o^r parts, God willing, we sh...
follow you. 2° y^t herein you will please to consult with some chiefe Brethren of y^e ...
way, y^t if it may be, you may have their consent & may not breed discord & division
~~as many be~~:
(w^ch God forbi...
so desireable, ...
may be a ...
of a Genera...
of Uniformi...
lay, so we ...
as y^t you ...
& this publick ...
but people ...
Congregations ...
on. 4° If ...
vouchsafe us ...
in o^r owne ...
assistance, ...
god mingling ...
cause you to ...
his Will & pos...
y^t you may be ...
of Holynes, ...
w^ch is for you

...y 25. 1654

subscribed ...
before of the ...
assembled ...

Rich: Baxt...

Tho: wright of

Jarvis Brian

Hen: Osland of Bewdly

To y^e Reverend & dearly beloved

1 the lord is one

To the Reverend my worthy
ffreind Mr Rich: Baxter Teacher
of the church at Kederminster
these d.

Worcestershire

m you will please to Consult with some chiefe Brethren of ye Congreg
& others
have their Consent, & may get both Bifford & Dickinson

Sr

Not long since I sent you an answer to a Letter which I
received from you;, want of leasure straightened me or I had
then troubled you something further. what I formerly said of
the rigid Episcopall Brethren, I have since yt had further
evidence of; wch I pray god the sparkes they begin to kindle doe
not increase into a flame. indeed (if I be not deceived) there is a
3fold designe on foot, the first is against the present Ministry, the
2d is to advance & promote Arminianisme (for of that leaven
they are generally) a 3d is to pull downe the hedge wch ol Divines
have endeavoured to set about the lords supper. I have heard some
of them scornefully deride the sermons of the awakening practicall
preachers about a peculiar preparation for that ordinance, & in a very
loose sence cry it up as a converting ordinance.) as to the second,
the writings of Mr Pierce are handed from one neutrall Gentleman
to another, who are usually more taken with a flourish, then able
to judge of the weight of a discourse; though the foresaid Author be
of smart parts; & it is judged ~~that mr~~ by some that mr Barlo's
debate with him hath been no advantage to the Calvinists cause. yt
rationall preface of Dr Reynolds deserves a fuller vindication from
the same hand. I perceive this angry adversary hath drawne
yor selfe also forth against him (indeed whom doth he spare?) it is
feared you will find him a restlesse writer. the lord give you strength,
seeing yor labours are still encreasing upon you.)
I hope the union & association of Ministers, (wch is now so much endea-
voured after) may through gods blessing be a great remedy against the
present dangers of ye church. god hath awakened the Ministers
of these parts to attempt such a worke: what they have yet done
is but an Embrio; something they have consulted of to reforme their
congregations of ignorance & scandall. I suppose, ~~this~~ a worke of this
nature having been so long on foot in yor parts, by this time experience
hath further informed ~~in~~ yor judgements, what is the most successfull
way to move in. if time would give you leave, I could desire
of you some rules, which you may thinke safest from yor experience
to walke by: it is not my single desire, but would satisfy my
Brethren much & was much desired by mr Tayler of Checkley. I
entreate yor returne as soone as yor busines will permitt. I
shall recomend you to the throne of grace & remaine

Though what you
say of Cassandrian
popery lookes
ye worst of all.

Uttoxat: Aug: 18.
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yor unworthy Fellow-servant,
& sincerely affected freind
Mich: Edge.

x

abilityes & Integrity, number & other Advantages, we humbly propound to you & Request you these things following. 1° That you will be pleased speedily to take ye premisses into yor serious Consideration, & that if you know no just impediment, would effectually agree upon some Version ~~now in being~~ of ye best you can find & would unanimously Comend it to yor owne Congregations, & (if you see meet) to all others in ye Land: And for or parts, God willing, we shall speedily follow you. 2° That herein you will please to Consult with some ~~chiefe~~ Brethren of ye Congregationall way, yt if it may be, you may have their Consent, & may cut off all occasion of discord & disunion ~~as may be~~: But, if they should refuse their speedy & hearty endeavours for such a Uniformity (wch God forbid) yt you would do it without them. & this as speedily as is possible, ye thing being so desirable, & we being already guilty of so long delayes. 3° We cannot readily conceive what may be a just occasion of yor delay of this work, except it should be some expectation of a Generall Assembly, wch you think may be a fitter means for a Generall Acceptance of Uniformity: As we conceive small darke hopes of such a thing will be no just ground of delay, so we Intreat you, yt if you see more ground to Expect it yn we at this distance can, yt yet you would effectually choose ye fittest Version & Comend it for singing in their families & publike meetings, yt so if it should hereafter be settled, it may not seeme strange to ye people but people may be prepared for it & yt we may have some of ye benefitt in ye mean time, & yt those Congregations yt will no longer be kept fro a change, may change for ye best & but for once. 4° If you see reason to deny us the former requests, at least we desire yt you would vouchsafe us yor advice for or Encouragemt or Discouragemt as to ye attempting such a change in or owne Congregations: wch ye weight of ye Case, & ye sense of or insufficiency, & gt need of yor assistance, impelleth us to Request. Reverend & Dearly Beloved Brethren, we Rejoice in yor ministeriall fidelity & Constancy, & humbly beg of ye Father of Lights, yt he would cause you to abound in ye knowledge of his Truth, ye Love of his Goodnes, & a holy Obedience to his Will, & possesse ye Soules of you & yor flocks with so strong a Zeale for Unity & Purity yt you may be saved from ye Guilt & sad effects of Divisions, & worshipping God in ye beauty of Holynes, may be accepted in his Beloved, & still saved from ye attempts of Unreasonable men: wch is for you & all ye Chs, ye daily prayer, of

Yor unworthy fellow servants

May 25. 1654

Subscribed in the name & at the desire of the Associated Ministers assembled at Kederminster by us

Rich: Baxter of Kederminster

Tho: Wright of Hartlebury

Jarvis Brian of Sturbridge

Hen: Osland of Bewdly

For or Reverend & Dearly Beloved
Brethren the faithfull Associated
Pastors of the Churches of Christ
in & about the City of London,
in their Provinciall
Assembly

These present

Reverend & dearly Beloved Brethren 5

Grace be to you & peace from God or Father & the Lord Jesus Christ. It being
worth ~~[illegible] being a Christian duty~~ to Blesse & Glorifye or most blessed God, & faith-
fully endeavouring ye Happynes of his ~~Church~~; & it being (a matter of such unquestionable
tendencye hereunto, yt ~~the most high God~~ be spiritually, ~~wisely~~, decently, & cheerfully worship-
ped according to ye direction of his sacred word; ye Lord having made us Guides of his
flocks, ~~[illegible]~~, wee find or selves under a double Obligation, to ~~improve~~ be very
solicitous for ye attainment of this End yt neither or selves nor ye Congregations
committed to or charge, may provoake ye Lord to Jealousye agt us, nor defraud or
soules of the benefitts of his Worship. Not doubting but yt you are Conscious of
ye like Obligations, & ready to helpe ~~[illegible]~~ us in ye worke of Gods ~~Reformation~~
wee make this address to you, wherin we shall first open or Case, & then propound or
Requests to you thereuppon. 1o It is ~~long since many~~ of ye most Judicious & godly of
this Land, have first complained of ye gt imperfection of or English version of
ye Psalmes, wch is comonly sung in or Congregations.) Or selves have bin long sensible of ye
justnes of this complaint, but have satt still in silence with or eyes on those yt were publickly en-
gaged to be or leaders in Reformation; & with ye greater patience did we waite bec. we well knew
how many & weighty matters were on their hands, & wt ~~contradictions~~ strife ~~& [illegible]~~ impediments in
~~[illegible]~~ way to be carryed through. But now ye Prudence wch Commanded or silence & expectation,
doth give us leave & comand us to speake, seeing ye reasons of or expectation are removed. Our ve-
ry desires are yt now at last ye Congregations in this Nation might all agree on one Convenient Ver-
sion of ye Psalmes not only better yn yt in use, but even ye best yt may be had. The Reason both of
or Desires & or Delayes till now, are these. For ye former 1o The Prayses of ye High God in ye Congrega-
tions of his Saints, is so noble, so sweet & acceptable a duty, & ye least defects in it are ye greater sins
wn we Remember how necessary a ~~part of worship~~ duty it is in ye Church, how suitable to ye Lords day, & to
all thanksgivings, & in generall to ye Joyfull worship ~~of Christ~~ spiritually of ye Redeemer & the
exercises of Grace & incomes of Consolation & spirituall life our owne soules have wth happy experience
we cannot but judge yt God is wronged & or selves are losers by all ye defects in or performance of it herein
& yt his Glory & or owne good do loudly call uppon us to make no unnecessary delay in this worke.
2o Some of ~~[illegible]~~ ye godly yt fear God among us, have so long importuned us to attempt a change in or Reformation in or Congre-
gations, & charged ye neglect uppon us as offering God ye worse wn we might have better, & so long have
we resisted their desires, yt we find under much temptation to forbear ye duty. 3o We fear least our
neglect of reformation herein may be an occasion yt so many have cast off this excellent pt of holy
worship allready: And while we dispute agt ym we would not willingly be guilty of their singularity.
4o We find by experience yt while we sitt still & attempt not an unanimous Reformation, ye severall
congregations, will be Reforming by ymselves, & to ye gt wrong of ye Ch: will have variety of wayes.
These Reasons move us to desire a Reformation, & yt speedily in this point. 2o We have bin silent
so long, & yet others hold off (every since ye Assembly & other meanes of Unity have ceased) 1o Bec.
we are very fearfull of being Rash in any Changes of so gt concernmt, & so have stayed so long for
deliberation. 2o We were very sensible of ye gt inconveniences of frequent Mutations about so high a
part of ye worship of God, & so durst not venture uppon any Version, unles we had seen a strong
probability of its continuance, knowing how much such changes do dishonor Gods worship in ye eyes
of ye people, & how much they tend to ye discomposing of mens minds. 3o We must abhorre
diversity of formes in ye Churches, where such formes are necessary, & where Uniformity may be
had, as knowing yt ye One God wch we serve would be worshipped with one mouth, as well as
with one mind, & how much ~~Unity~~ is comprized in Uniformity, & how much more may be attained
thereby: & wt a dishonor to God & sad inconveniences to ye Chs would ensue, if we causelessly
diversifye or formes & manner of worship in this Case. These reasons have led us up to ye Cause &
Matter of or present Request to you. We are not so ignorant of or owne Meannes & unworthynes,
as to think or selves fitt to be ye Leaders of ye Nation, or yet any probable Center of Unity, in such a
Case: Should we first attempt it (without necessity) we might rather expect to be accused of
selfe esteem, & yt or Weaknes & obscurity (besides some other speciall reasons) would rather be
an occasion of hindering an Uniformity, & of driving some from ye Version yt we should
choose, if not bec. we chose it, yet at least bec. others did it not. Besides we are Conscious of
or owne unfittnes for such a Discerning & Choice as we desire. Yet so far as we can discerne, this is or
Judgmt. 1o That ye old Version comonly sung in Churches is so faulty as not to be rested in, if a Reformation
may be had. 2o yt such a Version should be chosen, as both agrees as neere as may be with ye
text, & also is composed in a delightfull smoothnes, & yt this last be not neglected, (for yt crossing of
ye gt end of ye worke) under pretence of exact translating. 3o yt of all ye Versions yt yet we
have seen, there's none seem to us so accurate & desireable as yt lately agreed on in ye Ch: of
of Scotland, & yt of Mr Wm Barton now in ye presse (some of wch we have seen). But wch of these to
prefer, we are in doubt. We apprehend ye later to be ye smoother, & in all respects such as we could
willingly accept it. The former we apprehend to be close to ye Text, & of competent smoothnes,
& ye more desirable bec it is allready agreed on by so many Chs in our faith & Covent with us,
& containes so very much of ye later of Mr Rous's approved of by ~~[illegible]~~ ye late Assembly; & so
hath ye greatest advantage for an Universall Acceptance. In these gt straits, Conceiving
yt you are ye fittest to begin such a worke, yt it may take thro: ye land, by Reason of yor knowne

Delivre this to Thomas Seale
at the Pide Bull without
Newgate in London
with care

To your 3 Questions. ad 1m. All Xtians (Protestants, Papists &
God hath elected some to salvation & reprobated others, but
are not agreed on the termes, (as whether on foresight &c)
are such a question that no man doubts of. 2m Freewill
is an undetermined faculty or power to choose or refuse
tion & inclination) is in man as man, & therefore in
moral or holy freedome (which is the holy inclination of the
or refuse aright, according to a well informed intellect) is
sanctifyed. Though some amending of the wills inclination
moral Duty is comon to others by comon grace.
3. Mat. 7. 7. 8. promiseth not a graunt of every mans desires, but of those
to God as God, & aske for things agreeable to his will. Christ meant
every glutton shall have good cheare if he will aske it, or if every
have good Ale if he will aske it, or every wanton shall enjoy
or every covetous man have the measure of wealth that he will
yet that an hypocrite shall enjoy God, that yet would not
no unregenerate man, whatever he speake with his tongue, desireth
God as God; yt is, as the chiefe good & perfect happinesse of man
all his facultyes & life: & therefore he doth not desire him as God.
if he beg to enjoy him, he dissembleth, And if he beg for heaven
consisteth in the enjoyment of him, he dissembleth, or knowes not
he saith. And if he seriously beleeve not that God is, that he is
powerfull wise & good, having Dominion & Soveraignty over all, and
feared, trusted, loved, & served above all, & without all powers, for all
to God) & that he is a rewarder of all those that diligently seeke
is, that he requireth a diligent holy life & will fully reward it
to come, & therefore that it is best for us in hope of heaven to be
vers of God on earth) I say he that doth not soundly beleeve this,
acceptably to God (Heb. 11. 6) & none but the regenerate do this. Th
may be applied to all the texts that you alleadge. God promiseth
ungodly, but only on condition they cease to be ungodly. he prom
to them, but only, if they repent & beleeve. but I yet never saw
promiseth repentance & faith to them, upon any condition wh
performe without grace, yet (which may satisfy you) he hath
regenerate upon the use of means for the attaining of regen
the very institution & command (much more all his other
may sufficiently invite them to use those meanes without
or despaire, for God appointeth no meanes in vaine. And if they
they are without excuse. I thinke this is enough to guid a
into the wayes of God: & if you can understand it in a few
have here the true resolution of your Questions. if you cannot, you must
upon the back of

Your friend unfeignedly ready to promote the know-
ledge of Christ in any, to his power.

Ri: Baxter

March 9. ye day I
received yours.

This

ffor ye Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter att
Kedermister in
Worcester
Shire

Post

[illegible]

Reverend Sr 103

I Remember: I have Read in ye life of ye: god-
ly Mr: Boulton, how divers from beyond ye Seas
Sent to him to be Resolved in Divers Cases of Consci
wch makes mee ye more boulder to trouble you not doubting
ye least but ye same Spirit wch dwelt in him dwelleth also
in you: Sr I Reading in yor: Booke of ye Call to ye
Unconverted, I yor: Answer there to an objection wch some
might Raise that man hath not free-will to good; I find
this, or to this effect ye will is a self determining faculty
but naturally it is vitiously inclined to Evill, and yt ye disea
in ye same booke preceding this objection is to make the
unwilling, willing, and yor: Advice to the: unwilling is to
of god for effectuall grace to move the will to good;
But my desire is yt you would be pleased to Resolve mee, by
following Cases:

1 whether you think god hath Elected some to life and Salvation and
Reprobated others to damnation;

2 whether free-will be Common both to ye Elect and Reprobate or
peculiar onely to ye Elect, ffor I have Read in ye treatise
of Divine Mr: Perkins treating of gods free-grace and mans
free-will yt no man can will good untill he be justified,
Indeed (says he) ye Israellites prepared their hearts to Seek god, And
Ezra: prepared his hart to Seeke ye Lawe of ye Lord Ezr 7
10, but this (sayth he) was ye worke of men Renewed, and
regenerate, and for ye Incouragement of them wch doe will
their owne Conversion ye same divine sayth: they have begun
to turne to God: and gods hath begun to Regenerate
I Reading In ye Booke of Saving faith: or ye Agreement
how far a Temporary faith may Carry a man and yet
Come short of Saving grace and perrish, wch makes me therefo
think yt: God workes this will both as well in ye Reprobate
as ye Elect, And Againe because ye Authour to ye Hebrews
there speaking how far the Hipocrite may goe in Religion and
ffall away and perrish:

I Remembr: A saying
of a worthy minister
in London Mr: Venning
if thou wert but
willing to be Converted
I tell thee the worke is
more then half done
sayth he

3 whether that promise in ye 7 of Mathew 7. 8. verses be made onely
to such as are in Christ, As allso in ye 3 Lamentations: 25 the Lord is
good to yt yt wait for him &c. or whether it be made in generall ffor
ye Apostle sayth: all the Promises are in him yea & Amen. And whether
that saying of ye Apostle be made to ym yt forsake sin
is Awake thou that Sleepest and Arise from ye dead and Christ
shall give ye light be such a light as a Reprobate may
or a Saving light, knowledg peculiar to ye Elect, I beseech
you Sr: to deale truly and playnly wth mee wth Question
you will doe, And In hopes of An Answer from you I

Though unknown to you yet
In my heart doe honour
& Respect you

Tho: Seale

From ye Pide Bull
without Newgate in London
March ye: 3th: 1659

I Remember Allso a saying of a Godly young Minister Mr W
Minister of Newington near London, if thou wert willing to
be holy thou art half saved but when holiness is brought
into thy life then is the new Creature perfected

X

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A Copy of my Letter to Mr Willes, wch he
read publikely at his Lecture in his Controversie
with Mr Brookes.

[illegible] of ye Church. and pride and selfe conceitednesse bee some ye Bishops
~~[illegible]~~ Make every ye man apeare other. that hath but high Conceits of him selfe
And I wonder that any humble modest man should in so high a calling and so gr
worke, that is Attended wth such a dreadfull reckoning, presume to run upon
owne selfe esteeme & neglect ye judgmt & approbation of others & who can
fitter to judge and approve yn ye unanimous & judicious faithfull pastors
are best able to judge & may bee presumed to bee ye most deeply interested
the interest of Christ. Alas how much different was ye Case of old. Gregor[y]
Neocaesar: was ~~[illegible]~~ sought after & faine to bee ordained in his absence, be-
-cause hee did so cautiously fly from it. Epiphanius incurred ye displeasure of
Jo: Hierosol: for ordaining one in his province that had run away from ye
office, & was there surprized. it was ordinarie yn for men ~~to~~ fly from ye
office in Apprehension of their unworthinesse, & ye Bishops to pursue & force a[fter]
them & lay ye charge of god upon ym but not man was found that questio[ned]
the lawfullnesse or duty of ordinaton. I think no man that was a Christian —
for your other Quest. I Answer that in those 2 sheets I have fully exprest
my judgmt for ordinaton. though not for ye Absolute necessity of it to ye being
being of the ministry in all times & cases. I thought I had spoke high
for it wn I compared it to baptizing as being such a solemne making of
a minister by way of investiture. as baptizing is a solemne making us Christians
by ye like investiture. though yet I will not say that they are in other respects
equall. how ever Calvine consents to call it a Sacrament. And as for that
wch you mention in ye first sheet ad object. 5. (for so it is though you say ye
I must say that it is hard measure that these words have met wth ~~from~~ some
of ye brethren of ye congregationall way. whom I very much love & honour
were ~~confident~~ offended wth these words wch you mention as supposing I had
purposely wrote them to dishonour the proceedings of ye approvers & ye Commis-
them selves by saying that some of ym are souldiers. & did I ever think that any
brother of ye same way would take ye same words in a sense so much on ye con-
-trary of meaning. how should one speake plaine enough to bee understood. truely I
must needs professe yt I was farr from intending ye sence that either of these
2 parties imagine. I never meant either to reproach ye approvers, because
some of ym are souldiers. or to condemne their proceedings, but onely because
mistaken persons that pretend especiall respect to ye army doe charge us wth ex-
-cluding all but or selves from ye improving of their gifts I told them how
little reason they had to expect wn its so likely that none of ym if worthy will
bee kept back. nor was it my intent on the other side to approve or main[tain]
ye practise ~~of~~ wch I did reprove of sending forth ye unordained to bee fixed pastors
(unlesse this approbation bee an ordinaton) but I meerly intended to tell ye o[thers]
how ye present case of fact & practise confuteth their objection. I talk not of
preaching souldiers but of souldiers joyned wth ye Commissrs as intimating to those
yt it is not ministers onely yt judge of mens fittnesse & keep them ~~out~~ out that are
unworthy. in a word my meaning in ye Answ. of Object. 5o in ye 1 sheet was
onely to stop ye mouthes of unjust objectors neither owning nor condemning
Approvers but barely resisting wt is done. my judgmt about ordinaton is plain
in ye 2d sheet in ye 7th proposition. & wn will ye Lord of peace unite his ser[vants]
& beautifie & strengthen ym by their unity, & turne & imploy their united for[ce]
[against] ye common enemies of his Church. I hope this is your daily prayer & endeavour
[illegible] your unworthy fellow servant,

Ri: Baxter.

8 Decembr 13. ~~83~~ 102

Sr yours of Decemb. 14. I receivd this day 2 Questions I perceive you have need answer 1 what is my judgment in the Case as presented by
2 what is my Creed in my 2 sheets for ye ministry especially since the
in Answ to ye 5o obj: To ye 1 I have told you my Creed in ye last sheet
and in my Christian Concord as plainly as I can few words as I can, and
now in Conclusion, I shall only say that I marvell any wise and good man
should deny ordination to bee a duty considering how plaine & full ye
Scripture is for it & how constantly from ye Apostles dayes the Universal
Church hath used it without Exceptions till now of late. In darker
cases wee are ye more to bee pittied when wee mistake, but when
God speaketh so plainely wee are much to blame if wee will
not understand but if any should doubt of ye Ceremony of impo-
sition of hands wee thinke they should not Question ye duty
or Convenienci, much less ye lawfullness of ye substance of
ordination, wch lyes 1 In Approbation. 2 and Solemne Investi-
ture by ye ministers of Christ. If every man should bee judge
of his owne fittness for ye ministry how soone would ye
vineyard of Christ bee pestered wth ignorant proud selfe con-
ceited persons fitter to leade men to sin then to holiness to divi-
sion then to unity to hell then to heaven. I have in this Congregation
many able judicious Christians that thinke not themselves worthy
to bee servants to a godly minister. But an ignorant raw fellow
newly entred scarce well acquainted with any of ye able sort of Chri-
stians, & being stranger in his life run away from his calling into ye
worke of ye ministry pretending a necessity of improving of
his tallents & obeying ye call of God, And if there bee a necessity
that men bee not their owne judges in this Case ordinarily, who can
thinke that God hath not setled any certaine way for an ordinarie ad-
mittance, will hee have order in all ye world and not in his Church
wch is dearer to him then all ye rest of ye world besides. But Scripture
hath saved us ye labour of long disputes by its plainenesse. What
reasonable answer can bee given to ye Scripture Evidences produced
by your ministers in their Jus divinum ministerii & by Mr Tho.
Ball And to ye Case put by you it is my judgement that though
probationers & other unordained men may occasionally preach
in publicke under ye direction of ye pastors of ye Churches and may
frequently preach in publicke in cases of necessity yett wn there is
no such necessity but there is a competent supply of able ordained
ministers, and when the pastors of ye Churches approove not of ye preaching
*A sin. I thinke it presumption and disorder and ~~[illegible]~~ that hath been ye
light of it, for such men to undertake to bee ye ordinary teachers of
a Christian Assembly. yea though a few pastors that breake ye unity of
ye Church should approove of them contrary to ye judgement of ye rest
the reasons of this my judgement and ye plainer explication of it
roome and hast will not allow mee to expresse. Indeed my judgement
lyeth in the midst betweene them that would have ye
godly men unserviceable to God, & them that would have

if you are ye fittest to begin such a worke, yet it may take there as land, by Reason of yor Knowle

v. my Reverend Brother Mr Thomas Brooke
Preacher of the Gospel in London

To my Reverend Brother Mr Thomas Brooke
Preacher of the Gospell in London
these dd

35

Mr Wills & Mr Brookes difference about Ordination

ublike contendings. The coppy of my letter wch you sent is true in ye
ut some words left out (two or 3 together in one place) marre ye sense.
yr pardon & accept this overhasty returne from yor weake Brother

Ri: Baxter.

Jan. 2. 1657/8

~~Sunday Jan 29th 9½~~
Wedn: Febr 3d 9½

ar Sr

I return you my thanks for yours, and am glad to hear you intend write our Revd & beloved Mr Baxter's life. You do it not onely or chiefly to atisfy some peoples Curiosity, nor to honour him who will live in his works, but to give glory to God & benefit those yt shall read it. And therefore, Sr, I would not have you make too much hast in it (to wch many will be pressing you) but take time enough to do it well; & not, (as too many others in ye like cases have done) to murther him while you would make known his life. I need not desire you to set before you the lives yt have been written of late more accurately, as yt of Mr Jn Bruen, Dr Hammonds, Mr Elliot, & others amgst us, (Scultetus curriculum vitae suae abroad) & of Monsr de Renty, & Philip Nerius &c by ye Romanists, wch greatly instruct & move while they are read: And I doubt not but you will digest things under severall heads, as Conc: his Piety, temperance, Charity, Preaching, writings, reproches, sufferings (insisting esp: on yt before my Ld Jeffreys) his Patience &c, and of his life in the severall places where he resided — — — His writings, his conversation with you, & many others in London, will furnish you abundantly, & I cannot pretend to add any thing Materiall, yet I will scribble somthing while I take the pleasure to recollect ~~any~~ some few things in my acquaintance wth him, wch hath been near 40 years.

I remember I heard him relate, yt wn he was at Ludlow in his Youth having some thoughts of belonging to that Court, ~~&~~ there were 2 yong men of his acquaintance yt were deeply convinc'd of Sin, earnest in prayer & profession of Religion, yt fell away after notoriously; the particulars wch were very affecting I have forgot, but that wrought much upon him, & ye sence of it abode on him wn he related it to me many years after.

One of the chief things, for wch I first began & alwaies continued to love & honour him, was his profession of love unfeigned to all yt love Christ, & that if he lived in a place where it was wholly at his liberty, he would ~~join~~ worship God somtimes with ye Episcopall, somtimes with ye Congregational, somtimes wth the Anabaptists, if they would permit him, to shew his Union with them, but usually in his own way he thought ye best.

Riding with him one day, he told me ye fable of an old man & a yong boy, yt rode to ye market on a poor little ass. As they went, the people cried, This old man & boy, are you not ashamed both to ride on ye poor Ass & kill him? Then ye boy alighted. The next yt met them sd, Thou old fool art not thou ashamed to ride & let the little boy go on foot? Then ye old man alighted, & set ye boy on his back. The next yt met them said, You yong jackanapes art not yu ashamed to ride & let the poor old man go on foot? Then the boy alighted & went on foot wth ye old man, & led ye Ass empty. The next yt met ym said — Thou old fool, dost yu & ye child both go on foot, & have an ass unloden with you? &c, Saying, he could never o any thing to purpose till he was got above ye Censures of People, it being impossible to please all.

He told me another time, yt one discoursing with him, asserted, yt besides, ye Understanding & Will, there must be a 3d Principle of Action; because we oft cannot perform ~~their~~ many inward acts tho we heartily Will to do them; wch he sd he closed wth, & was useful to him in his threefold principle, wch from ye Trinity he insists upon downward very much.

At Kederminster he practisd ye Physician ~~& gave~~ amgst ye Country people & gave them ye Physick also freely; Some commending him much for that, some others sd, tho he will take no money, his housekeeper will take as many Pigs & hens &c as You will; So finding yt ill requitall, he sent for Dr Jacks amgst ym, & let ym pay for yr Physick & ye Dr too. ('twere well if we did so.)

They kept many private Thanksgiving as well as fast days, & then had a good dinr & only cold meat yt was left at supper. One of ye good men (whose name I remember not) said, they ought o have good hot meat at supper as well as at dinr, for else it was but a fast — And all yt he & others could say, could not move him from yt conceit.

have the reason why I shall not believe it

67

For Mr John Cheney, in answer to his last

deny. If it be yt ye people make not a Minister in generall, but ye Bps so.
If it be yt ye people must Consent to ye Relation of a Bp or Pastor as obe-
ying him specially, answer wt I said in point of yor [illegible] Dr [illegible] must also
take heed of yt history, or els blush to talke on at this rate.
Yor talke about elections is but to ease yor stomach: When you say I grant
yt all ordinations should regularly be sine titulo, either I spoke falsly or you do.
I say only yt among us ordinarily that is best: But have I not oft said yt ye
office of unfixed Preachers or Evangelists, sent to convert Infidels should be
continued. How rarely write you a true Paragraph. // And you ask, Do
we read of a twofold Election. Ans. yes Sir we read when ye Relation was
double, Generall & Particular to ye people yt there went ther a double Con-
sent, if you will call yt Election. Do you believe yt ye ordainers did not
consent to their owne Act. And did not ye ordained consent. And do you think
ye people did not consent. Did they meet as imprisoned. Did they receive,
love, honour, obey & maintaine their Pastor & not consent. Can you be
ignorant after such Eviction, yt ye Clergie & people & ye Incumbent &c
were all ~~[illegible]~~ to consent, or it was judged a Nullity for 1300 yeares in ye Church
yet you blush not to say, Deny me right of deciding who is fit to be a mi-
nister & you deny me right of deciding, consenting who shall be mine. // And wt is
now become of ye peoples right &c. Ans. No good can come of it, if such
heads must dispose of it. If you may not choose who shall be a physi-
cian, may you not choose who shall be yors: But enough of this long ago. //
It irketh me to read ye name of Cyprian & all Antiquity so abused in your
writing. And when you grant ye difference between choosing a Minister in
Generall, & choosing him to their place, & yet you deny yt those can have
power to choose who shall be their minister, who have no power at all to
choose fit persons to be ministers (yt is, in generall authoritatively) And you
stick not to reproach many others called Better & wiser men than you, as
being of yor mind. Its time then to breake ye Church. 1o Do you think
a Bp may not ordaine a Minister in Generall, unlesse all ye people
of all ye Parishes yt ever he shall be placed in do before elect him.
2o Do you think no Bp may ordaine till all Patrons consent yt their Ser-
vices may persuade him. 3o Doth every Patron lose his power of
presenting yt did not Elect ye Minister at his first ordination. 4 Doth
ye King lose ye Power of electing Bps, Deans, &c [illegible] he chose them
not at their first ordination. 5o If a man be ordained in another
land where English men had no power of electing him, doth it
follow yt they need not so much as receive him here by free consent
nor Patron nor people elect him to a Parish. 6o Is it so in any other
relation wch presupposeth a Generall Licence: A Tutor, Schoolmaster,
Physician, Councellor &c. May not I choose one as mine, whose
generall Licence I never ~~[illegible]~~ medled with. Is it not enough for
me to be ex post facto a discerning judge yt he is made allready
a Councellor, Physician &c, without making him one my selfe. //
I am glad I am come to ye End, for I should be loth to have such another
taske. Your garbe, speech, carriage, style, is farre more meek & soft than
mine: But because you professe yor acceptance of ye hardest words, I
have spoken as ye matter required, wch I would not have done had it
not bin for yor private sight; I am ~~[illegible]~~ apt to describe ye Matter
truly, not considering whether ye author can beare it, & to call a spade a
spade. And freely I professe yt either I am a most ignorant person in
all these matters, or els yor writing hath fewer passages not palpably
absurd than most ever I read of yt bignes to my remembrance. And
you seeme a man yt most ignorant of yor ignorance, by ye hardest
confidence of ye grossest absurdityes yt most ever I met with.

As to yor motion of reference to Dr Bates & Mr Silvester, it is yor
owne concerne. Why have you not askt their judgment of yor printed
writings, if yt will move you. If you will be more convinced by ym
than by others I heartily wish you tryall & successe. But I must
tell you yt I remember not to have heard any ones ~~[illegible]~~ judgment of
yor writings, but they say, Alas, ye good man is melancholy & knowes not
well wt he saith. But it seemeth to me somewhat worse than melan-
choly. I am very sensible of ye sharpnes of my style to you, & though
suited to yor matter, I would not use it, but yt this is ye [illegible] reproofe
of a Defendent accused, who is yor truly loving friend Ri: Baxter
Jun. 3. 1682.

had the reason why I shall not believe it [illegible]

Head: But God & Christ is such. Ergo he is not ye specifying or individuating effic-
He is ye efficient Cause of every Species & Individuum; but not ye constitutive.
Nothing can be specifically or individually distinguished by yt wch is common to all.
Christ as ye Common Head of ye Church of England, France &c. Therefore one of
ym is not [illegible] from ye other by his Headship. By wt then? should you
not have plainlyer told us. Is it only by place. You confesse out Chur-
ish Churches in England are not of ye Church of England. Not are Embassa-
dours, Factors &c. If it be but by place, then they are not different po-
liticall bodys: And then there is no visible Politicall Body in ye world.
you say ye Universall Church is not such. And so you have easily resolved
wch is ye politicall Church of England, by saying There is none: Place con-
stituteth not policie. I before asked you Is not ye Diocesane Church
denominated both specifically & individually from ye Diocesan as
Specie et individuo. Can you difference a Nationall, Provinciall, Dioce-
sane & Parochiall Church, by ye meer common Headship of Christ. And
is not ye Bp of London ye individuating Head of ye Diocesane Church
of London, though many other Bps dwell there. //

But you say, Here ye Christ you have this answer, where there is cœtus fideli-
um there is a Church of God both name & thing. Lisp ye rest: yt is, where
there is a Church there is a Church. But is there no different sense of ye word
Church & different sorts? Twenty women of severall Countryes in a Coach
or market or prison are cœtus fidelium, a company of Godly Souls, & yet
have no other sort of Church. Two Laymen without any Pastor are a
company of Godly Souls. Is this a policie. How easily do you confute
ye Prelates of Sayings No Bp no Church!

You say, Magistracy is not an Accident to ye Church. Ans. A Magistrate as
such is not so much as an Integrall or necessarily any part of it; else Heathens are parts.
A Christian Magistrate is no essentiall part of a Church in ye prime notion
for Churches were 300 years without such. Did you not just now say
where there are a Company of Godly Souls there is a Church. And maybe
there be none of them no Magistrate. When ye Magistrate is dead, ye
Church may live. The K. is not an accident to ye Church in an analogicall
sense, as a Christian Kingdome is so called; but in ye prime sense he is. //
But you say Magistracie is an ordinance of God by wch ye Church subsisteth &c
Ans. Where did you prove yt An Accident cannot be such an Ordinance of God.
The Sun & earth are such, & yet are no Parts of ye Church. But if I could
not prove yt a Church may be such without any other Magistrate than
Pastors (& Parents) (to its form) I would grant yt Magistrates are much
causes of something necessary to a Church. And wt's this at all to our question?
Again you are pitifull at yor charge of an unavoidable Pope, if Christs
Kingdome be named a most visible Policie. And I leave you to yor dispute:
If Christ be not a King, & his Government a more properly excellent Policie
than mans, (as his propriety is), & if it be not visible in all ye respects
named by me, you may call me worse than a papist; for I am no Christian
if there be no such Christ, & Church. And if you call Christ a Pope, you
have yor liberty. // If you would not have yor most charge passe for
a meer Lie (yt by all Law & right, & by no Law & right it belongeth to ye peo-
ple to choose Ministers, as in my two books) you should have cited ye texts.
Your Censure passeth on my judgment, yt barreth ye people from choosing who
shall be a Minister, but not from choosing who shall be theirs. Ans. That a
for my Vindication of yor falshood; you persist in putting [choosing] for con-
senting; comes not from tenderness of conscience. I still told you I made
only consent necessary. But in many places I wish they were also chusers.
You added [a wch to my thinking is as if women generally should be said to
have no right to decide who is a man & fit to be a husband nor any
ability to judge thereof & yet without their consent there can be no
marriage.] Ans. Yet yor thinking is strangely congruous to itselfe, &
dissonant from humane reason. 1. Did you after deliberation think yt
its all one to judge & choose antecedently who shall be made a Man or
Minister & to discerne consequently who is made one already. Doth God
consult wth women & leave it to their choice when ever he maketh a man?
Do you believe yt Christ sent out his Apostles by ye peoples choice, or yt Bps
may not ordaine men to goe preach to Infidels unlesse ye people choose ym?
wch people? sure not ye Infidels to whom they are sent: They are preaching
Ministers by authority before they succeed. And do you think a woman yt
maketh not a man may not discerne him to be a man & consent yt he be
her husband. And yt a people yt make not nor choose a Teacher for ye
Infidel world, or for others may not by consent freely take him for theirs.
Have not Councils so decreed in almost all ages since Christ. Doth not ye
Ordination wch you subscribe to say Take thou authority to preach ye word
of God when thou shalt be thereto lawfully called. wch is ye thing yt you

[illegible] be of other on them [illegible]
about ye matter [illegible] Ri: Baxter [illegible]

(1) to be a Kingdome: no sure, els there was no Church of 300 years after Christ. A Christian Generall & Christian souldiers are a Christian Army: ergo a Christian Army is a Church. A Christian president & a Christian College of Physicians, Philosophers, Grammarians &c is a Christian Church. A Christian Governour of ye East India or Turky Company & Christian merchants are a Church. A Christian Shipmaster & Christian sea men are a Church. But it is accidentall to all these to be Christians: They are not Christians nor a Church quatenus King & subjects, a Generall & souldiers &c: But it is essentiall to a Bp or Pastor & his flock to be Christians. Therfore this is nomen primum et famosius analogatum; ye denomination is ab essentia relationis; & in ye other cases it is ab accidente, & so is analogicall or equivocall, ~~but~~ as Accidens is ens. ~~You [illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

But Sr who can tell how to make of you, or which way they will speake yor mind. Have you not been long talking ag. any visible Church, but wch every man is a member of, yet is a member of all: That also is invisible, & of parts determined but by place. And do you not now plead for distinct politicall visible nationall Churches: ~~Quis tulerit~~ &c. 1 Are all Christians on earth members of ye nationall Church of England. Are they ye Kings subjects. Do we owe ye King no more obedience than all ye world owe him. 2o Are not England & France distinct Kingdomes & Churches by Relative parts, rather than by place. 3o If you are a member of ye Church of Rome & all ye compacted Churches, have you not some relative obligations? 4o If ye King of Spaine were in England were he therefore King of England. Are all ye Bps yt dwell in London as much Bps of London as Dr Compton is. Have they ye same power & charge. Are they as essentiall parts of this Diocesane Church as he is. ||

Sr to yor Logick of to be in the whole as a part & to be in divers parts, wch are of ye opinion of confusion is deceit. Say 1o yt to be in ye whole by inexistence & diffused through ye whole is one thing, & to be in ye whole by relation is another. 2o That to be related to ye whole by ye homogenerall relation of a part qua talis is one thing; & to be related to a compound part by ye peculiar relation of a part of yt part, is another thing. 1o We are not ~~in~~ inexistent diffusedly in ye whole Church as wine & water mixt are, & as ye soule in ye body, & God in all: we are not in Habassia, or Armenia &c. But we are related to ye whole Church as parts, & to every Church as parts of ye ~~[illegible]~~ universall Church wch they are compound parts of. 2 But ye peculiar relation of a part of yt compound part we have not to every Church. || As

You tell me I need not upbraid ye conformable Clergie with ye Question who is ye Church of England, & who is its head: Christ is ye Head as over all ye Church & under him ye K is supreme Governour, & being a Christian K he is a Church member: we do not denominate ye Church of England from ye K. or ye Convocation but from Christ & God by him — Gods Church in England distinguished from transmarine Churches, & outlandish Churches with us. || Ans. All wrong: 1o would you have any believe you, yt I upbraid ye conformists with yt wch I professe to agree with ym in. 2o Say I did not professe to owne Christian Kingdomes. 3o [illegible] these analogically & ab accidente may be called Churches, as Christian [illegible] & Schooles may. 4o Or if you understood what it is yt you speake ag. The question was only of a formall Clergie-unifying head. || 5o Did ever man before heare of a supreme Governour, from whom ye society is not denominated as from an essentiall unifying Head or part. Is not ye King ye constitutive denominative Head of this Kingdome as distinct from all other. Is there a Kingdome without a King. Or this Kingdome without this King as ye informing part. The King is not ye formall part of ye universality of Christians, or of men as Christians; but of his Kingdome as such he is. But perhaps will you forma non dat nomen aut esse. Aske politicks wt is forma regni. 6o Is there any difference between our Church or Kingdome & another, as distinct politicall bodyes or not. Should you not have disproved this if you deny it. All politicks prove ye contrary thus: Where there are distinct constitutive Rectors & subjects peculiarly related to each other as such, there are distinct corpora politica. But &c. || That Head wch as a Genus supremum is common to each species & individuum, is not ye specifying or individuating you best know yor owne mind. But neither Papist, Episcopall or any Christian but Seekers yt ever I knew were of ys mind; & I have proved ye supposition false from Act. 14. 23 Tit. 1. 5 1 Thes. 5. 12 13 Act. 20. Rev. 2 & 3 &c. // But if you believe there are any such Churches, did you thinke yt none but ye members of yt are related to it, for ye members of Oxford, Cambridge &c no way related to London. Or are they therfore members & Citizens of London? My fingers are part of my hand: Is my foot so because it is related to it. But must remember yt nothing wch you can be a part yt is a whole. //

You say how hard I should be put to it, if a Scripture should be desired. A false intimation yt I produced no Scripture for it, when I oft named ye case of ye Eunuch Act. 8. wt particular Church was he of? or any one yt was ye first converted in any Country where ye Apostles came? Dionysius, Lidia &c or now any yt dwell where there is neither Pastor nor Church? I confesse Bellarmine saith, Baptisme binds us to ye Pope & ye Church Pastors, but I never read any yt it necessarily subjects one to one Pastor more than another; save some rigid Independents. //

§ 15. Ad IX. Till you tell me where it is yt I confesse ye common opinion to be agt me, you shall not oblige me to read over all my books to find it. Is there any but you ~~[illegible]~~ yt contradict me, unlesse secundum quid denominari: Parts are either simple, compound, or more compound. Simple parts are atomes & spirits. Atomes are homogeneall parts of matter. ~~Spirits of ye same a Compound~~; but the body & soule are not homogeneall parts. Christians as Christians, qualifyed compounds are homogeneall parts of ye Christian Church: But proved further, ye Pastor & subjects, Politicall Churches & scattered solitary Christians are heterogeneall parts. Will any deny this but you?

§ 16 Ad X. Of this while you give no answer to all yt I have said for explication & proofe in Treat. of Episcop., you shall not tempt me to be so vaine as to answer further these words of yours.

§ 17. Ad XI. To this yor impertinent words require no further answer than this.

§ 18 Ad XII. The 12th you were so kind as to passe by in silence

§ 19 Ad XIII. Here we have over & over ye same absurdity: As if a Man yt is out of Gods universall Kingdome, is therfore out of ye Kings subjects, or all yt were of ye Kingdome of England. And all England were Citizens of London; & all London were members of my family: And as if hee yt is turned out of this Kingdome, were turned out of ye world: Or a boy turned out of our Schoole were turned out of all. If a man say to ye Parish Minister, I will be none of yor flock nor take you for my Pastor, & remove out of ye parish, is he a member of yt particular Church in despight of him. Or if he stay in the Parish, is every one a member yt there dwells, wt agt both ye will of ye Minister & himselfe. // But if this be so, are you for ye Oath of Canonicall obedience, & ye Canons yt excommunicate all professt Nonconformists, cutting ym off from all ye Church on Earth?

§ 20 Ad XIV. As to ye words I once used to perswade men inclined to separate from prelatists because of ye scandall of their lives, not to be more censorious of others than ye instances of David & Peter will allow us; I shall permit ye disingenuous man yt I pleaded for, to turn it agt me. And leave you to judge as you list, whether Peter & David were true regenerate, & so of others in their case: I am glad if you hit on ye right where I am ignorant. Besides many other books, I wrote one only of ye Character of ye weake Christian, ye strong Christian & ye Hypocrite. Had you ingenuously shewed yor selfe more willing to know my judgmt than to shew your owne Humour, you would rather have gathered it thence, than from ye quoted words cited by

§ 21 Ad XV. I told you before how falsly you state ye question, & falsly describe my words about ye being of a Nationall Church. I used not ye [illegible] You confesse I plead for Christian Kingdomes: wch pray let so few name yt thinke more of ym & those more Christian. Is ye controversie then de nomine. Alas yt's a question yt you used not to trouble your selfe about. But seeing it is de nomine, ye question then is de ratione nominis; on wt account a Christian Kingdome is called A Church. And are we not agreed of yt? Because it is a society constituted of a Christian King & Christian subjects. But is it essentiall to a Kingdome to be a Church? No, for else no heathens or Infidels are Kingdomes. Is it essentiall to a Church

[illegible]

about ye matter. Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

But somtime you seeme to lay ye stresse on ye word [Visible] & say || ye Head
must be ~~visible~~ seen; Its as essentiall as to ye Body: sometime on ye word
& say || It canot be a ~~prop~~ politicall Head: yt belongs to ye [illegible] Governmt
But our way of proofe, & yt is to make yor selfe ye only Judge of ye [illegible] Politicall
Politie & politicall. All others yt I knew of do take πολιτεία [illegible] you have
actio regiminis, or Ordo regentis ad subditos, or ipsa societas [illegible] of
rector et subditis constituta. And now comes in a new Lexicon qua [illegible] either
is yt ye Noblest Government is none; [illegible], God is no proper Governour [illegible]
ocracie is no Govment (or policie). And ye Israelites were no Commonwealth [illegible]
while God kept up ye theocracie: And Christ shall be no Christ if he will
not stay on earth: As if ye spirits of ye just made perfect in ye heavenly
Jerusalem were no part of ye Church; And as if those [illegible] ye heaven
who will be seen but once a year [illegible]
no where Ruler but in his Palace or City, were no princes, & ye [illegible]
Church is a dead carkasse & did have not a head, Yea we were ere taught yt ye
with no policie, & yt must be a Pope. But seeing you are [illegible] must be visibly
you should have vouchsafed to have answered [illegible] I said [illegible] about
it, or not have said over ye same wth naked affirmation. || I said to Johnson yt
am I to you yt I have elsewhere proved, yt ye Governmt of God [illegible] || To Contrary
is ye only Governmt or Policie in ye prime & [illegible] eminent sence [illegible] our Saviour
propriety is ye only propriety in ye prime & proper sence, as only [illegible]
is [illegible] in ye prime sence; And yt mans propriety & policie or Government
is so called but Analogically as Accidens is [illegible] Substantia
subordinate, greatly limited things: Its ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] being but an officiall
ye Governmt of ye King is not to be called a policie, but yt Constables [illegible]
seem to say yt Gods is not, but ye Kings [illegible] for you to say
shepheard in governing ye sheep; [illegible] below God [illegible] below [illegible] is
a power, & proper Governmt or policie. You understand [illegible] in propriety
if you make it not as dependent on ye first as ye Constables duty on ye Kings [illegible]
As to yor sending me to Mr [illegible] I will not open his booke uppon such [illegible]
invitation: I answered you allready & [illegible] not to see it.
And when I joyned many respects in wch Christ was visible [illegible] King [illegible]
you take ym separately & argue This is not sufficient nor That, ergo not all
together || You say tell me of Dr Whitaker & others, as if I must read over
whole volumes, yea all his volumes (for you name [illegible] booke nor
page) & all to tell a deafe man yt he understood not wt he read. ||
You say, Christ was not seen as God [illegible] & ye Saviour. Nor are you or
ye King seen as to yor soule or Reason or Relation, or Right, or power
nor past skin deep as to yor flesh, & philosophers say only Quantity &
Colour of it is ye direct object of sight. || You say [If ye King be no where
to be seen, neither of [illegible] or any other, he is not in being] Ans. Dismall
disputing: Is Christ no where to be seen: not of his Countrymen in heaven. And
do you blame me for saying yt he is not a Being. And yet say you beleive in
him. || Wt word you reproach Dr Hooker by saying yt he is making Christ
a meere man & temporall Monarch, & ridiculously equall Christs case &
Davids; As if Christ may not be a man unless he be a meere man, &
a Monarch unless he be a Temporall Monarch or his power is no
more everlasting than Davids: yet you slipt over yr answering of ye
very similitude objected (yt K. James in England was K. of Scotland) & [illegible]
it as [illegible] put off instead of an answer. || yet you repeate yor strongest
proofe [I conceive its essentiall to ye Head of a Politicall Society to be seen]
But you had better have tended yor conceivings on a lower subject than
agt ye Kingdome of God & Christ. || While you [illegible] ye Jesuites
words (wch agt [illegible] politicks they use [illegible]) yt ye Church must
have a visible head on earth, or be no body but a Carkasse. & yt you
are of their mind & [illegible] by yr [illegible]
14. Ad VIIIm I am not able to confute you [illegible] Isaack Barrow [illegible]
it is a contradiction yt Baptisme as such entereth only into ye universall
Church directly & not into any particular Church] [illegible] you say [So yor Thinking
ye honour of being [illegible] by me. But And I grant yor [illegible] belongs
to ye whole & not to every part. Ans. If you be of ye mind yt there is
no such thing as a particular politicall Church distinct by its unifying
policie from other Churches, & so yt there is no visible Church on earth either
universall or particular, I confesse no man can be a member of ye
society wch is not. But if you so professe yt you are no member of
a visible politicall Church universall Nationall, Diocesan nor Parochiall,

have the reason why I shall not beleeve it [illegible]

1° A society constituted of a summa pars Imperans & populus Civitatis (mediante
jure si plurium univers[illegible]) ut pars subdita, is Corpus politicum. But ye
universall Church on earth is such a society. Ergo it is Corpus politicum.
2° If it be not Corpus politicum it is either because it hath no sufficient
Ruler, or no sufficient subjects. But both these are false. Ergo so is ye an-
tecedent. Christ is a sufficient King, & Beleevers are sufficient subjects.
To deny ye Church to be a Kingdome is to deny Christ to be King, yt is, to be Christ. //
II That ye Church is neither a visible Kingdome or Community simpliciter nor
in all respects, but secundum quid I still assert. And take [illegible] to weary ye reader
with repeating in wt respects it is visible & how farre, to prevent ye cavills
of wranglers: I say 1° That ye subjects are all invisible as to their noblest
part ye Soule, & as to their faith. 2° yt Christs Godhead & Soule were never seen
on earth. 3° That Christs glorifyed body is not seen by mortall men. 4° That
his fleshly body on earth was never seen but in Palestine & Egypt. 5° That
but a little part of Christians is any one man can see. 6° But
it is Christians as men are visible as to ye Body: 7° Its Christians' profession
But baptisme & practice is audible & visible. 8° Christ as to his Body was visible
on earth, & he was seen since by Paul & Stephen. He is now seen in Heaven
where are his Courtyers or noblest part of ye Church Heb. 12. 22 &c. 6 His Lawes
are visible: his officers are visible. 8° Part of his Administrations are visible.
9° He will come in visible glory to Judgment & every eye shall see him. We shall
see him in his Kingdome of Glory for ever. In these respects his Kingdome is
visible. // Either all this is such, or not. If you deny any of it speake out. If
not, what is become of your accusation meantime? But perhaps you may
be brought to so much confession as to confesse all this, but yet maintaine yt you
contend, viz, that it is not to be named Visible which is visible but in these
respects. Come then & let us learne some Grammaticall criticismes of you
III though not equall with more ordinary reason. // But remember yt Theognis
in Politiks, Nullibi gravius et periculosius erratur quam in Politica
Quo enim res (inquit Willius) in quibus occupatur maiores, et tanto perniciosior
est lapsus damnosior ac turpior est. And so you seeme to judge, for de proposito
pardon you againe say This pointly charge to be popish & to set up a Pope. //
And who can stand before such a Charge? Let us first consider ye truth of the
ye weight of ye Matter. Whether ye Epithet Visible may be given in this case
And 1° If the foresaid visibility may not allow ye Kingdome of Christ to be
called visible, then no Kingdome, no Church, no man, no animal, no thing may
be called visible in this world. But ye consequent is false. Ergo so is ye antecedent.
The consequence is true (though ye consequent be false) 1° No Kingdome may be called
visible then: For 1° Plato saith yt ye Body is no part of ye man, & Aristotle & all
Christians say yt ye most noble part, & in these is continually. So then ye
King is not visible, save secundum quid in his basest part. 2° The subjects are
no further visible than ye King. 3° The sincerity of their fidelity is invisible.
4° The Body of ye King is visible to none at a miles distance, nor seen by
any ordinarily but his Courtyers, nor extraordinarily but by the hundredth person of
his subjects. So here is no visible Kingdome for sooth. // 2° As to particular Churches
ye same is true, & I think you plead not for it. Ergo it is as ye wind[?] //
3° And as to Man & every animal its evident. They are not visible quoad for-
mam: at forma dat nomen. Only ye basest part of ye substance is visible. //
4° yea & its true of every thing: for nothing is seen but secundum quid: yea
most say yt no materiall substance is seen in it selfe but only its accidents. But
ye forma ignis, aeris, telluris, &c are all unseen. All this is undenyable to
any but you & disputers. 2° But next let us weigh ye weight of the
word Visible. Whether it [set up a Pope]. 1° Affirmanti incumbit probatio. But
not Oedipus can conjecture wt will be yor argument. I can dreame of none
but some of these [He yt saith Christ is a visible King, saith Christ is a Pope] or
[He yt saith there is a Pope beside Christ] Disputes! I had rather weepe than
laugh at you. // Or is it [He yt calleth Christs Kingdome visible, though it is so
but in some respects & not in all, sets up a Pope]. Or [He yt saith It hath no
humane officiall Head, saith It hath a humane officiall Head.] Or [He yt
saith yt King is visible who is so but in parte minima, sets up another King
to [illegible] ... worke must ye poore Church expect from such disputing Leaders. //
But perhaps ye Consequence is from ye word Politicall thus [He yt saith
Christ is a true King, sets up ye Pope] // Or is it, because the Church is Headed only
by Christ: q.d. [He yt saith the Church hath no Head but Christ, saith yt ye Pope is
its Head: ergo it hath another Head.] If so, in stead of keeping out Popery, when
a word & such a word will bring it in, I shall thinke never ye better of
Popery if I heare yt you are turned Papist. If combining you yt Christ is a King
will do it, or yt he is ye only Head, & so yt there is no Pope, or yt ye capitall Visible
is applicable to his Kingdome. // But 3° Is not ye Pope lesse visible than Christ
How? Many never saw him comparatively: Never saw his Soule: Christ is seen now
of ye farre greatest & best of ye Church in Heaven, hath bin seen on earth, & will
openly be seen of all ye world. // As farre as I understand you ye Arg is [If there be
a Christ & no Pope then there is a Pope] Negatur Sequela. //

[illegible] ... about ye matter [illegible] Rt: Baxter Jan. 13.

3) as to read over both yᵉ bookes to find yᵐ // I only adde 1º That if you should
say yᵗ Justin did not hold yᵗ Baptisme pardoneth all past sin; 2º And yᵗ they
for it supposeth in yᵉ adult a faith yᵗ hath yᵉ promise of pardon; 3º And yᵗ
no former guilt maketh an acceptable profession of faith incredible, I
will not believe you // And if you find any word in Justin yᵗ saith
[we may baptize one who we are sure maketh a false profession] I
pray you next cite me yᵉ words & Chapter for I am grown incredulous to
word you by longer experience But I have no proof from you nor any
yᵗ I may baptize an adult person on yᵉ profession of such a faith & re-
pentance, as I am not in yᵉ least obliged to believe fide humana to be credible
or true etc. pathe profitentes // As to Infants, here you [illegible] subscribe yᵗ [It
is certaine by Gods words yᵗ yᵉ baptized dying before actuall sin are un-
doubtedly saved] I do suppose yᵗ it is upon somebodys sincere faith yᵗ they
have yᵗ right. I might ~~and~~ tell you yᵗ Rev. 22 saith of adding to
Gods word, & justifying it; but you take my words & not your subscription
to be yᵉ sense: But I might crave yᵉ liking of yᵗ certaine word of God yᵗ
saith it: And to prevent yᵉ quibble yᵗ Its but an Indefinite affirmation,
I say 1º It is qua baptized: And a quatenus ad omne valet argumentum
2º An Indefinite in re necessaria is equall to an universall. //
next you mention a distinction of mine, wᶜʰ you [suppose will not hold]
wᶜʰ is as good a confutation as any I have yet met wᵗʰ from you //
§11 Ad V You aske me — [If I take Conformity to be a complication of heynous
sinnes, how I can so much as motion a man to a Church living. As if I said
Its a cup of poyson — but if you take it you have an Antidote at hand
& will expell it, — & so will do well. And you say, It grieves you to say this
And. Lets consider 1º Whether you speake truth, 2º Whether you speake Reason, &
3º Whether you speake like a man of peace or a Conformist. //
1 When & where did I say any thing of such a sense. Did I ever perswade
you to take a Living: or say one word to you to move you to it, or a
word about it. That wᶜʰ I did was, when a friend desired me to name
one yᵗ would read yᵉ Common prayer & preach once a day, & live in their
house without taking any living or subscribing a word, I commended you
to yᵐ for yᵉ best I then knew vacant. Was this moving you to
drink poyson, or telling you you may do well. It grieves me to find
untruths so common with you, as well as your words that grieve yoʳselfe //
2 Is it your doctrine yᵗ I may not motion yᵉ performance of a duty to
any yᵗ I know will do it sinfully. May I not offer you a Child to
baptisme if I take yᵉ crosse to be sinfull. May I not advise Patron &
people to take a Conformist rather than to shut up yᵉ Church doores.
May I heare none yᵗ preach sinfully, or joyne with none in prayer &
Sacraments yᵗ will mixe some sin. It was yᵉ hearing yᵗ I counselled &
not you. // 3 And is not this yᵉ most separating doctrine in yᵉ world.
wᵗ ministers shall we submit to, if not to sinners. What Church shall
we joyne with if not sinners. I take it a great sin in a Ministry
of Church? Can you warrant my separation by it. Doth not yᵉ
Canon Law curse yᵐ yᵗ goe from unpreaching Ministers for yᵉ Sacra-
ment. And is it no great sin for a Minister never to preach. And do you
not swear Canonicall obedience if you Conforme & take a benefice. //
But you have been more successful than all yᵉ rest: you have brought
me to repentance, & I aske you forgivenesse, & for so much of you as yᵗ
I promise never to motion any one to speake to you any more. 72

§12. Ad VI Your charge agᵗ my book of Concord you passe over; its like forgetfully
graunt to yoʳ 7th Charge: Its like yᵉ matter would have been like the rest.

§13. Ad VIII. That you deny yᵗ [There is one Universall Visible Church which is a
Politicall society headed by Christ alone] is a matter wᶜʰ resolveth and
never to motion you to a benefice. Did it no whit concerne you either
to take notice of my frequent explication of yᵉ state of yᵉ question, nor
to state it yoʳselfe. Should you not have told us 1º Whether it be the
Policie yᵗ you deny, & affirme it not to be Politicall, 2º Or whether it be
only yᵉ Visibility of yᵉ Politicall society yᵗ you deny. Or both. 3 And whether
that it be de re or de nomine yᵗ you dispute. Is this yᵉ way of a Teacher.
And must I dispute agᵗ all yoʳ possible meanings, & agᵗ I know not wᵗ.
1º That yᵉ Church is a Politicall society I prove from yᵉ definition of

hand the reason why I shall not believe it [illegible] because

this you seeme here pleaded for particular Diocesane, Parochiall & Nationall
Churches, & say e.g. yᵉ Church of Corinth was a whole Church. ||
§ 8 When you have supposed Mʳ Chiefson [illegible] principles of mine [illegible] I little
know) you yet goe on wᵗʰ yoʳ modest inferences of my [illegible] all
all Saints, by my charging yᵉ Diocesane Churches wᵗʰ their constitutions all Godly
And should you not have bin ashamed to talk on thus, & never answer
yᵗ I said agᵗ it: 1º Did I ever say yᵗ yᵉ Diocesane Church-changers shut all
out of yᵉ invisible universall Church (except such doctrine as Mʳ Dodwells)
2º Was it not only yᵉ Changers of Particular Church formes wᶜʰ I charged
3º When & where did you disprove wᵗ I said, yᵗ a man may be of yᵉ uni-
versall Church & of no particular Church. E.g. 1º The Eunuch Act 8. 2º Single
Converts in heathen lands. 3º Embassadours & Travellers yᵗ live & die
fidels only. 4º Merchants yᵗ live & die there alone for trade. 5º wandring persons
yᵗ have no abode or stay. || And have you proved yᵗ they yᵗ live together with-
out any Pastor are a particular politicall body. And yᵉ sectaries yᵗ think
all particular Church ministry & policie is lost by Antichrist, & live as meer
members of yᵉ Church universall without Pastors, I think may be saved too.
Yet believe it, yᵗ you doe not believe yoʳ owne understanding, & must
follow it till you have a better (wᶜʰ its past my power to help you to) ||
§ 9. I affirme still yᵗ an Independent Kingdome & a subject Kingdome are
not ejusdem speciei: You say, If you had said this you should have
feared yᵗ I would have thought you of a weake understanding
more for denying it: Did ever Politician deny it, before you. Ans. Mark
here yᵗ we speake not of a confederate, or a meer Tributary Kingdome, Reme[illegible]
wᶜʰ buyeth their liberty of a stronger; but of a subject Kingdome
wᶜʰ is a Province & part of a greater Kingdome. You tell me Zedekiah
was more a King than a Lord Mayor. Ans. 1º Do you truly intimate yᵗ
I said such were no more Kings than Lord Mayors are. It is false. ||
2º I say not yᵗ such are no Kings, but yᵗ they are not ejusdem speciei
no more than a King & a Lord Mayor are.
A King & a Lord are liker than a King & a Justice; but both are no Magis & Minus
the same. || Either Zedekiah was only a Tributary King, but they are no more
to Nebuchadnezzar (If yᵗ latter I prove him not ejusdem speciei) or a subject King
Independent Kings. || A King yᵗ hath his Power from a Superior, & is under
yᵉ Lawes of a Superior & is punishable by a Superior is not ejusdem
speciei wᵗʰ an Independent King. But such are all subject Kings. Ergo
The Major is proved thus: where there is a divers fundamentum &
terminus there is a divers relation. But here is a divers fundamentum
& terminus: Ergo. The fundamentum of a subject Kings relation is yᵉ
will of yᵉ Soveraigne who gives him his power. But so is not yᵉ funda-
mentum of an Independent Kings relation. The Terminus of his relation
is partly doing yᵉ will of their Ruler. But so is not wᵗʰ an Independent King.
The Relation it selfe containeth an obligation to Rule as an officer to
a Superior: And so is not yᵗ of an Independent King. I pray consult any
man yᵗ ever understood Politicks & Law, and aske him whether The Sovereigne
Potestas, & yᵉ subject Magistrate are ejusdem speciei, & whether yᵉ name
of King given to both will prove it. & see whether he will not signifie
yoʳ understanding, or laugh at it. || You know not how dangerously
you erre, when you say your Brethren in New England are a kind of free
Independent State. Unlesse you meane yᵗ they are for Church-independency,
it may be yᵗ word coming into yoʳ imagination turned suddenly to another
subject, as yᵉ weather cock wᵗʰ yᵉ wind. I pray say not in print yᵗ yᵉ
people of New England & yᵉ King are Powers of yᵉ same species. ||
And I suppose you were not well awake when you applyed all to Pastors.
The question is whether they are ejusdem speciei (in specie). Do you sub-
scribe to yᵉ booke of Ordination wᶜʰ saith there are three Orders. And
do you know yᵗ Ordo as distinct from Gradus signifieth another species
of Office. And yet will you now maintaine yᵗ Bps & presbyters are of
yᵉ same species. And will you deny then yᵗ you are a false subscriber? ||
§ 10. Ad IV. If my Booke of Sacrament right must come to yoʳ bar, you
should in justice or charity have answered my argument e.g. p. 16 [illegible]
wanting [illegible] only the citation of Augustine [illegible] yoʳ [illegible] you
[illegible] yᵉ pag. in my book [illegible] Austin [illegible]
words you meane: For truly I profit not so much by answering you
[illegible]
compleat [illegible]
about yᵉ matter Yoʳˢ Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

1° I must suppose you to know ye sense of univocall & equivocall, & ye controversie whether all termes analogicall are equivocall, & ye difference of analogie attributionis & proportionis: I think wth ye Scotists yt all termes analogicall are partly equivocall, but not cheating or deceitfull.//

2° I must suppose yt you will not say I have no Scripture for ye use of ye name Church to visible Societys, ye Church at Rome, Corinth, Colosse, Ephesus &c, The Church meeting in one place, on ye first day, Tell ye Church &c.//

3° Now can you answer whether straw & chaffe be any part of a corne field: or whether ye leaves be any part of an apple tree. or in ye sence Paul nameth ye Inner man & ye outward man. & whether ye body be any part of animal rationale. or whether forma corporis, forma animae & forma hominis do differ, & how: & whether Accidents be entia: // If you understand these, you may understand also in our present case 1° That ye same matter may have divers formes, & so be divers things: As ye same man may be formally a man, a King, a Husband, a parent &c: these later being but his Accidentall formes. The same persons may be a City & a Church &c. 2° That ye word [Church] being Genus Aequivocum, doth signifie three distinct Policies. I. The Society consisting of Christ ye Head & sincere beleivers or heart-Covenanters: This is ye noblest sence & ye famosius analogatum. II The Society consisting of Christ the rightfull King or Head & all Baptized professors of faith, or outward Covenanters. This is like a Cornfield of late in many emptie eares. The matter here is partly ye same as in ye former & partly additionall hypocrites, who though they are but analogicall members in respect to ye nobler sort of prime intention, yet are truly Church-members in this second sense. As deafe Nuts on a tree. Christ may be called one Church, & yet Two Churches in severall respects. As a man yt is a King, a husband, & a parent, is but one Naturall person as man, but ye same man is Relatively divers persons, he hath personam Regis, mariti, parentis &c. So ye Church of professed & of sincere Christians in ye first notion are as much one, as body & soule are one man; & ye parts are but wens & preternaturall humors, or haire & nailes at ye best. And yet as in ye same man there is forma corporis, wch is ye organicall composition, & forma Animae, wch is Virtus Vitalis, Intellectiva, Volitiva, & forma hominis wch is Really Anima corpori debito modo adunata, So here ye formall relation betweene Christ & Beleivers as such is one, ye formall relation betweene Christ & professing-Covenanters as such is another (for there is another fundamentum), & ye formall relation betweene Christ & compleat Christians who are both Beleivers & professors is another. And yet all but one Church. // But in ye secondary analogicall notion of a Church, as it signifieth Christ & his professed subjects as such, Hypocrites are true members of this Church: wch may be so farre called Another, as ye fundamentum of Relatio & ratio denominandi is another. // III But there there is a third sort of Politicall Church, wch is instituted by Christ for ye right ordering of ye former, & is but a part of ye universall constituted by Officiall Pastors & their flocks, as Kingdomes of Kings officiall under ye universall King & their people. And this is quoad partes constitutivas a humane politie subordinate to ye Divine, & of Divine Institution. And there is no more reason why these particular humane Churches should not be called true Politicall Churches formally distinct from ye universall, than why Kingdomes should not be called true Politicall Kingdomes formally distinct from Gods universall Kingdome. // These are ye Churches wch you most shamefully said in print yt they are not parts of ye universall Church, because they are whole Churches, & a whole Church cannot be a part of a[illegible] Church, It's a contradiction to be a member & a whole. My fault is yt I cannot speak of such sottish sayings without disgracing ym. Do not children of six years old know yt a whole apple may be part of ye apple tree, & a whole kernell part of ye nutt, & a whole hand, finger, foot, muscle, part of ye body. & a whole house part of ye street, & a whole street part of ye city, & a whole city of a kingdome, & a colledge of an Academy, & a troope of a Regiment &c. Nay as I told you, save spirits & atomes there are no parts in rerum natura yt are not themselves compounded parts. And putting ye one name [Church] to ye Universall & particular makes it not ye same. Do you thinke one other man in his witts was ever of your mind. // But it [illegible] me with admiration how farre

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hard the reason why I shall not believe it. 'Tis because

§ 7 Ad IIII Your next increaseth my conviction yt my time is all lost
wch I spend in answering you, seeing you do but repeat yor owne
sentiments, & seeme either then never to have read or never at all regard-
ed or understood wt is said agt ym. 4thly Do you remember yor owne
understanding if you think grant yt God hath more power than
many in making Chur. offices. & yt God can make yt wch man
cannot unmake. & can give more power than man can take away.
Dare you say yt all Christs ministers on earth lose ye power of God
ym, if ye Pope or a Council do but depose ym, or deny it ym. God gave
hath authorized every Pastor to preach, pray, celebrate ye Lords Supper
& Rule ye Chur. If ye Prelates should deny ym to have part
of their power, & forcibly keepe ym from so much of ye exercise, doth it
follow yt therefore Gods grant is void, & they have no more than Bps
grant them. Why did you not answer ye instances I gave you of Mar-
riage, & ye inauguration of Kings, & a man yt hath two commissions, ||
our covenant & our not &c. But surdo dicta sunt — But do you
think yt for all this ye falsifyers & forbidders would not be guilty
of corrupting ye Church & Ministry. yt is, 1o Their doctrine doth it
logically by consequence 2o They do it reputatively by endeavouring
it, quantum in se. 3o They do it effectually so farre as they prevaile
for ye Pastors consent; for they cannot be Pastors agt their wills, nor
in exercitio do ye worke agt their wills; though by a generall under-
taking they may induce on ymselves a Divine obligation to more parti-
culars than they are willing of. || The Pope partly deposeth ye Emperor.
How: Quantum in se. But he doth not really abrogate ye Ecclesiastl
The Emperor of Moscovie deposeth a true Minister by forbidding ye exer-
cise: Not by abrogating Gods institution & obligation, but by forbidding preaching
(hindering it. But when all this is said, you can passe it over, & say on. ||
If you are intelligible, you deny any but sincere saints to be parts of ye Church. ||
all ye answer you give to ye objection of confounding ye mysticall & visible Church
is yt you hold to yor owne, & take no notice of my Disp. nor wt Mr Blake (wch explaineth
itselfe). If you hold to anything a man might know wt to say to you. || By this
it seemes you judge 1o That no man can know any other man to be a member
of any Church, because he knoweth not his sincerity. || 2o That persons professing
Christianity & Baptized are not thereby made members of any Church, till they
are sincere. || 3o That we are to suspend our judgmt of all professours of
Christianity as such, whether they are any Church members. For you before ar-
gued agt believing ym sincere. || 4o That no man can say yt ever he had com-
munion with any particular Church, because he knew ym not to be sincere. ||
5o That its certaine there is no Visible Church on earth: all yt is visible
not making any one a member, & faith being invisible. || 6o yt to ye question
Where was yor Church before Luther, we have no better answer than
It was on earth, we know not where. It was ever invisible. || 7o That no
man is bound to love or relieve another as a Christian for his profes-
sing to be such; for yt is no proofe yt he is one. || 8o yt no man can tell who
is a Bp or Pastor or a Ruling part of ye Church: For every Bp is a Christian
Bp, & every Ruling member of ye Church is a member: & no member can
be knowne. || 9o The power of ye Keys is not to take in or put out of ye Church:
For it is not to give faith, or to take it away. || 10o No man can know himselfe
to be a Pastor: For a Pastor in our present sense is essentially ye pastor of
a Church. But no man can know yt it is a Church yt is his flock, or yt he hath
one Church member. || 11o They yt are bound to communicate wth some particular
Church, are bound to yt wch no man saith he can performe. || 12o No man
can accuse another for separating from a Church, Parochiall or Diocesane:
For there is no such Church visible on earth. || 13o No man can be accused
for disobeying ye Church, when it cannot be knowne. || 14o Heare ye Church,
& Tell ye Church, signifie, Tell & Heare you know not whom. || 15o I noted
not before on wt account you say yt ye Universall Church & ye Particulars are
not formally two, but ye same. If there be no visible Church on earth, Uni-
versall or Particular, I confesse there are not two sorts. I was offended
when you denyed their essentiall relative difference, yt you would not tell me wch
of ym you denyed: And now I understand yt it is both. But why did you
not speak out sooner to save wrangling in ye darke. || I believe you I think

20 [illegible]

Compil[illegible] [illegible]

about ye matter [illegible] Ri: Baxter Jan. 13. 7[illegible]

2 as such: wch do not specifie & unifie particular Churches as such (As ye
Regall office doth not specifie or unifie a Schoole or Colledge or Corporation,
nor ye Sun doth not specifie & unifie each animall Consitute life). But in
ye other ye Rectors et Consules are ye Chiefe humane specifying & uni-
fying Rulers of ye particular Company. // 3° The Termini of ye Relations
are divers, viz, ye proxime of ye rules ye definition. In one it is ye
Government of ye whole Christian world by Christ as a supreme absolute
Teacher Priest Lawgiver, Judge & Saviour. In ye Other ye terminus
of ye Policie is ye Government & Order of ye particular Company by their
Proper Rectors under Christ. // 4° The fundamentall differ. In one it
is a mutuall Consent that Christ will be our Christ & we will be Christians.
In ye other this is supposed, & the fundamentall relation is a mutuall
Consent that ye Pastor will be their Pastor & they will be his flock, as
he is an officiall minister of Christ. // It irketh me thus to dispute
with a confident censorious Divine in such words as boys are taught at
schools, & this to prove yt wch I never before heard man deny. //
§6. ad 11. Wt you say about Covenanting, if you would make me believe
after all yt I have printed in ye Christian Concord, & my only way of Church
Concord, & my Answer to [illegible] yt I take any other Covenanting be-
sides Consent necessary. I professe yt then explicite consent is not neces-
sary ad esse: but implicite if intelligible may serve, & in ye place
you cite I said we take our parishes for true Churches, & refused not to
Agree to make them such.) I say If this be your meaning, you have
one of ye hardest foreheads yt ever I had to do with. // But you want
Scripture proofs. Of what? Is it of ye necessity of Consent to ye
Relation. Have I not given it you over & over. If you read not
yt, why should I think you will read this. What, a Divine so criticall
& never read yt ye people continued in ye Apostles' doctrine & fellowship,
&c And yt they had Elders ordained them in every City or Church. & yt they
were obliged to Count them worthy of all honor, & to know them as their
Pastors, & esteeme them highly in Love for their work, & not to forsake
ye assembling of themselves: And yt de facto they constantly lived in such
subjection & communion. What do you thinke yt they did all this agt
their wills. What sword compelled them. Did they do all this & not Consent.
Or do you thinke yt they were first members of those Churches & Con-
sented after. What made them so before Consent. Are these things for
a Divine to call on a man to prove. // And if you ever read Church
history or Canons, (besides Dr Burnet de Regal.) yt for 13 if not
15 hundred years, ye Churches nullifyed yt Bp & ministry yt had not
ye peoples Consent. // And why tell you ye names of Hudson &
others, as if it were agt this. Did they deny ye Necessity of Consent,
or only of formall explicite Covenanting & promises to each other. //
And when Separatists put more in & on such Covenants than needs
such as Rutherford wrote agt them more than needs: But was Scotland
ever agt ye necessity of mutuall Consent. // What if for want of
such a Counsellor as you we dealt Imprudently at Kidderminster, will
you thence conclude yt I falsly described ye Qualifications necessary to
a Church when I wrote as above. // But your wiser arguing would have
reproved me for saying, I am not bound to baptize or [illegible] all ye
Country: I inferred, Therefore [illegible] yt Consent not to my ministry. So must
I do it agt their wills. Or as a Lay man. Or as one yt have no more right
than to play ye Bp in another mans Diocesse. // But you say they
had right to baptisme: what is yt to me, if I be none of their teacher or pas-
tor: will you goe into other mens Churches to give ye Sacrament because
ye people have right! My neighbours servants have right to wages
but not from me. Another mans schollars may have right to be taught
& not by me. // But you say, you owe duty to ye people of ye place where
you are. Yes, all acts of Charity in your power; but not yt wch is prop
to another mans relation. Not ye duty of a husband to your neighbours
wives, nor ye duty of my Lord Mayor to ye Citizens, nor of a Bp in
another Diocesse, and not of a temporary Physician to any yt Consent only
yea yt Consent not to all wch is necessary to their cure. Can you dreame yt you
have ye same Charge of ye Parishes as all ye London ministers (or any) have
meerly because you are ordained & dwell in London. // 70

6° Is Substantia & Accidens all one, because yt Ens is to ym but Genus analogicum & not univocum? Is a King & a Judge or Justice or Schole-master, all one, or ye Generall & a Captaine, because ye whole essence of ye Genus is not equally in each Species. Doe not Rector signifie so much of ye same in Christ & a Bp as yt it may & must be used as ye Genus. || 7° Do you not perceive yt you infer yt either Christ or ye Bp is no formall unifying Governour? And yt you infer same of ye King as of ye Bp. May not ye King be ye Supreme Constitutive unifying Head of ye Kingdome under Christ, & yet Christ be ye universall Head of all Kingdomes? Did you ever read Heathen or Christian, Papist or Protestant yt denyed or questioned it? you deny it! 8° Did I not fully answer you this in print? Did you ever give no reply because you would not, or because you could not? & yet goe on. I must professe yt I have seldome met with a disputing [illegible] yt spake not farr more like a man than you do. I will not say Like a Logician: Schoole boyes would be derided ~~[illegible]~~ yt talkt at your rate. Do!! must the Papists have such a ridiculous way of denying ye Oath of Supremacie & of Allegiance, & to say yt ye King canot be Head of ye Kingdome if Christ be Head of ye world. Or shall every pupil or Schoolboy thus dispute ye Headship of ye master of ye College or Schoole? Both are a specifying & unifying Head of it, a Pars imperans or Regens. In this Genus they agree. ||

~~[illegible]~~ When there are two formes distinct, there are two distinct essences: But ye universall Church & a particular politicall Church have two formes distinct: Ergo they have two distinct essences. || The major none will deny unlesse it be you yt are ignorant to dispute with; for ye forme is ye chiefe essentiating principle. || The minor is proved. When there are two distinct specifying Governments ~~[illegible]~~ there are two distinct formes of Society. But the universall Church & a particular Church ~~[illegible]~~ having two distinct specifying Governments, Ergo they have two distinct formes of Society. || The major none will deny save those yt are so ignorant as not to know yt it is Ens Politicum we dispute of: & yt it is in ye Predicament of Relation in wch ye forme must be sought: & yt a different Relation, correlation, subjectum, fundamentum & terminus, make not all different, will prove a different Relation. || But explication must goe before proofe. 1° It is certaine yt God being ye universall cause is as such in all ye causality of particular or specifying causes. || 2° It is certaine yt no humane cause is Causa simpliciter prima: 3° Nor can be Causa totalis. 4° Much lesse is Causa absoluta, but independens. But as in Entity all ye world is said to be nothing & lighter than vanity to God, so may all created causality be in ye same sense. And yet men will not burne all their bookes yt speake of Creatures & their actions, because they speake of Nothing. || Accordingly no man hath any primary or totall, or absolute propriety in any thing in ye world (save subjectively). Our propriety under God is not so much as yt of a child under a parent. All are but Stewards. || Accordingly all humane (& Angelicall) Government may be called None or Nothing to God. No man hath any ruling power but subordinate, ministeriall, instrumentall, dependent, partiall, limited, & secundum quid, temporary. || In this sense as compared to God, we may say, All humane Kingdomes are no Kingdomes; Kings have no ~~[illegible]~~ Rule, Power; Parents, Masters, Bps are no Governours; Churches as related to Bps are no Churches; families no families; Schools have no Masters; Call no Man Father, Master, Rabbi &c Mat. 23. || But for all this if you will say yt ye King is no King & England no Kingdome, & yt a Bp is no Governour of his Church, or ye Mayor of ye City, or Parents of their Children, some will censure you sharplyer than I doe. || It is then no other difference yt you are asserting than to suppose ye universall Causes, Power & Government of Christ in & over all. || Now yt humane Policies (Kingdomes, Churches, Schools, families) are really Policies & so to be called, I prove 1° By ye definition. Whereas pars constitutiva regens & pars subdita, there is a politicall Society. But Kingdomes, Cities, Churches &c have these parts: Ergo || 2° By ye common sense of all mankind; If you contradict it, I will not. || And 2° yt ye universall Head & Church, are of a distinct forme & species I prove from all yt differ in Diversifying Relation. 1° The subjectum is not ye same. In one it is Christ & all Christians: In ye other it is A subordinate humane Rector & only a company of [illegible] 2° The Relate & Correlate differ. In ye universall it is Christ & Christians universally

constitutivum be of [illegible] [illegible]

about ye matter [illegible] Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

XII The 12th speaketh a very hard fact or consequence. Cite the place of
words, & your falshood will appear. There is somewhat of discipline,
wch ye rejection & renunciation of by some may knowingly wilfully
will shew yt they are betrayers of their trust; And there is somewhat of
discipline wch is lesse necessary: No man executeth it according to
Gods word in all points in perfection; But such men do it insincerely
who have undertaken it. || 2o [If we do execute it] is put by you as
ye opposite to ye former [If we do not execute it according to Gods word]
If you so wrest it [If we do execute it according to Gods word, we shall
render it vaine &c] cite ye place, & tell one of us confesseth yt we are
not to be believed. But if you leave out [according to Gods word] in ye
second branch wch you put in ye first, aske any yt is of a sound braine
whether both these may not consist [some yt execute not discipline
according to Gods word, may thereby shew yt they are rather betrayers
than pastors of ye flocke], & [some yt execute discipline contrary to
Gods word, may render it vaine & hurtfull]. Are these contradictory? ||

XIII There is yt threefold exclusion possibly, & more sorts than three. ||

XIV The 14th in yor words, is true or false as it is explained: wch ~~being~~
being by you omitted, is one of yor other equivocating deceits. ||

XV The 15th is halfe a plaine lie, & halfe confusion & unexplained by
unintelligible words. The question de nomine & de re past confounded.
And so is a Magisteriall & a Ministeriall Policie. De re to say yt I
deny ye Divine right of a Christian Kingdom, would be a lie of
unusuall impudence; so much have I written for it. De nomine to say
yt I deny yt a Christian Kingdome may be called [a Nationall Church]
would be a falshood agt ye full evidence. || 2o But a Magistrate is
not essentiall to a Church in ye first & strict notion. Els there was
no Church before Constantine; & els heathen rulers were of its essence:
If these mostly stick not at yor throats, they will at others. And in ye
sence of all such, a Magistrate can be but an Accidentall Head.
Ministeriall Church policie is by writers commonly called properly Eccle-
siasticall, wch made Constantine say [you are Bps in ye Church, I am
Bp without ye Church]; Over it, but not essentiall to it in ye strict & most
proper sence. But if you denominate it a Church from ye Magistrati-
call forcing power over it, so ye King is not an accident, but ye es-
sentiating Head of such a Nationall Church. || 3o But as to any
Ministeriall Head called strictly Ecclesiasticall, whether personall or
Aristocraticall, I can yet heare of none of Divine institution, in
wch a Nationall Church must be unified, & by it governed. ||

§4 Now to yor oppositions, I must confidently say yt you & I are not
capable of rationall edifying disputing any of these questions. For
one of us, whoever it is, 1o knoweth not at all how to state a question.
2o understandeth not ye sence of ye maine termes disputed. 3o Never
discusseth ye ambiguity of ye said termes yt we may agree of their
sence before we dispute. 4o Takes so little heed of wt is said as
being yt he seemeth not able to note or understand it. ||

§5 Ad 1. Did you thinke [simply] & [univocally] had signified ye same?
2o Did you thinke yt any word (at least except Ens) is spoken univo-
cally of God & ye creature? Is yt your Divinity? || 3o Do you thinke
yt Analogicall ~~attributions~~ termes are not significant, & of God ye
best yt man can use? || 4o Is it not a shamelesse falshood insinuated
[yt I did not owne ye difference] Have I not over & over said yt Christ
is King or Head transcendently & absolutely supreme, & a Bp but subordinately &
limited by ye supreme: 2o That Christ is Head of ye whole, & a Bp but ye Rector
or head of a part. As a King & ye Mayor of one city differ, & yet may
3o The thing they agree in is yt both are ye Constitutive unifying Rectors of
ye severall politicall societies, (though one subordinate, & but of a part.)

have the reason why I shall not believe it by clause

V. Sins are made heynous by knowledge or other aggravations: I say Conformity
would be a complication of heynous sins to me that such as I. You knew
I profest not to judge others: And yet you said [In it selfe] Killing a man
is not in it selfe a sin, when it is done justly or by blamelesse ignorance. #
VI That my booke is [jure Divino infallible] is just one of yor logi-
call statings of a question, affirmed! A Schoole boy, or a man [illegible]
should be ashamed of it. The termes proposed in ye booke of Confession are jure
Divino, & infallibly determined by Christ, as the termes of his Churches
unity; viz, Agreement in the Essentials of Christianity only as ne-
cessary to ye unity of ye universall Church as such; In ye Integralls to
its wellbeing in severall degrees. But a Booke containes all yt is
in it; And did I say yt every word in any booke of mine is jure divino
& infallible? When you say this of ye Booke, you seeme to include All ye booke. #
It's enough for Conformists to Assent & Consent to All things in many bookes. ||
VII If ye Subscriber be not true, or else is [illegible] it beleeve in Christ: But ||
yet yor omission prepares for deceit: You only say [Visible] without
distinctions, when I over & over & over opened in wt respects it is vi-
sible & how farre, & how farre not. Simpliciter & in all respects, is
not ye same with secundum quid, & in many respects.
VIII The 8th I owne ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]
The 9th is a meere falshood. I only say yt ye Church universall hath some
IX [illegible] no members of any particular Church: If you call them
members, yt in some respects
parts homogeneous, exclude not all other respects, & make not those ye only
parts, you may use ye word homogeneous; You never expose yor selfe
so much as when you will use ye Logicke wch you have not. A Church
is considerable in its matter & forme: And ye Matter in its prime state, &
in its additionall state. As a timber house is Totum homogeneum in yt all
ye parts are wood; but its totum heterogeneum in yt some are beames,
some rafters, some laths &c. So this Kingdome is totum homoge-
neum in yt all ye parts are Men: But its totum heterogeneum in
yt some compounded parts are Cityes, some villages &c. some Lords,
some tenants &c. And ye universall Church is totum homogeneum
as to ye members so farre as it consisteth of only Christians: But
it is totum heterogeneum in many respects: 1 As yt Head is God-Man
& so are no members; 2o As it consisteth of particular politicall Churches
& of members yt are of no such Churches. 3o And as it consisteth of pastors
& flocks. You should not make objections of wt you know not.
Its your want of Logicke yt appeareth in allmost all yor errours. ||
+ The 10th is meere obscurity, which you omit all ye explication & put
a scrap of my sentence in yor owne words. 1o You talke of a [Profession]
& tell not [of what]; Simon or Herod may professe something of Christ
wch maketh him not a Christian: 2o A due Evidence & token of Sincerity
signifyeth either such as giveth me more perswasion of it, than doubting
or only such as fide humana I must beleeve, but according to ye severall
degrees of ye persons credibility; in some with more feare than hope, but
such as I cannot disprove, & therefore not deny nor despaire of. They
yt if Simon had professed yt Repentance & faith wch God hath made
ye promise of pardon to, & there was no such demonstration as is contrary to
it, he had bin pardoned: If he professe ye same faith & repent-
ance with seeming seriousnesse, though his heart be false, God shall
make him ye repenter of his owne heart, & ye baptizer must beleeve
him fide humana till he can disprove him; though some are
to be beleeved with farre greater confidence, & others with much feare. ||
The 11th is meere deathfull abuse. You tell talke of yor owne
XI [illegible] I use not to say in generall only, we must enquire
frequently [illegible] & judge [illegible] sincere &c. I use to tell us all is in perfection
of their lives, & judge of it enquired of. 1o we must enquire whether they
personally stand to their Baptismall Covenant. 2o And therefore whether they
understand wt it is: 3o And if they understand & consent to ye Covenant, as
tollerably expresse this, we are bound to take it for sincere fide humana
as ye dangers before mentioned, unlesse we can disprove their profession
by nullifying words or deeds. This how oft have I expressed. ||

[illegible] constitutive member of a visible Church [illegible]
[illegible] about ye matter. Yors Ri: Baxter Jan. 13.

§1 Answ my thoughts about answering yours is as great as yours to me could be.
For the matter cannot be truly opened but in words yt must signifie it as
it is: wch as to yor phrase is gentle & modest; but as to the things spoken
because you say Dilige et dic quod vis, I say my soule lamenteth the
doubtfull condition of ye Church of God, when so few of us are free from
the guilt of being its great danger in times when it needeth so much
helpe: I meane yt either I or you (I am no judge wch) is certainly
guilty 1° of greater ignorance 2° greater pride or overvaluing of our
ignorant understandings: 3° & a brow of brasse, or want of tenderness
of conscience in obstinate fighting against light, than I ever hoped
any ordinary true Christians had bin guilty of. If it be my case, it is
the worse sad with the Church (yt they must expect yt all their teaching
become their danger & ignorant obstinate deceivers, yt are not wiser
& better than I am, after so long study, experiences, meanes of conviction.
It would tempt me to pray God to end this world: wch can be expected
from such Priests as Afrike, Asia & most of Europe have, to say nothing
of Rome: when my longer helpes prevail not such a mischief.
Do I study & pray & preach & all this as a plague to cheat ye Church?

§2 Farr be it from me to write to you for yor conviction or expect it by
my writing: I published those answers to more of ye same yt then you
repeate; wch I thought had made it so plaine by abundance of proofes
& rebukes of absurdities you uttered, almost as if you wrote in English. And
you say ye same with [illegible] as if you took no notice of it. If it be I
so greatly erred I would you had detected it.

§3 Why tell you me wt you take to be contained in my books, instead of citing
ye place & words, as if I must take yor word wt I say. While there is
scarce a paragraph but is darkened at least, if not falsifyed by you.
The first is darkened by two omissions: 1° yt ye universall Church is
considerable as mysticall or regenerate, or as visible in its members, as so
visibly notifyed: Heart-consenters constitute ye first, & baptisme or profest
consent the second: And yet these make not two Churches.
2° That ye particular Bps or Pastors are ye subordinate Heads only of ye
particular Churches, & Dr Hammond though it be tolerable [Heads] is very
yor word, chosen to designe them more, doth use to call them ordinarily
but the Regent part, or Pars Imperans: But you put it not, & [illegible] [Head]
3° you omit yt I speake only of a politicall Church, yt is, a society
consisting of a pars Regens & subdita part: & not of such Churches as are
but occasionall meetings, or transient: ye word being [illegible]
And when I commonly use but ye word [Consent] I have told you over & over
yt it is but Consent signifyed yt I hold necessary to any other
& obey it: [illegible]
Covenanting to be somewhat desirable ad bene esse, & somewhat necessary
& evinced at large yor false insinuations of ye contrary, yet this
changed not your disingenuous insinuation, & choosing a [illegible]
word for false advantage, as if [Covenanting] had bin ye [illegible] word.
III The third is a meere cheate. I say yt Every Church had but one Altar for
communion at first (& so saith Hammond, [illegible] Bp Downame [illegible])
But there were many Altars Commemorative up & downe where they once
a yeare kept a day for Martyrs. And I say yt putting downe the
Episcopall or Regent office of a particular Church, so as to confine
it to a Diocesane over so many Parishes as by distance are un-
capable of being a Church in infima specie [illegible] of personall Communion
hath ye guilty of ye corrupting consequences you name. But did I
say I was changing one Altar into a Diocesane of many. I told you
if this were done but by addition, it is but making A-Bps: But it is
the doing it by destruction & putting downe the Regent office of all ye
multitude of Parishes under them yt I charged of ye guilt.
IV Also all yt by omission is made a meere calumny. I distinguished of the [illegible]
of ye word [Coram Deo] & said yt none have right to ye Sacrament so as
to justifie them before God agt ye guilt of usurpation, or to have any promise
of his acceptance & Sacramentall blessing, but Heart-consenters & their seed
the commanding no other reception of it but sincere. But God maketh it ye
Ministers duty to give it to hypocrite professours, being no heart-searchers.
And Coram Deo ye man hath so much right, as yt ye Church is bound to ad-
mit them though he sin in false profession & demanding it. 12° And when
baptisme sacramentally regenerateth, I use not to say they must be
regenerate before, though its true if you meane but faith & consent.

have the reason why I shall not believe it, because

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These

For the reverend & faithfull Servant
of Jesus Christ Mr Baxter in

London

[illegible] of all brethren that we may all come to some [illegible]
[illegible] Yours Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

ind, I know thy pride & the naughtiness of thy heart? And I came very easily through by all I have written, and read it, & I have learned to know that it is no part of Christian humility to debase my self below what I am, in so doing I wrong my maker & Benefactour, & I please the flesh & not God. By this means I shall in likely-hood know something more of my pride & indiscretion, & knowing it I shall be better able to watch against it & mortify it. What good can my proposals do him? they will do him no hurt. I shall gain good by writing. I had rather spend than the worse. If I cannot do better, do well. let the flesh be shamed. Humility & faith & godliness will be no loser I hope by this course. Gods interest is to be intended in all. I hope I intend it in this. And what if I cannot flatter, but speak ~~[illegible]~~ plainly, & tell the nakedness & simplicity of my heart, & want art & curiosity. I love plainness & simplicity in others & why should I be out of love with it in my self, or be angry at my self for things yt well may be abiden & passed by? Bless God my soul, that thou hast hopes of living wth the Saints in glory. And if any one shall tell thee that thou makest thy self medlingly busy, they are welcome to say what they please. [illegible] I love to see Saints, & holy Ministers, & to be in company wth them, & to speak & write of the things of God. I have an immortal soul, I am a Minister of X, I hope I am a member of the heavenly corporation, & I love to do my duty, & I account the gains of duty & godliness to be worth this & much more. Why should not I labour for heaven & degrees of glory in heaven (if such there be) as well as others? yea my calling puts me upon to be more knowing, holy, & labourious than others, & to be supra fidelium vulgus in all the principles of the ~~[illegible]~~ new creature. Others set great store by petty vanities, & I like my trade & my work well, & desire no more reward than to please God and be helpfull for the salvation of multitudes of souls. What though thou be abject & of small use? Blest of all. God will have glory & more glory by me & in me, by how much I am abject & nothing. What if I a living near him should come to him & say, Sir, you are travelling towards heaven, & you would be glad of fellows & companions, & I am bound also thither-ward, let us solace our selves wth the sweet forethoughts thereof, & animate each others hearts to go through all the foul way that lyes betwixt this & our journeys end. What matter of reprehension is this! thou art a self-conceited novice, medling wth things above thy strength, & presuming others will like thee as thou likest thy self. If God & conscience like me, it is enough. I'le endeavour to censure my self, & deal wth my distastes as well as I can. I am no man-pleaser, I love the praise of God. And I desire to give to all their due. Acquiesce in God. put my papers into his hands they are none of mine but his. I & mine & all I have & am are his, devoted to the interest of truth & godliness in the world. And he knows my heart in this, & according to the uprightness of my heart so I shall receive from him. And be thou not discouraged, nor afraid, not wanting to give me all meet consolation & assistance in my Lords work. Be thou cheerfull in him. I am in my way to glory & immortality. Send Mr Baxter hearty love & thanks. Tell him I thank God I love the light & holiness in his writings. And as is spoken in oratory, a man may be counted a proficient in oratory according as he can like & imitate Tully, so I account him a good proficient in Xianity that loveth & studieth & conformeth his heart & life to Mr B.s writings. And ~~[illegible]~~ all glory & praise be unto God. And the Ld. forgive the weaknesses & peevishnesses of his own children. And the Ld. send peace on earth & in his Church, & graunt unto us heavenly & humble & wise pastours, & multitudes of gracious hearts. Sr you are free to write to me or forbear, if you write I'le thank you, if you write not I'le thank you, if you rebuke me I'le thank you, if you instruct me I'le thank you. I would labour to know no flesh or thing in this world after the flesh. I would give to you, to all Saints, to all Ministers, to my self, to every creature & thing their due in God & for God, whose will I desire to live unto, & to be pleased or displeased as God is. Did I say I desire it? O that it might be so wth me. Well, my paper & me are both at an end. I have troubled you, & I have troubled my self. The Ld. is wise & pitifull. Of him I beg pardon. To him I give thanks. I know nothing that may be cause for me to trouble you more. Wherefore I take my leave of you, committing you to God, giving you thanks, acknowledging my weaknesses, assuring you that so far as I know mine own heart, I am in measure wt I would be,

a plain & simple impartial
lover of godliness & all godly men,
John [illegible]

Written September. 25th 1674.

most impartiallness & sincerity, can have grounds probable & likely to induce me to believe that he understandeth
Faith, & consenteth to the covenant entirely, & meaneth as he saith. I know no other way or meanes. And if this be
set in practice I know not how it can be avoided. For I am not to baptize all but only those that shall professe
faith in Christ, & accept him for their Lord & Saviour. And seeing it is committed to me to baptize, it is also committed to me to
judge upon the profession which he shall make, & if his profession be real & such as to humane judgment so appeareth
to be accepted. If it greatly appeareth to be merely verbal & hypocritical it is to be rejected. ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ In this case much prudence, & charity, & impartial skill is needfull. And I am forbidden by Christ
not to give that which is holy unto Dogs. So also he commandeth let the tares & the wheat grow together till the harvest.
Christ's visible kingdome doth consist of visible Christians of divers degrees, and it is easie for me to believe another man
that telleth a lye all the while I have sufficient grounds to believe that he tells the truth. And though I may
the Sacrament to him in his sinne & to his condemnation, yet all the while I proceed upon humane grounds of belief
& likelyhood, and take that to be true which any wise rational man would take to be true, it is his sin
if the Sacrament be to him a cup of spiritual poison. More things abundance this matter would admit
of, more than I have present leisure to write to you. And perhaps it would be grievous to you, ~~[illegible]~~ to be
troubled with them, because you may think you have sufficiently written of them in your books. But it being a
practical point, & frequently occurring, it is for my safety to take paines in it. & it will not be much
able to you to read what I write, & to consider of it as you see good. There is no comfort in this world
then we obey God & do our duty. And we cannot do that, but we shall bring the Crosse upon us. And so I may
suffer for righteousness sake, & be in the way of my duty, I hope I should be thankfull & rejoice in suffering. I
have written to you in much haste, & confusedly: but if you understand my meaning, and approve for substance
which is written, blame me for any thing else, and welcome. I have in this writing argued this point with mine own cons
ence, endeavouring to draw forth & clear the truth to my self, in which I can very easily be contradicted; and
it would much please the flesh if I could be of a contrary mind. And I being an obscure person, & of small
reading & acquaintance in the world, there may be up & down in the Churches many famous & worthy men
which may be of this opinion, that Baptisme is not to be afforded to the infants of grossly scandalous per
though I know nothing of them. And it is not out of carnal ~~[illegible]~~ curiosity that I have written to you
I desire you to consider of it, & if I be wrong, you will further engage me to love you & be thank
to you, if you will advertise me thereof. I find it self-denyal in me to spend this time and pain
in writing to you upon a point that is so far from the heart. And I ought to be as carefull of my
soul & its sanctity as sick persons are of their bodies, who will not stick to advise with physicians in things
that may make for their health. And though I can say twenty things against my self and this cont
yet if upon the whole case I have but one casting vote for duty that's enough to answer all that
can be said against me. Duty in Christ's Church is a dear, a precious thing. So much duty so much re
ed. & though the matter of the duty may be lower than some other, it is dignified by the end and reward
And when death comes, omissions & failings in duty will not be able to be born without the pardoning and
refreshing grace of Christ. And I remember Dr. Usher it's said of him, he died or desired to dye begging the
forgiveness of his sins, especially the sins of omission. ~~[illegible]~~ I cannot but acknowledge to you
that this custom of baptizing of all practised so universally by good & bad, & rooted in the minds of all, hath
me more remiss ~~then~~ in this point, than my opinion will allow, being afraid of singularity and pride & ~~[illegible]~~
way promoting division in the Churches. And yet on the other hand I know & am satisfied that we should every man
his utmost labour to know & do his duty to the utmost; & I cannot force my self to do what I list with truths & practical
matters, nor can please & satisfy my self to be overcome by or carnally to yield to difficulties, which labour &
using diligence would subdue.
Go my papers to this worthy man of God. He will perceive
in you much weakness, & what are you but the image of my heart ~~[illegible]~~? Be it so. He will pity my weakness, &
favourably interpret both my intent & writings. & if I were with him, I should discourse of these matters with
& be glad to see him & converse with him. He hath many that come to visit him that will be more troublesome
than the reading of my papers, it will not take him up much time, & he may throw 'em by or tear 'em after he
hath done reading 'em, or what he pleaseth. I love to see or hear of a Christian of learning, & he will be glad
to hear of one that before he ~~heard~~ knew nothing of, endeavouring to promote the work of God, & saving his
soul & others. But thou mightest have kept this matter to thy self, what need I trouble him, and who art thou
that thou shouldest take upon thee to write to him who is so eminent; may not I say to thee as Eliab said

comfortable number of able brethren, yet we may all come to some [illegible]
about this matter Yours Ri: Baxter [illegible]

fol.66 . of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

in such cases is sometimes hard with me to decide. Perhaps it will be said, that there needeth not the care & strictnes in the admitting of persons to Baptisme as there doth to the Lords table, there being sundry peculiarities in the one wch be not in the other. But they agree in the main, & are seales of the same covenant, & concerning both it may be said thou shalt not take the name of the Ld thy God in vain, & I will be sanctified of all them that draw nigh unto me, and God is to be worshipped in spirit & in truth, & the same grace wch are prerequisite to the Lds Supper are so to Baptisme, & this is a signe & seal of regeneration, pardon, adoption, & right to eternal glory in the adult, & being rightly applied putteth infants into a state of pardon ~~adoption~~ & salvation, & [illegible] they in ye Directory [illegible] convenient to use the word Regenerate concerning them. And holy Mr Angier one of the holyest men out of them in England in his book of Better [illegible] for better times, [illegible] though he gives some distinctions & limitations, & speaks modestly, yet so far as my memory serveth me (having not the book) he seems, it seemes that ordinarily the same measure of preparation needeth to the word & other parts of Gods ordinary worship wch doth to the Lds Supper, & answers many objections. And though I will grant that the Lds Supper in respect of the passion of X & the near communion wch the soul hath wth him in spiritual eating & drinking doth bespeak it to be peculiarly reverend as also in respect of that mutual owning & communion betwixt believers feeding upon his body & blood represented by the elements yet in other respects Baptisme doth exceed it, as it is precedent to it in time, & is the signe or seal of initiation into X & into his body the Church, & is more signal & excelling as is the giving of life & the making us living persons before that of growth & nutrition, or as is the absolving of us into a state of reconciliation & wrath above that of continuing us in the same state. And yet for its [illegible] all waies great care & consideration lyeth on the part both of the Baptizer & the baptized. And if some shall say, that we may forbear to admit the baptized to the Lds Supper upon tryal tarrying to see how they will carry. It seemeth more consonant to Scripture & reason that we be well advised before we baptize them being adults. For by Baptisme we suppose them regenerate, justified, in a state of salvation & so habitually & generally fit to the Lds Supper. But indeed concerning persons baptized in infancy, wch is the case wth most among us, there it is profitable & decent that the party do understand & own & profess to stand to his Covent in Baptisme, & the more solemnly doe the better. And this I suppose is the intent & meaning of Confirmation, wch is appointed to go before the Lds Supper. And though among us appropriate to the Bishop, yet doubtless is no such peculiarity but that of right appertaineth to the pastours office, & wch he hath power by his pastourship to do. For spiritual functions [illegible] admit [illegible] he is a magistrate in law & governmt being appointed to be a guide & pastour to souls, & invested wth power to do all things as a pastour for the edification of Xts flock, in this is included both the power of taking in & casting out, & wt else hath rational needing for the edification of souls, & the preservation of Xts household in purity & order. It will be objected, that if I make this strictnes in Baptisme, & practise the same fully, I shall make a woful rent in the Church. And to my remembrance Mr Blake somewhere hinteth so much. I have not his book, but having it once, I think there was a passage to this effect. This thing I have thought much of my self, & certainly nothing can be a means destructive to the end. And if instead of introducing purity & ordr into the Church I should demolish & overthrow it by dividing principles & practices, X would give me no thanks for my pains. better I nor my opinion had been born. As to wch I answer in my conscience that I must not go upon soft grounds, and [illegible] impose nothing upon persons as essential to Church-membership wch X hath not so made. And wt men speak understandingly & seriously I must believe yt it is except I see grounds to ye contrary. And though they shall retain an hollow heart, yet all the while they profess wth their mouth the [illegible] faith, & this profession is in the judgmt of any honest impartial standr by so far as can be discerned not feigned, nor forced, nor meerly a rehearsall of words & names without a competent measure of undrstanding the things uttered, this is to be accounted valid & sufficient to entitle him to Baptisme coram Ecclesia, & the Covenant being the same in both Sacramts the same rule holdeth in both where the party demandeth his right, & calleth for Church-justice at our hands. 66 But will I believe every one that saith he believeth in God the Father Son & Holy G. & professeth to renounce the Devill & all his works? I am bound to believe him so far as I can discern that he undrstands wt he sayes & means as he speaks. But so far as I can perceive him to be ignorant, or not to mean as he speaks, or by any visible prevalent signe or matter to contradict his own profession, in that case I am bound to open things to him & by questions to try his knowledge, & so his sincerity, and neither take all ~~professors to be credible~~ wch professeth the words, nor deny the use of it in this matter. But I am to be wise & impartial & charitable, & not to think the bare profession & uttering of the words to be all that is to be stood upon, & the rehearsall of the words to be nothing. I may fear he doth not understand himself, I may fear he doth not heartily consent to the Christian-Covenant, I may fear he doth it but in form but yet he may do it in some seriously, undrstandingly & syncerely. And it is left to my conscience & discerningness in the sight of God to judge upon his profession, & to compare things together, & though it may be wanting & defective, yet if it have sense it cannot be denyed. And that is to be deemed essential to profession wch I upon the best knowledge wch I have of the person & his course of life, & the hearing of his own words, [illegible]

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have the reason why I shall not believe it [illegible]

And in zeal for my duty I have put my self upon writing to you. And so far as I know mine own heart, my pur-
desperated by writing to you. And though I consider wth some, that I hope are for the main godly, that think not as I th-
I cannot but own the light that is in your writings, though I have but some of them, necessity & providence being
me a main guide in my life, and making me to form to my self a just a method in my profession ~~[illegible]~~ as I can perceive,
conducing to my main end, & I am put upon to vary my practice in things variable & in wch prudence hath to do,
doing by necessity & spiritual interest point me forth my way, endeavouring to live as a dying man for the main. And
set great store by little things in godliness, not little in themselves, but comparatively; & though I would not allow
the esteem & place of great matters, yet out of conscience I would allow them their due, and as they are profitable &
greatly useful in order to our main end, & do constitute a part by themselves in the frame of godliness & make the
soul more beauteous in holiness, and I read, & write, & study, & divide my time, & buy books, & whatever things fall in
my way by looking to my end, & measuring from thence & by that my duty as near as I can. In this point of Bap-
tism & Discipline I have thought, that I ought to be prudent & considerate, to have my people guided, to please
in all things to their profit, to keep within the bounds of truth, to advise wth persons more knowing, experienced, & godly,
keep up my heart in walking wth God & doing my duty. & wch I cannot do better to do as I can, & strive to
& take heed of preposterousness, indiscreet ally, & running into extreams, & to beware of pride & make sure to be
humble & modest. There is another thing wch is coincident wth this, & is of great weight, and that is the admit-
ting of persons to the Lds Supper, whether in the case of grown persons the same faith & profession wch entitleth to Baptism
doth not entitle to the Lds Supper, & consequently one of grown years admitted a church-member by Baptism hath
thereby right to the Lds table nothing intervening on his part to infringe his right. And I know no such difference be-
tween the Sacramts but that in this case he hath right to this latter as to the other. Then I gather that if I ground
faith right to Baptism upon the parents faith & profession, ~~[illegible]~~ if I admit him a person capable to Baptism for his
I cannot in justice deny him the Lords Supper, no act on his pt intervening to stopp or suspend his right. Th-
then if I baptize all I must admit all to the Lords Supper, & so doing I shall make fowl work. And if I deny the Lds
Supper to those wch I admit to Baptism, nothing on their pt committed worthy of censure, I do not see how I
can be just & consistent to my principles in so doing. For taking Bapm to be a seal of the covenant, & a condi-
onal investiture of the psy baptized wth right to pardon & glory, by admitting him to the seal, I suppose him to be
within the covenant, & to be regenerate, a child of God, & heir of heaven, and what bars can lye in the way to
hinder such a one fro the Lds Supper, he continuing the same that he was? ~~[illegible]~~ I am told that th-
is the Independents tenet. For my part so far as I can perceive, it is truth, & if that be to be an Independent I
am one except I meet wth something further then I see yet to alter my judgment. And then we should all fall
Church-discipline, & look more narrowly to the pastoral work. All these consequents come tumbling down upon me
& I cannot put them by. And it is great pity that such excellent & profitable duty should lye undone.

In your letter to me you advise me (if I do not misremember; for I have it not wth me now, it being at my
mothers in Warrington there with & more fit the place where I live) not to baptize any but such as the
dedicate their infants to God. Now this I take to be meant of such an understanding, serious, deliberate dedication
as ~~[illegible]~~ an impartial sincere humble man may in reason & conscience think so to be, or though there be much gro-
to fear, yet there is more ground to hope. And then abundance of caution and prudence & pains & charity will be
to try & judge of the fitness of persons & the sufficiency of their professing & engaging to be the Lds & entring
into the covenant at Baptism, as ~~[illegible]~~ now is used ~~[illegible]~~ in the admittance of persons to the Lds table. And this will
cut off many from Baptism, & will peradventure something widen the door to the Lords table, if persons should stand
upon their right & press us to exact justice. And though ordinances be precious, and are to be preserved from
pollutions, & dogs & swine are not to be admitted to feed wth the children, yet we had need to beware how we
put any away from Xt, & for fear of laying all open & common make the door so narrow that it may kep
~~[illegible]~~ many an upright soul may be put by wth ye censure of our unworthy, & the ungodly be discouraged from coming
onwards to Xt. In wch respect I have thought it more safe & becoming the charity & simplicity that is in Xt, &
less polluting to ordinances, doing our best & utmost to do right to all & to avoid all extreams, both too much
laxness & carnal indulgence, & too much strictness & rigour, where the case is doubtful of the two rather to
err wth charity, & think it no contamination of holy worship to meet sinners in the way to heaven, & condi-
scend to them so far as we can. O wt prudence, pity, zeal, industry, vigilancy is needful in this case. how easy a
matter to miss on one hand or other. how easy to content our selves wth half-doing. I acknowledge my self hard
put to it in these matters. Some I hope well of. Some I almost despair of. Some are civilly & to judge of
more carnal then godly. And some I know not wt to think of. there are some good signs in them, & some
bad. And my hopes & my fears do often combate wth each other. And sometimes I hope well of them. & some-
times I fear much; & [illegible]

of [illegible]
comfortable number of able brethren, yt we may all come to some [illegible]
[illegible] matter. Yors Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

tholick grace, but disserviceably tendeth to the conservation of purity unity & ordr in the Church, we may well be allowed to differ from them, though perhaps had we a full undrstanding of their state & practice, it would be found consonant wth is in this. And as for the objection, that the infants of some wicked parents prove godly, & the infants of some godly parents prove wicked, we must not go by events. God is free to do wt he will. The ordinance it self doth not cause or work grace in the soul. Something must be left to God to do at his pleasure, in wch he hath not bound himselfe. And Gods secret intent of giving or not giving grace is not to go by in dispensing his ordinances. And if we lived among pagans it might please God to sanctify some of their infants, or cause ym while young to learn matters of faith among us various wayes, & they might prove godly, & yet that be no ground to baptize the infants of professing pagans.

Sir, it is a good while since I read your book of Right to Sacramts, & it was but lent to me, & I had it no longer yn I could expeditiously & wth conveniency dispatch the reading of it. but the matter I have remembred in part, & by cogitation & reasoning the point in mine own mind, & reading & conferring wth those of the other perswasion, I have been led on to be of this mind. and though perhaps both this that I have said may seem inconsiderable, yet it weighes down my undrstanding. I have contractedly and briefly noted all things, fearing lest I should be tedious, & knowing that you have more ripe & full conceptions in all these points, & can rather apprehend my meaning then another can. This also I add, that this opinion of baptizing all doth so far as I can perceive favour the flesh & carnal ease, & the practice of refusing to baptize the infants of grosse & wicked livers grateth upon carnal liberty, and tendeth to the kindling of enmity in the serpents seed agt the godly, & doth put us in the Ministry upon greater tryals & hazards & sufferings, if we will be faithfull, & deny our selves & take up the crosse, & adhere to our master & his truth & interest. I have denyed some the Lds Supper, & it displeased ym though I indeavoured to satisfy ym yt it was more for their good to forbear. And in two cases I did forbear to baptize infants, wch I was moved by the parents, & I was railed upon, & others thought I did 'em wrong, & I perceive both good and bad Ministers & people, Conformists & Non-conformists are against it. So that I am certain to baptize only some is more self-denying, & will put us upon more hard work then the other way. And though I know we may overdo, & it is not all strictnesse & preciseness wch is scriptural, & popery it self hath much self-denyal in some things, yet erroneous ungrounded strictnesse & self-denyal promoteth selfishness in a higher degree & in something worse, & nourisheth pride & a sullen mind, & tendeth to uncharitablenesse & division, & building up man & pride in the soul, & serving it self of the lawes & interest of X.

As to the objection of punishing the child for the parents faults, & withholding right fro the child for the sin of the parent. If the parent have no right himselfe he can convey none to his infant. If the infant have no right but by the parent, & the parent have none for himselfe, then the infant cannot be said to loose his right because he never had any. And pagans living among us the same might be pleaded for them. And either we must baptize all or but some. not the former. for yn pagans might be baptized. If some, yn those some must have right to Bap: either by themselves or by others. not by themselves. for yn pagan-infants might be baptized. If by others, yn if those others have no right, or loose & forfeit their right, their infants claiming by ym are thereby obstructed.

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I serve but at a small chappelry, & I am not put upon to baptize many. but some I do. And I have baptized some wth much hesitancy & fear. And I am held between these straits. On the one hand my judgement is that there are many in towns and parishes among us wch live open flagitious lives, whose infants ought not to be baptized, barely upon the parents being reckoned among us visible Xians, & having some plea thereof. And these are not few. On the other hand, it is the opinion and practice of the Churches of X, generally for so far as I can learn of most Divines of wt perswasion soever (except Independents wch I know not) that they ought to be baptized. I am a young raw unskilfull Minister, newly brought up at the University obscure, having nothing that I know of to commend me to the world, but I have my blemishes, the times are evill, & who am I that I should oppose my self against the generality of wise, holy, able Divines. That was one thing wch made me stick at Conformity & subscription, & I could not thank God in that particular, nor dispute the point wth any holy & impartial man in defence of it. On the one hand I love my master, & truth, & worship, & souls, & the least degree of duty & obedience, knowing it to be pleasing to God, profiting to my self & others, & the want of it is to be lamented. On the other hand I fear pride & division & carnal emulation & singularity, & it is my study prayer & indeavour to avoid all extreams both in doctrine & practice. For I have had sad experience of running into extreams on the right hand, & out of weaknesse & heat aim to do my duty to the full & to get far enough fro sin I have gone too far, & wounded my soul by imprudent extreams on the safer hand. In this case also I have thought that the introducing of this practice according to my opinion would put me upon acts of Discipline, & taking more heed to all undr my charge, & using publick admonitions. In all wch I would not meddle save so far as is plain, & safe, in the essentials of Discipline, & such as be agreed on by all godly Divines. And it is not the difficulty or danger of duty that should deterre me from it, all the while I have sure footing & evidence that it is my duty, & so incumbent upon me. that consideratis considerandis in conscience I should do it. For I love to engage in difficulties, & to put my faith upon hard adventures still in the way of duty, knowing that the hardest & toughest points in godlinesse & Xian practice bring in most sweetnesse to the soul. And though I would be nothing in mine own eyes, & think my self & be content to be so thought by others lesse then the least of Saints, yet I would labour for utmost grace & [illegible]

Stship. And

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pass the reason why I shall not believe it the reasons of my opinion are drawn from the common acknowledged principles of our faith in the point of Baptism & those definitions wch are given of it in our ordinary Catechisms, and the nature of profession & visible Christianity. ~~[illegible]~~ And though I will acknowledge a difference between pagans & profligate [illegible] amongst us, & do yield that they ~~are~~ are not to be reckoned in all respects wth them, yet in my apprehension profession & visible Christianity hath degrees, & a man may be a visible professour of X in part & in part not, and that great wariness & tenderness needeth to judge yrof. And that in this case we are not left to our own wills neither Ministers nor people, but we must look upon Xn professours as the members of his ffamily as called forth of the world, visibly owning and assenting to his principles the essentials of faith & godliness, & professing consent to be ruled & governed by him in his own commanded way in order to life eternal. And that as partial holiness & [illegible] grace will not suffice to incorporate us into X & give us saving interest in him & in his benefits, so a partial bare profession, wanting any thing requisite to its essence cannot constitute a man a visible Christian, & consequently he cannot have right to the priviledges wch do belong to the members of this corporation or visible Christians as such. Visible Xianity or profession of faith & holiness hath essence & integrity, & it may consist wthout this latter, but not wthout the former. And if a grown person shall come to me to be baptized assenting to the Xian faith as true, & I will be in all points a Xian, only I will be allowed to swear, commit uncleanness, be drunk &c I ought not to baptize him upon this faith any more then a heathen. And for mine own part ~~[illegible]~~ I cannot see in wt to found the right of Infants-Baptism save in the parents. And if the parents be not visible Xians I know no other form or species to reckon ym in then that of Heathens, & consequently we may no more baptize their infants then the infants of pagans supposing they lived among us. Though there be some difference, yet wn X appoints such a standard or model of his visi-membership, & will admit of none into his School & ffamily short of that, no matter how farr persons come towards it all the while they do not come up to it. And whereas it will be said, that it savours of rigour & uncharitableness towards the infants of carnal Xians among us. It is but the same towards pagan-infants, wch the contrary-minded acknowledge to be no rigour to deny them Baptism. And some visible bounds & distinctions must needs be put between the kingdom of X & of Satan in the world, & the subjects of the one & subjects of the other. And as we can be but of the one invisibly or in heart, so neither can we visibly be subjects of both. but the predominant ruling part is to give denomination, and impartiality, wisdom, love, & meekness are to state the case & hold the ballance & judge whether side doth preponderate. And this rule ~~[illegible]~~ to be a rule unto our Judges in the government of Xts Kingdom in the world, & to discriminate between his household & flock & the uncalled wch are related to the world, & so far as we proceed according to the rules set us by God our administrations are to be held regular, & God will approve us, & will bless protect & maintain all that is done by his authority in his own way. And as for the main objection from Circumcision & the policy & practice of the Jewish Church & their infants, 1. all sound Divines agree that the Covenant of life & Salvation through faith in X, repentance, & a godly life is but one in all ages of the Church, though some points be added now to our faith wch the Jews had not expressly. 2 that the Seals follow the Covenant. 3. that parents when they entred into Covenant wth God did also enter their infants, & as parents lay undr the same bonds yt we do now to serve God as parents in the education of their children. 4. that there was then a distinction between Jew & Gentile, the holy & unholy seed. 5. that though in the lump they were all visibly holy or separated out of the world to God yet there were among them mingled persons, neither Jews born nor proselyted. 6. questions concerning fact are to be distinguished from those concerning right. And admit that all were circumcised as their birth-priviledge, or a thing of right by being born Jews, it will not follow that therefore it was right. 7. in many cases God ordained that they should be cutt off from their people for enormous offences, done by many among us, how far that might extend I cannot say. ~~[illegible]~~ Cutting off from participation of Sacramts may seem to be included if no more. 8. Circumcision was to be done by the parents, Baptism now by Ministers. And we see by experience that the wickedest persons would have their children baptized, & would have them also to walk godly & be saved generally, wch Mr [illegible] remembr urgeth as one reason why their infants should be received to Baptism, because though the parents be wicked themselves yet they would have their children to be good, though certainly no wicked parent can truly & sincerely will his children to be sincerely godly who doth not will to be godly himself, & yet he may will them not to be corrupted by gross sins wch he lives in. So that wicked persons among the Jews would be forward ~~[illegible]~~ of their own accord to have their children visible Jews, if they took it for any honour or tending to carnal interest to them or should be numbred to God's people. 9 Xts houshold or Church is now inlarged, and Jew & Gentile made one, some things might be allowed to them as a common-wealth or Theocracy, whose Governour was God, & they had their land from him, & held of him, & were ruled by him. 10. And ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ we are most strangers to many things among them, & therefore be allowed wth the more freedom to adhere to Gospel-precepts, & follow the light of the Gospel where it is plain, & in any thing it may seem to vary from the practice of the Jewish state, all the while the practice is consistent wth the unquestioned principles of our Religion, & the generall rules of government, & doth no way impugn

2

[illegible] of all [illegible] that we may all come to some [illegible]
[illegible] matter Yors Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

Worthy Sir, my honoured & endeared brother. I cannot forbear writing to you once more. I am afraid of being tedious & troublesome to you. And I would not divert you from matters of greater importance & interest for the Churches good by any needless addresses of mine. I know I am a stranger to you, & at a great distance from you, & you have no leisure to read or hear light things, and modesty and the sense of mine own unworthiness & lowness in the world command me to be sparing in writing to my betters, & pride is a reigning deceitfull sin. & I have perceived so much of it in my self, I have need to watch and pray continually. I wrote in hast to you the last letter, partly hindered through straightness of time, & the sudden unexpected notice of the bearers going up to London. I had penned a letter before that to have sent you, & layd it by me waiting for a convenient means of sending it. and some things in it not liking me I determined to lay it by a while & pause upon it & give my self further time to deliberate before I sent it. And hearing of the bearers going up. I wrote by him that carried it, I wrote anew, which after it was gone from me it displeased me more that I had not sent that which I had ready written. But I will endeavour to watch my heart better henceforth. Some scruples are in my mind, which I crave leave to impart to you. I hope I do it out of conscience. For it concerns matter of practice, & that of great weight. One is about the baptising the infants of grossly vicious & scandalous persons. In which I hope I may gain further light & information by writing to you.

I confess I cannot see sufficient grounds in Scripture for the baptizing of the infants of such as be openly vicious, & live in gross sins, declaring themselves to be traitors & rebels against the kingdom & government of Christ, & wilfully refusing to be brought under his yoke. nor can I satisfy my self of the justness & warrantableness of the practice. And I have baptized some partly though not wholly against the dictates of mine own mind. Since I read your book of Right to Sacraments I have when I have had opportunity for mine own learning satisfaction & establishment in the point reasoned & conferred with able & godly Ministers & private Christians of the Non-conforming party about this point. I cannot hear of one in all these parts but they baptize all. And I have been told that in the late ~~time~~ times at a Classis or convention of Ministers in Lancashire Mr Herle being moderator this point was solemnly debated. Two of the famousest Divines then in these parts Mr Gee & Mr Harrison, men of great godliness, & fidelity in their office, & most noted disputants & able Divines stood up for the affirmative that the infants of all among us ought to be baptized. Some there were that were of contrary opinion. who they were I cannot tell. but the dispute was carried in the affirmative, & the major concluding vote by far was for it. I have heard also from others that some godly Divines, & as was told me many, did stumble at it, and were doubtfull of it. And the practice of some godly Non-conforming Divines in the celebration of Baptism is not to insist upon the parents profession or sever enquire into his state & condition nor interrogate him concerning his faith in Christ, & assent & consent to the Christian covenant, but only to give them a charge to educate the child, opening something of the nature & ends of Baptism, adding withall prayer. Though I think there is something in your book of Infant-Baptism which speaks against this. What the opinion & practice of the Reformed protestant Churches is in this point I am not so large in my reading as to be able certainly to tell. But I think the opinion & practice of all the Reformed Churches generally is that the infants of all professing Christians among us, though they be ungodly ought to be baptized. And I am induced so to think by what the Leyden Divines say in their Disputation of Baptism [illegible] Sect. 50. I will transcribe their words. Nec tamen ideo excludimus ab hujus Sacramenti communione infantes eos, qui ex Christiana stirpe & baptizatis parentibus nati sunt, etsi ipsorum parentes per vitam improbam, aut fidem impuram foederis in Baptismo obsignati efficaciam adeptis se indignos reddant; vel ab ipsis parentibus aut eorum propinquis, sub quorum potestate sunt, juxta ordinem in Ecclesiis nostris constitutum Baptismo offeruntur &c. quod etiam Ecclesia Israelitica & Christiana primitiva factitandum esse extra controversiam semper habuit. I omit to set down their reasons there, citing only their words to prove the matter of fact and practice. I have seen something of Mr Blakes writings if I misremember not shewed me by a Non-conforming Divine defending the Baptism of the infants of grossly vicious persons; also I have seen Mr Sam. Langley's tract about Suspension, in which he speaks honourably of you, approved your opinion against Mr Blake that it is the entire Christian faith & not a notional opinionative faith which gives title to Baptism, & thinks the contrary can never be proved. But in the point of baptizing the infants of ungodly owns to dissent from you, & gives reasons for his judgment. Perhaps it will be deemed ignorance or arrogance in me to dissent from whole Churches & Divines whom for learning I may not be meet to carry their books after them, & for piety & experience & illuminatedness in the things of God I may no way compare with them. And yet truly I cannot force my judgment, nor bear down conviction & evidence which I meet with. And in this point so far as I have judgment to discern, (and I must endeavour to discern for mine own duty and practice, & must give account to God of mine own soul & practice in each point) no solid scriptural reason can be given for the baptizing of the infants of notoriously infamous parents. Itt being so ob

read the reason why I shall not believe it by Blanke rest is not now necessary for it selfe as a holy ceremony, but only for the worship & worke sake, as it is our vacancy to it, whose omission is the great violation of yͤ day. The Scripture calls not yͤ Lords day the Sabbath; The ancient Christians call it so sometimes but only by allusion or similitude as they called yͤ Table yͤ Altar & yͤ Sacrament yͤ Sacrifice. Its fitter for us to speake as God doth & to call it rather the Lords day than yͤ Sabbath.

6ͦ If Christ by himselfe & his Spirit in the Apostles did appoint the first day of the weeke to be the day of holy worship in Christian assemblies in commemoration of his Resurrection & the sending downe of the Holy Ghost, then the first day is accordingly to be kept, & not the old Jewish day. But this Christ did: Ergo. //

Here I should come to the 2ᵈ part of my worke, to prove Christs institution of yͤ Lords day. But I have done it fully in the booke I send you. And I have not time for now long disputes: And to deale freely with you, I had rather silently love you as an honest man, & reverence yoͬ age, than dispute with you, lest contradiction make you angry. For I see yͭ you quite overvalue your owne conceptions, & I am not a man for strict disputation. And though you call me your Inquisitor I beg your consideration of these two questions.

Q. 1. Whereas good history assureth us yͭ all sorts of Christians kept yͤ Lords day as yͭ ever K: James lived in England, Is it credible yͭ neither John yͤ Apostle nor any ancient Christian would have contradicted it, nor one Heretick ever dissented, if they had not all believed it to be of God.

Q. 2. Are you not a deadly enemy to yͤ Church & Soules if you durst wish they had never assembled on this day nor received the blessing on it as they have done these 1640 yeares //

Q. 3. Is not holy Concord exceeding necessary to Christs Church? And can you believe yͭ all yͤ Christian world yͭ hath agreed in yͤ Lords day these 1640 yeares, will ever agree agͭ it:

To conclude, I judge you not, I renounce no Communion with you for keeping yͤ Jewish Sabbath: To yͤ Lord you keep it: & to yͤ Lord I keep it not: I desire you should be tolerated in your liberty as Paul would have the weake observers of Jewish daies. But if you oppose yͤ Lords day, & grow like those yͭ urged yͤ Jewish Law on yͤ Galathians & other Churches, I thinke you sin greatly, & the more in yͭ you no more humbly suspect your owne understanding when it contradicteth yͤ universall Church since yͤ Apostles giving us such evidence of Apostolicall practice & appointment. The Lord teach you & me, & bring us to Christ (in whom without yͤ Jewish ceremonies we are compleat as well as without vaine Philosophy) with yͤ hearts of little children, tractable, humble & obedient.

Ri: Baxter Octob. 23 1681

of yͤ [illegible]
compleat number of able brethren, where we may all come to some just conclusion
of yͤ state of yͤ matter Yoᵘʳˢ Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

Sr || It is my lothness to offend you wch makes me unwilling
to dispute wth you: I perceive yt those arguments seeme cogent to you
wch seeme to me fallacious or impertinent; & it will be so to the end;
your answer will begett another endlessly: And my time is short
& I have farre worse opponents (yt are setting up Popery) to
write against. But because of your importunity I
offer you yt answer to yor syllogism wch satisfyeth me;
& I offer you yt to wch I desire satisfaction regularly. ||

If by [Is the Sabbath] you meane [Is yt wch was then the Sabbath] I
grant your Major, Minor & Conclusion: If you meane yt It still conti-
nueth to be the Sabbath wch we are obliged to keepe, I deny ye Major. ||
It is such a syllogism as this [That wch God made & called the Seale of
his Covent is the Seale of his Covent: But God made & called Circum-
cision the Seale of his Covent: Ergo &c] || Or [That worship wch
God appointed & accepted in the daies of Adam & Abel is his accept-
able worship: But sacrificing beasts God appointed & accepted &c.] ||
|| E contra [No law binds Christians but the Law of Nature & the superna-
turall Law of Christ: But the keeping the seventh day rather than
another as a Sabbath is neither of the Law of nature nor the sup-
ernaturall Law of Christ: Ergo &c || The experience of our selves & all
mankind tells us yt there is nothing in nature wch notifyeth an
obligation 1o to one day in seven rather than in six or eight, or 2o
at least to the 7th more than to the first. No nor yt tells us wch is
the first day of the weeke: You know not wch is it but by tradition ||
2o He yt saith Christ hath supernaturally instituted it or comanded it, let
him prove it: He used it as he did Circumcision & all ye Law of Moses
wch he came to fullfill to deliver us from it; for he was made under it ||

~~Arg 2~~ That ye Mosaicall Law as such binds not us is proved. ||
1o That wch never bound the rest of the world but only Jews & prose-
lites, binds not us: But such was the Law of Moses as such (Though
all yt was in it of Naturall obligation bound all as naturall). Ergo &c ||
2o That wch was part of the yoake wch the fathers were not able to beare, & wch
Christ delivered men from, binde not Christians: But such was the 7th day Sabbath as part of the Law
of Moses meerly as such. Ergo &c. Act. 15.

3o That wch was part of the Law wch Paul so vehemently preacht
down, calling them the Concision & dogs, & wishing them cut off yt
urged it on the gentiles, bindeth not us Christians: But &c. Ergo &c ||
4o That wch was but part of the Law written in stone, is done away:
But such is the 7th day Sabbath: Ergo &c. The Major is proved 2 Cor. 3.
13. 14. 15. It was written in stone only for the Jews. || The Minor is plaine
to all mens experience: Nature determineth not ye day: It's not written there. ||
5o If all the old Sabbaths are ceased, then ye 7th day Sabbath is ceased:
But the antecedent is true: Col. 2. 16. 10 || God there speaks of Sabbaths
without exception: But ye 7th day Sabbath was one of ye three principall.
He therfore yt will except it, makes himselfe our Lawgiver & contra-
dicts ye word of God. || All Sabbaths properly so called cease: A Sabbath
in ye Scripture sense was a day of Corporall Rest wch in & for it
selfe as a holy ceremony was part of ye keeping of ye day. A day of
holy ceremoniall rest. The Lords day is not such. It is a day of rejoic-
ing for Christs resurrection & ye Evangelicall Kingdome of God then
begun, & of worshipping God spiritually in remembrance of it. And the body

have the reason why I shall not believe it [illegible]

For the Reverd mr Richard Ba
at or near the charter house
to my Lds Greys Lodgings these are

London with Care

[illegible] of able brethren, wherever may all come to some just conclu[illegible]
about the matter. Yours Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

Post cript.

Sr:

Since ye writing of this lre I mett at witly Colt wth Dr Sibbs soul conflict [illegible]
Folysending it mee, in wch I found some things resolud wherewith I haue [illegible] much
pplexed, & if your circumstances would admitt yt yu would as swiftly as may [illegible]
ye approving of his judgmt in those things so found I should most deeply be obliged [illegible]
any worldly matter I could not haue given ye this trouble. but my soul lies at [illegible] I am
at my now or neuer & therefore I am so sollicitous for ye true satisfaction [illegible]
Followe

1 Dub: I fear my good houre may be past. Sol: As in ye sin agt ye holy ghost fear [illegible]
yt we haue not comitted it: so in this a tender hrt fearing lest ye time be past shows
plainly yt it is not past.

2 Dub: If I could be humbled for sin I might haue hope for mercy but I neuer knew [illegible] a broken
hrt for sin meant how yn can I haue comfort. Sol: To this yt Holy man answers [illegible]
I desire to know whether yt expression of his be true page: 338. Such as are sensible yt they
not sensible enough of their sins must know yt though want of feeling be quite opposite
to ye life of grace yet sensiblenes of ye want of feeling shows some degree of ye life of
grace.

Dub: 3: when is Godly sorrow in yt degree whorin ye soul may stay it self fro [illegible]
thoughts &c pag: 340: Sol: he answereth in many pticulars it is only the 2d [illegible]
crave yu thoughts about. when yt wch is wanting in greife is made vp in feare
no cause of complaint for want of greife. for this is the awband of the soul to keep
fro starting fro God & his ways.

4 Dub: whether a man in an estate of nature may say wth any comfort (my God: pt 438)
Sol: when a man out of the sight & sence of sin thirsts after mercy in X & calls upon
God for pardon yn God who is a god hearing prayers & delighteth to be known by the
name of mercifull will be ready to close with & meet with ye desire of such a soul so far
as to give it leave to rely vpon him for mercy (& yt without psumption) vntill he further
graciously discouers himself but vpon some of wch grace the soul may be encouraged
to lay a further claim to God for vpon ye first resolution to turn to god we shall always
find him ready to answer those desires he stirrs vp in vs.
We are not therefore to stay ye turning to god till we feel him saying to ye [illegible]
thy God but when he pvents vs by his grace enabling of vs to desire grace [illegible]
low the work begun in the strength of wt grace we haue & God will further manifest
his grace to vs.

(wch I conceive was one gt cause of yt gt darknes & blindnes yt hath
spread those parts) I was perswaded to get into the ministry & did accept
a poor Curacy at Rowly. Had I known wt it is to be a minister, how hazardous
difficult an employmt: Abating this single consideraon whither I might not be
serve my Generation this way yn in any other estate of life: I think I shou
have chosen rather to have been a Countryman yn a minister though prompt
to it with the best pfermt in the land. As for the termes upon wch I ent
on ye ministry I do confess yt I was very raw & unstudied in those points. I ha
read something about the covent & obligaon of it in Dr Sanderson & I tooke
declaraon in yt sense wch my Lord Bridgman gave of it, by wch som eminen
& Godly ministers in London subscribed it as I remember my uncle Combs info
many years ago at Sarisbury. & I read Dr Jo: Burgess mr Stilman & I advi
vise with those yt I thought were likely to informe me about it. I could not fi
anything plainly repugnant to Gods Law. If I sined it was not presum
ously I hope: but ignorantly, & I had not this to aggravate it, yt I was accesso
to the puttinge of any good man out of his place. & I have by a generall Confes
sion together with many other errors of my life acknowledged it & begd pa
for christs sake. If I sined yn I hope my sentimts of things are such now
I should with cheerfulnes & much freedom of spirit leave my place in case of
Antichristian impositions, or other matters inconsistent wth the Gospell or the pea
of a good Conscience. If the Lord should see it good to abate the force of my dis temper
per & give me ability of body answerable to the intentions of my mind, I shou
demean my self after another maner in my ministry, & this affliction would be
perpetuall monitor to quicken mee to farr gter seriousnes & mindfulnes of m
Perkins motto (minister verbi es hoc age) but the Contumacy of my distemp prayers
resisteth all means I have hitherto used though accompanied wth the best of christia
in many places who are much affected with condition. By some books of yours es
cially your method, &c & mr Allens & mr Byfields & mr Goughe, & by letters & Conferenc
I have another maner of perception of things yn formerly I had & by some stirri
emotions in my soul in ye lucid intervalls of my distemper, have conceived som
hope of yt I was in a probable way of getting christ & peace & pardon & holin
& all yt I want from God through him: but my fear is lest death should cut
off mee before I reach yt hope yt is set before mee, or obtain ye pearl yt is discov
mee to wch, If I could tell how I would sell all my sins & upon a clear call from G
part with all I have in the world. Dear Sr the latter part of your letter fil
mee with wonder & astonishmt, that a person of that height & eminency in Grace w
I with divers others (notwithstanding the dust yt hath been raised about yu & the Co
treatmt the world hath given yu) upon the most certain grounds yt can be
in this life do conceive as one of gods gtest favourites & highly beloved of him s
intreat the prayers of such a poor unworthy & hardharted siner as James Bayls
yt yu whose praise is & will be in the churches of christ, who with such unwea
diligence have toyld in gods vyneard, & applyed your self to all sorts & by the m
awakening calls put ym on to their duty, yt you should complaine of dulnes
reason of sin, & want of sence for yor everlasting state seems wonderfull. y
Complain. who have so fully described, & many time I believe reposed your self in yt re
yu showed to others, (God knowing quite besides all outward appearances that yo
journey was to be for many years, & your pilgrimage for his glory & the comfo
of his church protracted) wt will become of mee & the gtest part of the w
of wt cause have wee, were not our hts harder yn the nether milston to po
out complaints, were my soul in yor soules case I would not change it fo
a kgdom & instead of my feares doubts & sad thoughts of hell wch are my dayly repa
my hrt & toung would be full of magnificats & benedictuss. wt as
my poor weak prayers yt you should desire yms. such as they are yu shall be sur
to have ym, and I beg yors for mee, that I may be sincere & upright yt th
affliction through Gods sanctifying grace may produce the peaceble frui
of holines in my soul & yt while I live I may live to his praise & when
I may dye in his favour. God Almighty be to yu a sun & a sheild
the stay & staff of yor old Age & enable yu to hold fast your integ
in this day of tryall and of his infinite mercy grant yt after al
your dolourous houres by reason of yor personall sufferings both in body &
mind & the sad condition of Gods church in this & other nations yor su
when it hath run its race may set without a cloud, and yu may heare
blissed word thou ~~may~~ faithfull servt come up hither, enter into thy m
joy which is the harty of him who is a poor confused creature y
walks in darknes and can see no light. James Bayldon

[illegible]
Comfortable number of able brethren, yt we may all come to some just conclusion
about ye matter Yors Ri: Baxter Jan. 13.

July: 20th 1684

Reverd Sr.

Your most Comfortable lre, found mee at Ilmington in warwickshire July else I had sooner returned my gratefull acknowledgmts for the same. I was directed by my Physitian Dr Cole of worcester to drink the minerall waters lately found out there: but they would not pass well from mee, wherefore I could neither stay the time I designed nor receive any help for my distemper wch all physitians yt I have consulted say is the Hypocond: melan: joyned with the Scurvy, wch do affect mee in yt maner yt I am not able to study or preach (unless now & yn) or fit for any serious employmt, being afflicted wth great lightness & stupidity in my head; yt a so [illegible] sad & I believe Extraordinary my case, yt I am not able to mind wt I say to the Lord in prayer, now I have most need to pour out my very soul before him. Though I had the confidence to send those papers to you, yet I could not have hoped for such an issue of it but yt I was perswaded yt you were a faithfull shepard under the Ld Jesus yt instead of pushing with the side & shoulder the diseased of the flock, you desire to strenghten & heal ym, to bind up yt wch is broken, to seek & bring back again yt wch is driven away & lost. & would not turn away as unconcerned fro the mournfull voyce of a poor stranger, sith you full well know the heart of a stranger having for so many years been acquainted wth you & being sometime your self a stranger in the land of Egypt. I humbly thanke you for yor 3 direct. ~~[illegible]~~ I might have some probability Comfort mee were I not so sensible [illegible] how unstable & defective I am & canot in this perplexed Condition clear up my sincerity. As for the 2d I think none come so farr short as I do. Good mr Evans of Birmingham sent me word yt he could not pray but in a dull formall maner neither praise God, but his heart was not surely so stupid as mine is. I have an indignation to the duty. but how to reform it I find not. I have not yet experienced Luthers temptations nor have been assaulted with such blasphemous injections as many under melancholy are I desire to be thankfull for it: neither have entertained hard thoughts of God & his ways. I do freely own to you through want of a guide in my studies by perusing the writings of Calvin mr Perkins Dr Twiss & others about those profound points of Gods Eternall Counsills concerning the everlasting ends of man chiefly & those depending thereon, much weakned my conceptions of God, as a most sweet loving gracious indulgent benefactor: & though since by your writings I have perceived mine errour, my conceptions are now so confused, & head afflicted with melancholy & its effects yt I canot yt laudatory frame you propose to mee. I read once the life of mr Jo: Janeway & know mr James & Abraham who were I believe his brothers yt latter being of the same colledge with mee: but for the life of the former I think its rather for admiraon more yn for imitation & attainemt by inferior christians, whereby God would let the world see how strangely efficacious his grace is when it pleaseth him so yt it shall improve all the powers & faculties of the soul, & keep you in a right temper, so yt it should enable him (as he related of another John, as you well know mr Glanvil) to be as one already placed in heaven & dead in this world, leading a celestiall life, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Mr Janeway had yt extraordinary favour to live as it were upon mount Nebo, his faith was strenghtened to see ye heavenly country afarr of, he attained to a plerophory no wonder yn the rest of his graces were cultivated & improved to yt strange height & did act accordingly: so yt he went singing & rejoycing on his way, praysing the rich grace of God & dying, triumphantly layd hold upon ye crown. Could I a most wretched miserable sinner but get to the feet of the Lord Jesus and wash ym with my tears & wipe ym with the hairs of my head & might but (as this wretched Prodigall) have the meanest place among the servants of his heavenly father & clear up sincerity (though I never were likely to obtaine assurance) I would not exchange my case for yt of any wicked man living though his eyes stood out with fatness, & he had what in this world he could wish.

For the 3d Direct. time was I had both time & strength to have served God, but I was asleep. I did but it by halves & now though my heart is in some measure resolved for it, by the prevalency of my distemper wch in a gt measure hath overthrown the state of my body & mind I want ability to serve the Lord: However though faint & feeble (as his sold of Gideon & his Army) I desire to go on pursuing & though I canot serve the Lord, yet I will not willingly serve in his enemies Camp agt him & his interest: but am determined to lye at his feet, & beg his assistance let ye issue be wt it will. Touching my entrance into the ministry I thank you for yor fatherlike advertisemt, being it hath brought agt sin (though I fear very common) to my remembrance, though yor lre mention it not. I do confess I ventured on yt sacred employmt without a due serious consideration & preparaon for it. upon the restoraon of ye late Kg my father with mr Sparry mr Osland Edwards & others upon a pretended plot were had to prison & there without any just right (but meerly alta monte repostum &c & sic volo &c detained. by reason of wch I was constrained to look after his business sith we had a gt family. about a year or more after yt unhappy Bartholomew day, wherein so many faithfull witnesses were civilly slain

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have the reason why I shall not believe it [illegible]

than yt Christ is his Son & our Saviour; but it is not therfore
sufficient. 4º As to ye Descent ye doubt is but in ye English word [Hell]
wch you may expound. 5º If ye Creed be faulty it is by defectiveness: And you
may use ye Article by itselfe or as an exposition wch limits both
(ye doubtfull word & ye defect) & and ye Church of England doth better
ing both than you in using neither & none. ‖ Yor next demands
are answered, & yor unjust intimation of my Separation, & yor craving
ye liberty of yor Conscience seemeth to intimate another yt some one would
have deprived you of it, yea for yt only craved liberty for his owne
in a place yt was taken for his owne. ‖ Yor renewed Charge of my Separa-
is ~~just~~ ye same as ye Popes, in taking ye refusall of obedience for refusall
of Communion: I told you ye prudentiall reasons yt removed me; But if it had
bin but because one intruded denyed me ye liberty of my owne Conscience
in one yt I was not bound to obedience this is no refusall of Communion. ‖
Yor talk of finding out a medium needs no answer, for its nothing. ‖
Yor account of yor selfe as to yor Ends needs none from me, for I
accused not yor Ends, but desired of Dr Annesley (not so much
ye reason why I was put out, as) why I might not have leave
to give ye brethren ye reasons of my judgmt & practice, agst ye
common scandall cast on ye N.Cs for rejecting yt these Symbols of
ye Christian Religion. But I could have wished you had not used
ye argumt of displeasing some tender consciences, & yt but few or
[illegible] N.Cs use ym. If you will read a good booke of an old Non-
conformist John Brinsleys True watch & Rule of life, you will
see ye daily use of ye Creed, Lords Prayer & Decalogue urged for
every private Christian, & perhaps it may cure you, as some Treatises
of ye usefullness of Infant baptisme have cured some yt doubted
of its lawfullness because they saw not ye usefullness & benefits. ‖
In Conclusion, you disclaime all Tests of union saving Scripture
sufficiency. No doubt but thats enough for a Generall; & Chilling-
worth hath well improved it agt ye Papists. But against I aske
1º will you receive him yt saith, ye Scripture is sufficient, & knoweth not
a word yts in it. 2º If not, will you reject him yt knoweth not
all yt is in it. I know you abhorre both these. 3º All ye question
then remaineth, wt must he know & professe. Will you receive him
yt saith [I believe in God ye Father, Son & H. Spirit] & knoweth not yt
God did make & doth governe us, or yt Christ dyed, rose &c. or yt saith
I must pray, & knoweth not for wt. or yt saith I must obey God, but
knoweth not yt Idolatry, unbeliefe, murder &c are sins. Or shall ye
Religion of no Churches be knowne but by ye mutable talke of
ye particular mutable ministers. If one aske me wt is ye essence
of ye Christian Religion distinct from ye Integralls & Accidentalls
must I say, It hath no such Essentialls & so is nothing, or not know-
able at all, nor can any man know a Church or Christian, or him-
selfe to be one. Or must I bid him aske Mr A & Mr B & Mr C, when
perhaps they will give him various descriptions & no two agree.
The union of Christians is of greater concerne than ye union of
particular Churches or parties. Is there any Church or Nation yt
will stand to such a mans word as you or I wch shall passe
for their agreeing sence, without any other demonstration.
God teach us & make us wise, yt in or Comon danger we
suffer not more by our selves than by our Enemies.

Sr I desire yt these papers be not made publike: But because
Mr L. hath pleaded this cause as ably & honestly as I can expect from
any other of his & yor adversaries in bolder you all in ye longer
of ye subject, I [illegible] make you to communicate his papers & mine to a
competent number of able brethren, yt we may all come to some just concord
about ye matter Yors Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

as will be done, if only each Teacher goe to ye bible for ye [illegible], [illegible]
fault from Teaching ym either as distinguished into ye Symbol by
ye Apostles, or by ye ancient Church, & as agreed on to be ye Description
or Application of Baptisme, by all ye Christian world. Even ye Anabap-
tists, ye Independents & ye Separatists, as well as all ye Reformed Churches
have their Confessions in set words, to signifie wt they all consent in,
& dare not leave it to every Minister only to tell wt is their particular
faith. So yt a Combinacon if not a necessity appeares of yt wch
you seeme to judge unlawfull. // Perhaps you will say, They repeate
not this every day, nor tie other Churches to their words. I answer
1o Neither do we say yt it is of necessity every day to repeate any
of ye these Symbols or Summaries. But yt it be frequently done, & if
every day we hold it usually usefull to edification & harmony, & [illegible]
have no reason agt it: But you yt take it to be culpable & carefully
shunned, will use it no day. 2o We regard ye matter more than ye
words, but for ye matters sake, it is safest certainly to have ye
essentialls in unchanged words, though larger Confessions are
not to be so confined. And even ye Lords prayer is recited by
ye Evangelists with some difference, & yet surely was a fixed form. //
Is yt wch you say [is carefully to be shunned] 1o ye making of a Creed
or Confession, 2o or making it in other than Scripture words, 3o
or is it ye oft using it in ye assembly, 4o or is it ye taking it for
ye symbol of Church unity in ye faith? I know not by all yor
words wch of these it is. // 1o If ye first be it, as is said, Confessing
ye faith, & making Sermons, prayers & Catechismes is sin. // 2o If ye
second be it, 1o All yor Sermons & prayers as is aforesaid are sin, 2o But
ye Lords Prayer & Decalogue are not, nor ye Creed; For I think
every word of it (in ye Greek) is found in Scripture, & if one word
be not, or ye translation have one doubtfull word (Hell) yt will
not prove ye rest to be culpable: And you may use ye Nicene Creed
yt hath not ye Descent to Hades in it. // 3o If ye third be it, where
hath God forbidden ye oft using it. Was ye Jewes daily use of ye Psalmes
a sin, or ye Christians of Catechismes & Psalmes. &c why is not oft
praying a sin as well as oft using ye Lords prayer, or oft Confessing ye
faith & obedience. But sure if it be but oft using it yt is sin, this will
not excuse you yt never use it at all. // 4o If ye fourth be ye sin, then all Church Creeds &
Confessions are sin yt are made a test of Communion; Then you would have
no test, or a better. For ye Lords Prayer & Decalogue I suppose you
plead not for a better. And for ye Creed either you would have
none but ye Baptismall words, or more. If no other, lest we depart
from ye Gospell simplicity & rule, then you would hold Communion
with those yt professe not to believe Christs dying for sin, his
resurrection, ascension, judgment, or ye life to come; wch is farre from
strictness: will you baptize & give ye Sacrament on such termes. If you
will require more of a Communicant, why should not all neighbour
Churches require more of a Church before they owne Communion with
them. If you would have more, wt is it? & why shall any Churches take
it as yor particular Church Confession, if yor said Church agree not
in it: And if they do, why should not many & all Churches agree also
in one: Surely it is no departing from ye Gospell rule or simplicity, to
speake ye same thing, with one mind & mouth to glorifie God. // As for
Parkers [a certis ad dubia &c] its clear to all yt Certa recipienda sunt
ut certa, dubia ut dubia, et falsa rejicienda quia falsa: To take
doubtfull things to be doubtfull is no renouncing of Certainties. But if
ye Creed, Lords prayer & Comandemts be doubtfull or false, we must turne
Sceptics or worse. // As to yor approach yt its easyer to agree in ye
these essentialls than in more; I answer 1o Those generall essentialls containe
these particulars essentially: 2o Will you admit all to Communion yt
hold but those generalls? 3o I grant yt its easyer to agree yt there is a God,

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Parts of ye second baptismall article, without keeping & numbering
wch they cannot be saved but had beleeved in vaine) would it be a
fault or not to segregate ye essentialls from ye rest of ye Scripture & more
frequently to repeate & use it: is it agt ye Gospell rule & ye primitive simplicity.
I rather judge 1o yt it is lawfull 2o convenient 3 yea & necessary to be done by
ye Teachers of ye Church. // 1o It is their office to teach ye people so, as ys be done
to their greatest edification: But this is to their greatest edification: For
1o It is certaine yt some parts of Scripture are more necessary to be knowne
than others, & therefore to be oft recited: The 32 of Deut. was to be learned
& used by ye Jewes: ye Decalogue put into ye Arke, taught their Children
continually &c The Psalmes used every Sabbath as their Liturgie. 2o It is cer-
taine yt these in question are those parts; Christ himselfe distinguisheth
ye great things, as is aforesaid, from ye rest, & Heb. 5. & 6 ye milke & prin-
ciples are distinguished from ye superstructure: Catechizing by a forme
drawne out of Scripture is no sin nor departing from ye Gospell rule:
The essentialls, integralls & accidents of religion must not be confounded:
The people canot know & have all: They must know & have some of ye
Scripture. They canot distinguish ye necessary part: Therefore ye Teachers
must do it: These essentialls are few, & therefore will make up but a
short Creed: All sound Teachers have used such to this day: The Creed is
but part of Baptisme explained, & part of ye Catechisme contractedly
delivered. A Catechisme is nothing but Baptisme explained largely, & ye
great & necessary things methodically segregate from ye rest of ye bible:
If this be culpable & departing from ye Gospell rule, then to teach
ye Rule is to depart from it: & then all preaching will be as culpable. #
If to tell wch are ye great & necessary things be culpable, then to
tell wch are ye lesser will be so to, & so all opening of ye Scripture. //
5 If to do this be departing from ye Rule, do not you more do so
in every sermon & prayer: All these words are Scripture: All yours are
not: All these are great & certaine truths: All yors are not: It is not yor
change of words, & using ym seldome yt maketh it lesse a departing
from simplicity or ye rule, than using ym oft, & before instead: If it
be not a departing from ye Rule & simplicity, to sing ye psalmes in
our metre & tunes, to pray before & after sermon constantly, to preach
on a text, twice a day, to celebrate ye Lords day without ye sacrament
(wch ye Apostles or their Churches did not) to divide ye new Testament into Chap-
ters & verses, &c how cometh ye frequent use of ye Christian symbols of
faith, desire & obedience to be so: wt sect condemne all Catechismes:
[illegible] ye Quakers have written theirs. // 6 As I hinted before, yor opinion
greatly advantageth Popery in yt wch I took to be one of their worst faults.
They canot, they dare not tell us wch are ye fundamentalls or essentialls of re-
ligion, & therefore would faine confound ym wth ye rest: 2o And they are
utterly disagreed about it among ymselves, some holding but two articles
necessary (God & ye Church) some three, some more, & all confesse yt they
are not agreed. 3o And therefore they have no way but to commit ye ex-
plication of all doctrines of ~~faith~~ & religion to ye Church or Teachers,
& them to say, Those points are necessary to be beleeved by ye people wch
are sufficiently proposed by ye Teachers. And is not this yor way? Dare
you say yt no more is necessary to salvation, than ye generall beleev-
ing in ye Father, Sonne & Holy Ghost, not understood: not knowing whe-
ther God be almighty, wise or good, or whether Christ dyed for our
sins, or rose, or ascended for us &c. or whether ye H. Ghost inspired
ye Apostles or sanctifyeth soules &c. If so, yor Church will be larger
than ye Parish Church is. If not, wt do you but leave it to ye Teachers
to tell men wch are ye essentialls. And when will they agree? & not two
Churches will have ye same faith. And so one will receive those yt
others will reject. The difference is yt ye Papists pretend to a certainty in
their Churches work of segregating necessaries, & you can pretend to none
For ministers differences will yield such pretensions: yet its true yt ye ministers
must teach this to ye people: But to teach it as uncertainly & differently

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make it so probable yt ye main body of it came from ye Apostles
practice, they using some, & no other originall knowne & all Countreys
5. agreeing in it (even ye Greekes yt after used mostly ye Nicene) I thinke he
must be guilty of much culpable singularity yt shall refuse this forme.

XV your talke of ye Conformists & five or six Nonconformists yt are for
these formes, is not justly done, but a faulty representation of yor brethren.
All ye forreigne Presbyterian Churches are for ym. The old Nonconformists
were for ym. You have now made it a Marke of ye Presbyterians; I speake
with but few, & know but few in England of ye N.C. yt are agt it. Those
yt I speake to in London yt use it not, say they are not agt it, but
forbeare it from accidentall reasons, their sort of wisdome fearing ye ill
interpretation of ye people, wch they wish they had in some [illegible]
by something using ym (as I had answer) & fearing an ill aspect by [illegible]
All I thinke contrary to such thoughts as should prevaile) we will not
take yors for a just report of ye N.C. judgmt. Our Treatises & writings
is a truer notification of them.

XVI You say [It being a recesse from ye primitive simplicity, it must be
acknowledged to be Culpable, & as such to be carefully shunned by all yt are
so convinced. For should any recede but in a little from ye Gospell Rule, they
incapacitate ymselves to make any defence agt ye multitude of innovations &c.]
Ans. This is very high & hard: 1o Its a very new & singular opinion yt
this Creed, yea or later Creeds formed from Scripture are agt ye Gospell Rule.
or yt ye profession of or faith is an innovation. 2o Its odde for a Christian
to thinke yt ye Lords Prayer & Decalogue are no part of ye Gospell, yea
& ye ordinary use of ym agt ye Gospell Rule. If so, all ye Gospell is agt
ye Gospell: yea or to thinke yt God did not distinguish ye Decalogue & to call us to
Christ it & his prayer so much from other Scriptures as to call us to
a speciall & frequent notice & commemoration & use of ym. 3o [illegible]
Charge all ye Church of God wth sin even in yt use of ye essentialls
of Religion, undeniably 1300 yeares. When Hilary himselfe wrote
so much agt ye new multiplyed Creeds, he appealeth (as Hierome did) to
his baptismall Creed, & yt was more than ye other words; wch respecting
ye matter more than ye precise words, he thus expresseth [I believe
in one only true God ye Father Almighty, invisible, impassible, immortall,
& in his only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, before all ages & all
beginning God borne of ye Father of the true God his Father (as it is
written in ye Gospell This is life eternall to know thee ye only
true God, & Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent) By him all things
were made, visible & invisible: Who by ye will of his Father came down
from heaven for our salvation, borne by ye Holy Ghost of ye virgin
Mary, according to ye flesh, & crucifyed under Pontius Pilate, buryed,
ye third day rose againe, ascended into heaven, sitteth on ye right
hand of ye Father, who shall come to judge ye quick & ye dead:
And in ye Holy Ghost ye Paraclete, ye Spirit of truth wch or Lord & God
or Saviour Jesus Christ sent to his Disciples] Thus I believe & do
believe &c ~~[illegible]~~ August. Med. in Hilar. p.317.318

If variety of words of ye same signification offend any, ye Scriptures
may offend ym. I will out of Hilary give one instance Lib.10 de
Trinit. p.214 [We must not be ignorant, yt in most (or very many) both Greek
& Latine bookes (of ye New Testam) there is nothing found either of ye Angel
coming to him or of his sweating blood: Being therefore doubtfull whether
in ye divers bookes this be wanting or superfluous (for this left uncer-
taine to us by ye diversity of bookes) &c] And indeed wt booke hath more
various readings than ye New Testament. And shall we therefore conclude
yt there was at first no certaine Copy knowne or used. // 4o But suppose
yt ye Apostles had used no Profession but ye three forsaid words (wch yet is false
when Paul nameth seven Articles of union Eph.4.3.4.5.6. & [illegible] he nameth
1 Cor.15.3.4.5 Christs dying for or sins, his buryall, rising & being seen &c as essentiall

8° yet I believe not yt a formula was composed by ye Apostles just
of ye same syllables or words wch none might adde to or vary; But
they ordinarily used words of ye same power or signification to expresse
ye same few necessary things (as yt Christ dyed, rose, &c.) And as ye Bible
in Hebrew, Greek & Latine &c is ye same Creed, so is ye Creed in words of
ye same importance. ‖ 9° Accordingly we find yt ye Copie in Irenæus,
ye two or three in Tertullian, yt of Marcellus, Ruffinus &c, in various
words have ye same sence or articles for substance. ‖ 10° yet I
believe yt ye few explicatory words (oft mentioned) wch together
others have distinctly noted are not so ancient as to ye constant use
of ym as ye rest: But yt there were still more words than those in
Mat. 28 & an explicatory exposition was used from ye Apostles I am past doubt.
11° I doubt not but ye Nicene Creed was used (till ye Constant. words added
after) at Baptisme in ye Eastern Churches after ye making of it. But
they had a Creed before yt wch wanted some few Antiarian words
wch are in ye being otherwise in sense ye same wth yt & yt called
ye Apostles, as Ussher & others shew. And this variety of words did
not then make ym passe for severall Creeds in ye sense & use. And it
is a grosse fallacie of Parker here to argue yt ye Apostles Creed
was newer than it, wch undoubtedly was used (abating a few words)
long before, in ye west & so continued to this day. 12° His reproach
of Ruffinus is over bold & rash: Though Hierome fell out with
him he was no contemptible person: Nor is there any probability
yt Ruffinus & so many others could then have had ye face to tell
ye world yt this was ye Creed wch ye Churches received from ye Apostles
this if it had not been commonly then used in ye Churches without ye know-
ledge of any originall: It is certain yt some Creed exposition of ye
three baptismall articles was commonly used so anciently yt no ori-
ginall since ye Apostles was known: And it is certain yt there
was none so ancient & commonly received as this; & yt this was
then so esteemed: And as our Reason agt ye actuall corrupting
of ye bible is yt all ye Churches in ye world receiving & daily
using it, none could corrupt it but all ye rest would know
it & oppose it: so every Christian in ye world being baptized &
our baptisme & every Church using a Confession of Faith at
it; it is scarce possible yt any Confession could be taken to
be commonly received by ye Churches without ye knowledge of any
other originall wch it was not so, but thousands would deny ye
assertion. 13° And indeed though bookes (Irenæus, Tertullian &c)
use some different words in expressing ye same matter of ye
Creed, it does not follow yt ye Churches used it with such differ-
ence: For writers oft intend not a precise recitall of ye words
but an account of ye matter: Christ himselfe recites the
Commandments of ye second table Math. 19.19 without mentioning ye first
table or ye tenth commandment & putting ye 5th Commandment after ye
6th 7th 8th & 9th. & yet he calls these ye Commandments. We cannot
thence gather yt ye Commandments were not then ye same as now &
be & so used in ye Synagogues. And indeed except Marcellus in Epi-
phan. Ruffinus & some few more, it is observable by ye very style
context yt it was ye Matter rather than ye words of ye Creed they intended
to mention. 14° And for my part I think not yt any should be deny'd
the liberty of explaining his mind in more words on just occasions.
But if ye same Articles wch were essentiall then are immutably essentiall
now, either ye essence of our Religion is discernible or not; If not, no
man can know it. If yea, then it may be & must be described now as it was.
~~Thus~~ 15° To conclude with Mr Parker 1° when ye essence is still ye same
2° when some words must expresse it; 3° when it is of so great use to have
fixed words for ye standard wch hereticks may not alter 4° when ye Church
have power to choose meet words 5° when they have chosen & agreed unto
this forme so long 6° when this forme & words are agreeable to Scripture
(the article of descent being well explained) 7° & when universall use & tradi-

And Irenæus deriveth it from ye Apostles & saith ye universall Church
received it from them: Tertullian calleth it The Rule of Truth wch came
from Christ transmitted by his companions: That ye Church received it from
ye Apostles, ye Apostles from Christ, & Christ from God: yt it came downe
from ye beginning of ye Gospell: That it is but one, unchangeable & un-
reformable, & ye test of heresy. See his words to shame many yt labor
of citing more words & places. Origen Praef. in Periarch. hath ye like:
all in ye 2d & 3d ages. The testimonies of Novatian, Ruffinus, Chrysost. &
& many more in ye 4th are commonly knowne, as well as Austins: to say no-
thing of ye Church Constitut. called ye Apostles (very ancient) & such other. ||
But I perceive Sandford & Parkers words are they yt sway you in this
matter: Of wch I say 1o You may see there yt ye fathers commonly
gave ye forementioned elogies & many more, to yt wch they called
Fidem ecclesiae, a Summary of ye beleeved faith: 2o That no Christians
were baptized without it, & therefore it was as common as Christians
were, before ye writing of ye New Testament. 3o Therefore ye authority of
it is not from ye writing as such, but from Christs Institution & ye
ye Apostles delivery, wch was 8 years before ye first writing &
neere 100 before ye last of ye New Testament, & so before ye Church
use of yt as an entire booke. 4o But he thinketh yt this Fides was
but ye three words Math. 28. Wherein I shall tell you againe (besides
what is said in ye said Append.) what upon perusall of antiquity I judge
of this opinion now 20 years after I shall tell you (though you need
no more than what Usher & Vossius have written) || 1o I never
beleeved ye opinion yt ye 12 or 11 Apostles made ye Creed by bringing
in each one his part. || 2o I believe yt Christ instituted ye Churches faith
& ye termes of ~~communion~~ union: & yt Baptisme truly understood is
all yt is essentiall thereunto, & yt to believe truly in God ye Father
Son & H. Ghost is all yt is thus essentially necessary. || 3o I believe
yt without application those three words are not sufficiently intelligi-
ble. || 4o I find in ye Sermons of Christ yt his owne doctrine expounded
them & his commission to his Apostles obliged them to expound them & his
giving them ye Spirit enabled them to it & more. || 5o I therfore believe
yt they did constantly expound them before they baptized men, & re-
quired a Profession of those three articles as so expounded. ||
6o But this made it not another faith, nor did or doth ye Creed goe
beyond those three articles (expounded) And therfore all ye arguing
argument is vaine wch is fetcht from any words of ye ancients wch
confine ye Creed to ye Confession of ye Trinity: For even now it is
no more. All ye other words are but expository of those: All ye doubt
is of ye 3d, wch yet is no other than our beliefe in ye H. Ghost as
preparing us for glory, viz. I believe in ye H. Ghost, by whom Christs
body or Catholike Church is gathered, & hold a holy Communion
having ye pardon of all their sins, & shall rise to everlasting life. ||
For ye bare name of Christ & ye H. Ghost without ye office & worke
essentiall, make not true Christian faith. || 7o I believe yt though ye
Apostles & first pastours used before baptisme expository Sermons,
yet they had also summary expositions & professions (as appeareth
Act. 2 & 1 Cor. 15. 2. 3. 4 & many other places. And had there bin an utter di-
[illegible] of ye expositors words, & no usuall fixed termes, any
hereticke might have expounded those words so yt no man should
have knowne by them ye Churches faith, nor would they have bin a
note of unity of faith. The nature of ye subject is such, yt no accu-
rate speech now frequently explicate those three articles, but yt
must needs use frequently ye same words, or it shall corrupt ye worke. ||

to Hades, ye Communion of Saints, & ye life everlasting. And he answers
ye objection used by you & ye Papists & all Imposers, yt heretiks by
its brevity will hide yr errors under ye words of this creed: to yt wch
he is not for describing new creeds or articles, but for Teaching to
expound the words, because faith consisteth in no bare words
ye understanding of ym. || But which you frivolously cite this was god
as agt ye ordinary use of ye Decalogue, did you not perceive yt it
was agt you as to ye use of ye Creed & ye Lords prayer. ||
But as I am not proving a necessity yt these formes must be said at
every holy convention, but yt they are ye symbols of Christian faith
hope, love & obedience, & to be committed to memory by all, & therefore
to be oft recited, & noted to be ye faith & religion wch ye Church as
symbolic to professe, & ye creed especially to be used in Catechizing &
before baptisme; so I am farre from thinking yt ye bare saying
over ye words is enough; yea how much more was done in order to
baptisme, formalists may see fully in Augustine de Catechizandis rudibus
And I could be content to preach continually ye explication of these forms
not therefore neglecting or undervaluing any part of ye sacred scripture
of wch these are no additions, but the summe, & such parts as ye
main, vital & Principall organs are in ye body of man. ||

XIII But he tells me of ye cessation of ye forme of ye Decalogue & that
for yt Christs Sermon on ye Mount is fitter to be rehearsed & taught by Command
Ans. If by ye forme ceasing you meane, yt it is not now obligatory as ye Law of
Moses given to Israel as a peculiar republike, I grant it ceased: But
you meane yt it hath not now ye forme of a Law of God, I deny it, except
a few words appropriate to Israel: For it is in force 1o so farre as it is ye
summe of ye Law of Nature gathered by God himselfe. 2o As it is taken by Christ
as part of his owne Law, wch is proved: & therefore adapted to Gospell times
If there be any exception it must be of ye preface & ye 4th Commandement
And yet you will not easily answer wt Dr Young, Mr Cawdrey & Mr
Palmer, & lately Mr Browne have said for yt. Certainly God made
a great distinction betwixt this & ye rest of Moses Law by writing it with
his owne finger in stone & putting it in ye Arke, & so great as Christ
never came to destroy or abrogate, but in close & establish. As for
Christs Sermon on ye mount, it is an Evangelicall exposition of
this Law: & you shall have my consent of ym to recite ye Beatitudes
but doth ye fitness of ye one prove this unfit. Its strange you should
call this a returning unto Moses: Did Christ call his Church so to returne?

XIV But he finds yt in ye three first ages they exacted a confession but in
Christs words Mat. 28. That is, yt they had or used no other Symbol or Creed
but I believe in ye Father, Son & Holy Ghost: Let us consider this 1o as to ye truth
of it 2o as to ye thing pleaded for. || 1o If your reading be no better, its pitty you
should trust to it in such a matter. How few are there of ye Church writers
might have taught you more; Even ye Churches constant use of ye Creed. It
would be lost time & labor for me to cite authors to confute you. Were
not Irenæus & Tertullian in ye time wch you mention. Have not I shewed
you ye Creeds recorded by ym in ye Append. cited by you: once in Irenæus &
twice in Tertullian ye same Articles are recited wth some variety of words.
Doth not all Church history, Canons & Tradition prove it. Could you find Hierom
appeale to it to acquit him from ye charge of heresie, Hilarie mention it
as ye old Symbol, Marcellus in Epiphanius reciting it accordingly, besides
Ruffinus &c. And could they in ye fourth Century have thus reported it as
ye common test or Symbol of Christianity delivered downe to ym if ye ages
before had not so received it. If history & Tradition be not credible in yt
wch every Christian was initiated by & every Church used, wt is to be believed?

mutable & wt any man will say. Is this more simplicity. Is it not
enough yt we have beene copiously to expound ye symbols of Religion
but we must have no symbols, or every one make our other phrases
& so make a new religion of ye phrase. or ye Christian Religion
be an unknown thing. Did you but understand why ye Papists so ve-
hemently oppose distinguishing points fundamentall & essentiall from
ye rest, & of how great use it is to ye Church & particular souls, instead
of yor confounding diligence, you would make it one of yor chiefest studys.
XII But he saith yt in ye practick of ye first 400 years he findeth yt the
« Rehearsing ye ten Commandements or expounding them Catechistically was an
« unknown practick in ye Church of God even in Austins time. And his proofe
is [illegible] Enchirid. ad Laurent. commending ye summaries of faith & prayer the
Creed & ye Lords prayer, & not a word of ye Decalogue. & he addeth Dan-
æus Testimony, yt only ye Creed & Lords prayer, & not ye Decalogue was
used in order to baptisme, as ye Tests of Christianity. // Ans. 1o It's a
strange proofe yt it was not used, because Austin there nameth it not.
2o Danæus words are true, & ye reason evident. Christian Religion was
supposed to be added to Common Naturall Knowledge & Religion:
men were supposed men, before they were Christians. The Decalogue
was before known to all ye Jews, & ye sense of it was known to
ye Gentiles as ye Law of Nature. The Catechumens were to be taught
Christianity, ye Law of Nature being ~~both~~ to Jews & Gentiles presupposed,
Therefore in baptisme they professed ye Beliefe of ye Christian faith in
ye particulars, but obedience in ye generall, taking God ye Father, Son &
H. Ghost for their Governor, & renouncing ye world ye flesh & ye devill.
But as Christ commanded, when they had first discipled & baptized men,
upon their profession of particular beliefe & generall obedience
they were then to teach them all yt he had commanded them. And he had
himselfe 1o oft distinguished ye great things of ye Law from ye lesser
& bid them to learne ye meaning of [I will have mercy & not sacrifice. &
2o He had summed up ye Law or Decalogue in two Generalls. The Love of
God & our Neighbour. 3o He had owned ye particular commandements of ye 2d
table as Gods word wch must be kept as necessary to salvation. Thou
knowest ye commandements, Mar 10.19. Luk 18.20. And Paul summeth them accordingly Rom.
13 &c And both again summing up them in Love, say This is ye fulfilling of ye Law
& on these hang all ye Law & ye prophets). 4o Christ oft professeth (as Paul
doth) to establish ye Morall Law, & taketh it in to his owne Law of Government
of wch Mr Ant. Burges against ye Antinom. & others have brought particular proofs.
5o He expounded many of ye Commandements distinctly Mat. 5 &c. & calleth those
least in ye Kingdome of God who breake ye least & teach men so. 6o He knew
yt ye Jews & his disciples took these for Gods Commandements, & therefore must
needs understand these words so often making ye keeping of ye Commandements
ye great thing wch he required of all his disciples: Mar. 12.28.29 &c. Joh. 14.21
& 15.10. 1 Cor. 7.19. 1 Joh. 2.3, 4. & 3.24. Rev. 22.14. & 14.12 & 12.17. 1 Joh. 3.22. & 5.2.3.
wch running in ye same language with ye old Testamt must include these Commandements
And doubtless ye Law wch was written on an Altar & on their posts & doores
was not all ye five books of Moses, but yt wch God did write in stone. 7o He
knew yt ye two Tables were kept in ye Arke & more frequently repeated in ye Syn-
agogues than ye rest, & he was usually present as is said before. // But indeed
you write Austins words as if you had not read them: His question was set-
ting some Hereticks confesse ye same Christ with us, by wt is ye Churches
faith & theirs differenced. And he saith in ye words cited by you [Ecce tibi
est Symbolum et Dominica oratio &c] By ye Creed & Lords prayer as ye
best, short & easie to be remembred; fides credit, spes et charitas orat. And
this gave him no occasion to speake of ye Decalogue, he being not as
you mistake, reciting all yt was used in ye Church, but yt wch differenced
ye Church from Hereticks: wch you might have seene further in him a
little before in his booke de Symbolo et fide, where he expoundeth the
same Creed as yt wch all young Christians learned by memory, in ye same
words as now found, only omitting ye clauses forementioned, He descend

Except he accuse me as in this receding from ye primitive simplicity
found not these made a Test for Christian Concord by ye Apostles, nor did
I use ye Creed at Kidderminster but ye minister required it, & not else it himselfe
1° The constant practice & historicall tradition of ye Church tells us of more
of ye Apostles practice than ye bare text alone doth: & particularly in this
nothing hath bin more certainly delivered down to us than ye forme of baptisme
where ye Minister was ye stipulator (or questioner) & ye person baptized ye
professor & promiser; & ye [Credis? Credo. Abrenuncias? abrenuncio] was
constantly used: And in ye Creed they were before examined, as yt wch ye Credo
did referre to. And ye Command of God was enough as to ye use of ye
Decalogue & Lords prayer to prove yt they belonged to ye primitive simplicity
2° As for my practice at Kidderminster, I take it not to be necessary for
ye minister againe to recite ye Creed, when he hath just now before ye Church
repeated it in his interrogation at Baptisme (wch I did) as yt very faith into
wch all Christians are baptized (And truly if ye N.C. ministers use to bap-
tize without it, I doubt they do it farre worse than ye Conformists).
3° Either he taketh ye primitive simplicity of faith, to wch we must conforme
to be somewhat lesse than ye Articles in ye Creed, or to be ye leaving every
man to his liberty to say wt he pleaseth as ye termes of faith. If ye
former, wt is ye simpler way. Is it only [I believe in God ye Father, Son &
Holy Ghost]. Should we require no more of ye baptized, how loudly
should we be called by such men as oppose us, formalists & corrupters
of ye Church: & justly. Is it ye two or three words yt he would leave out
wch some old copies are without [The Catholike Church, Communion of Saints
& life everlasting] 1° I much doubt now whether ye constant use of ye
Church then, be not a more credible history of ye antiquity of these, than
three or foure written copies yt are without ym are of their novelty.
2° But if ye bent of his words be at (to leave out only those words (or
ye descent into Hades, wch some copies leave & some omit) sure he would
not for yt leave out all, but use ye rest. // But if undetermined Liberty
be ye primitive simplicity, 1° why did Christ himselfe institute ye most sum-
mary profession wch ye Church hath never changed Math. 28. And 2° how
easily then may baptisme be so corrupted by all heretikes, yt we shall scarce
know who is truly baptized. Not knowing wt ye baptizer said, or
will say. Is it our wisdome in ye end of ye world so to change ye very
baptisme wch ye Churches or all do & ever have agreed in, & to
leave every ignorant, rash, hereticall speaker to use his owne forme.
And I would whether of these waies hath most of simplicity: Have all
our sermon explications of ye Faith & Desire & Obedience & all our
long prayers, every time in change of words, & yt of our owne inven-
tion, more simplicity than Christs few strictly ordered words of prayer
or than ye Decalogue written by ye finger of God in such brevity & me-
thod: & than ye ancient Creed, or forme of wholsome words. You may
as well say yt there is more simplicity in a load of sand, for ye mea-
suring of an houre, than of ye little in ye hourglasse. // wt is it yt
you would have for a Test of Christian Concord more simple, more sure,
more ancient, more universally received: Are you for any or none? If
for none, I have done with you. If for any, O yt you would tell us wt.
If you say [The Scripture] Do you meane yt as some Papists say yt to be-
lieve ye Church, saying we know not wt is sufficient faith though but
implicite, so yt to believe yt ye Bible is true, is enough, though we
know not wt is in it. This is too simple & too implicite. If not, wt
are ye scripture truths yt must be ye test of Concord. Sure, not all yt
is in ye bible: for then there will but a few agree; no not any two. If
you meane [These same Articles, Petitions & Comands in other words] wt other
words shall they be, fewer or more, better or worse, tryed & knowne, or

sayes call ye refusers of these Christian symbols [ye generality of ye Godly] as if no Conformists [nor presbyterians whose make you vote to be] were Godly, it would increase their scorne: were but this paper of yors seen publickely as Godly persons as we are would be ashamed of us, & multitudes would looke on us as true fanaticks: But if you had rather they looke you for fanaticks & wildheaded sectaries, than tell you in ye truth wit your amending change, I am not of yor mind. //

And seeing you fear sinning if you begin till it be ye universall practice, I suppose you expect a Generall Assembly of N. C.s first, or els how shall it be ye universall practice, if it be his sin yt shall begin. If it be an amendment then, you must be ye last in sin. I suppose you have ye same reason to forbeare baptizing Infants, singing Davids psalmes &c till all agree. & why not to forbeare family prayer & many other things. //

X Next he confuteth me by myself & saith [1o yt ye Creed mentioneth not expressly ye credenda vel agenda] Ans. 1o It saith implicitly Consent. 2o you have the more cause to take in ye rest, rather than to leave out this. //

2o He saith [The Creed now is not fitt for ye orthodox, hereticks will subscribe it]. // Ans. we need none to introduce Popish Tyranny but mistaking good men, [ate agt it. wch will follow this detestable medium of ye Papists, but yt therfore we must have a Creed or profession wch no hereticks will subscribe (or els have none): And so Hillaryes complaint will have increased Cause, & Creeds must be made anew as oft as new heresies arise. But 1o where is yors yt is so sufficient. when do you use it. 2o Is not yor meaning expounded by yor practice [Ergo let us have none] And will none do it better. But if new ones & greater must be made, who shall make ym? shall a generall Councill. Use those then yt they have made. Shall ye Church of England. You will not Conforme to it. Shall ye Independents. when will all agree in their Savoy Confession. or take it for sound doctrine yt Christs Righteousness imputed is our sole righteousness. that faith is not imputed for righteousness. And must you have a new Bible too because an Arrian, Socinian & Pelagian will subscribe to all ye old. [illegible] a person are you for ye Conformists impositions as necessary agt heresies. //

But there are better wayes to punish offenders, then making Lawes wch they canot breake, even punishing ym when they breake ym. And so to judge & cast out hereticks when their heresie is proved. It must be a long Confession yt nameth every opposite errour. All the essentialls of Christianity, & all universally necessary to salvation to be believed, is contained in ye true sense of baptisme & ye Creed. But if you have a mind to adde all ye words received by ye Churches I dissuade you not: you may do it. //

3o Next out of my Appendix to Gildas Salv. mentioneth ye Apostles not setting precise words, but such as signifyed ye same sense: And then saith, why may it not be so now &c: & why do I separate for this &c. // Ans. 1o I have publickely professt my repentance for writing yt Appendix, though true, because I doubt it hindered ye due use of ye booke wch I excepted agt wch hath many things worthy great regard. 2o I opposed him not for valuing ye Creed, but for some words wch seemed to undervalue ye Scripture. 3o If you have another in other words to ye same sense, why did we never heare it or heare of it. If not, do these words justifie or condemne you. who use none at all. But should you devise a new one, I should not commend yor wisdome for it: Though an expository profession of the same may be well made, & I have published such a one long agoe. // 56

Yor repeated mistaking accusation of me is confuted before. //

You say [1o we both perswade men to ye same faith & are ready to make profession of it] Ans. So much is well: But 1o ye universall Church doth more: 2o To be ready to do it, is not doing it; no more than to be ready to pray is praying. 3o Yor argument is as much agt formes of Catechisme. And did you ordinarily repeat these formes but by Catechizing before ye Church it were an excuse. 4o But can yor hearers as easily & orderly gather ye essentialls of Religion out of yor sermons, as they can learne & learne ym thus collected. If so, make no Catechismes for ym. But scattered discourses answer not this en

Ministers yt I converse with professe to be no changlings nor desirous: And
I must believe mens profession of ymselves. 3o Almost all yt I converse with
by words owne yet ye lawfullness & fitness of ye ordinary use of these
formes. 4o We have since had treaties for Concord in wch many agreed with
for these & more. 5o I oft joyne with divers yt still use ym themselves.
But if you say true (as in part you do) it is a strong reason to me not only
to use ym, but no longer to forbeare to expostulate with these brethren
why they are so changed. Why they so farre disagree from their predecess-
ours & all ye Christian world. Why they bring such a publike scandall
on ye Nonconformists. And why they give us no reason for it. And
why their tongues speake for yt wch they so constantly deny to practice
And why they give such occasion to or reproachers yt say ye women
& lads are ye masters of or Assemblies, & instead of Brs, to whom we
are conformists. & yt we dare not practice wt we know for feare
of losing or followers. wch they will say is for gaine & selfe-seeking.
And if they have all taken up ye marke of Independency (as you might tell)
why do they not professe ymselves independents: I must crave their an-
swer to such questions. || And as to yor rule of expediency 1o If all
yor people were like Mr ffaldo's at Barnet, yt singing Psalmes would
be grievous to their tender consciences, would you take that for yor rule
If they would be grieved for yor constant preaching twice a day, should
yt be yor rule. yet wt is yt more commanded than these. 2o But what
if as many good consciences are displeased at yor omission. Is yt none
of yor rule. 3o And do you not believe yt yor persons yt are yor rule
are ye best & wisest & those yt are for these formes ye weakest. & should
you as much scruple offending ye weake as ye strong. Not one yt ever
I heard of when I was there was offended at ye use of ym. though ye
very of ye chiefe of ym were called Anabaptists (being sober persons yt
had no such scruples.) It is then but a very few of yor people yt are
yor Rule, or were so at ye first. The wisdome from above is without partiality.
But I heard long ago wt sort of persons thought, Mr Baxter was a
fit man to breake ye ice, & to hew & prepare materialls for a Church
& then an Independent shall come & gather ym when he hath prepared ym.
X He addes 3o I am fully satisfyed yt there are now many a judicious person
even among ye Presbyterians ymselves who conclude yt ye refusing of ye Creed &c
would be not only an offence to many a godly N.C. but would be yt wch would either
harden ye Conf. or occasion ym to reproach & contemne ye N.C. — so yt I thought
I should sin, should I do it before at because of ye universall practice even of ye
Congregatl & Presbyterians. || Ans. 1o If ye revolt be as great as you say its
time to looke about us: ffor ye N.C. were faine to write many bookes ag
ye Separatists for owne yt ye Conf. wrote, because they were made to be
their offspring. The London ministers as they have honoured me farre be-
yond my desert (employing me with ym in ye hottest part agt ye Impositions
& chusing me their clerke (with Mr Calamy) for ye Convocation, though
I was but a stranger among ym, so thereby they have made me some-
more accountable for their actions & changes than some others are.
I solemnly professe to you yt I take ye ordinary use of ye Liturgy in
ye parish churches (excepting ye bad offices) to be a much more laudable
worship of God than yors, yt read any chapter, & sing one psalme &
omit (after ye preparatory prayer) pray in ye pulpit & preach & end with a
prayer as you do. I doubt not but God accepteth both theirs & yors: but
I profit more by theirs than yours; & I heare ordinarily in ye Parish Church
more solid judicious sermons than I or most N.C. yt I heare do use
And yet I like Conformity never ye better: But I would loath to be
conformable to ye ignorant & erroneous as my selfe, & a Nonconformist
to ye Christian world in ye use of ye very symboles
It is a scorne of ye Conformists & hardning ym agt Christianity
I am certaine yt such opinions & practice as yors ~~wch~~ is very ~~[illegible]~~
multitudes in conformity & in scorne of ye N.C. yors makes & hath made
2o And if they heard you

not formentioned, because one man as inconsiderable as I am, is suffic[illegible]
to judge it necessary: Alas, then all yor Christian liberty is gone. If a [illegible]
thousands think as you, some will think otherwise, & most yt you do. But [illegible]
ally (was) my separating superstitious opinion ye cause of the dislike these. If so
then he used them till he knew my mind; 2o & then he will use ym now I
tell him his mistake: At least when he supposeth yt ye generality of good men
have no such ill opinion of ym as I have: At least he will use ym sometimes as
things indifferent (though with me they deserve a better name) ||
VI But saith he [«when I considered it most favourably as though it had been
a thing indifferent & lawfull, yet when then severall considerations presented
ymselves agt ye expediency of such a practice, pro hic et nunc] ||
Ans. That wch in a Congregation ever before used to me, & by me to these,
& expecting ym, in expect a few new comers from mr Harrington: when I read
such words [of most favourable consideration] I abate my wonder at ye
sharpness & rebukes of such preachers as I am, when they tell me yt my
preaching is not necessary at all, much less in yt place; for others have suff[illegible]
been commanded it. But their most favourable thoughts are yt it is lawfull, but
inexpedient pro hic et nunc.] Truly sir I grant yt my preaching is not
more necessary than ye use of ye Lords prayer, decalogue & creed: If our
brother may cast out these, I yield yt you may then cast out me: Or if Bps or
others say ye same of my praying extempore, yt thinking favourably of it
(when others scorne it) it is lawfull, but inexpedient] I think they
go but ye away & pass of mr Lob. But he adds his reasons ||
VII [1o Many looked on it heretofore as a marke of distinction, between ye Presbyt[illegible]
& Congregationall, & as such my soule abhorred it as most inexpedient at any
time.] || Ans. I confesse this seemeth an intelligible reason. You meane yt
[It was ye presbyterians marke to be for ye use of ym, & ye Independts marke
to be against or without it.] Els yor words have no sense to me. And if so
1o This is as much as to say [I abhor to have ye marke of a presbyterian as
such, & I abhorre not to use ye marke of ye Congregational] yet, forbearing
ye ordinary use of these. 2o If it was ye marke of ye presbyterians heretofore
(as he yt readeth mr Ball, Hildersham, Cartwright, Knewstubs & many such old
nonconformists must see you confesse), have they since changed their minds
or not. The old ones have not in their life: If we be of another mind we are
their followers therein: If we have forsaken ym, its time for such as I
to take heed how farre I follow ye forsakers; & for ym to declare ye reason
why. But I believe for all yor talke of ye old Independents (such as Dr
Ames, mr Jacob &c were for these as well as ye Presbyterians: & upon
my knowledge some of ye eminentest of New England were for more. ||
VIII He adds [2o When I considered ye present practice of ye Generality of ye
Godly, wch I judge to be a good rule, hereby to know ye expediency of a
thing indifferent, & so finding it not at all practised but by very few, I
could not imagine but ye practice thereof would be grievous to many tender
consciences, & therefore inexpedient] || Ans. It grieveth my soule to read
such words from out of ye best of ye Nonconformists. Confirming ye
reproaches commonly cast on us: The summe of this ansr here is this (Having
abhorred to lay by ye marks of ye Congregationall, I find yt they are ye Gene-
rality of ye Godly, or els they & ye new revolted Presbyterians. 2o I
find ye Creed Lords prayer & Decalogue not at all practised but by very
few: A heavy accusation: Let ym answer it themselves. 3o They do not
only forbeare it, but it would be grievous to ye tender consciences: A yet
heavyer accusation: pudet haec opprobria nobis &c. 4o And this ye best
rule for Pastors to judge by wt is expedient. And so or reproach is true,
yt ye women & other most ignorant among are or Church Governours
making ye rulers, as making their opinions called tender consciences, ye rule of
expedience. || I am more charitable in my thoughts of Ministers in London
& godly people: I have bin 16 years longer here than you. All ye mi-
nisters in 1660 yt met us at Sion Colledge were for these: 2o But

... more could I do. Nay ye Bp forbad me not to preach
..., without conforming (though ye Justices did); but good Mr Lob did as good as
forbid me unlesse I would conforme, even those omissions of ye symbols of ye
Christian religion; though I never urged him agt his Conscience to use ym
only when he spake of ym as Indifferent, I askt him why then he might not
use ym now & then as things indifferent: yet now he pretended yt my
making ym essentiall somewt stopt him.
11 For satisfaction he consulted ye Nonconformists & their writings he saith And he
found it not his work as not agreeable Scripture precept or primitive practice.
Ans. 1o To this by wt I have said before: I do not say yt They may never be omitted
but yt they are ye Christian symbols to be frequently used: Had you every day
baptizings, ye reciting ye Creed then might serve: But I suppose you never
baptized one, at least, in ye Assembly, & so never once used it; wch in ye primitive
& since ye primitive Church did, yea I doubt not ye Apostles: And good expositors
think this ye forme of sound words wch Paul commands to Timothy's keeping
And is not [when you pray say] a precept.
2o He feared it might be sinfull to adhere so tenaciously to such a forme un-
a der ye Gospell dispensation. Ans. 1o Never to use it once is not more tenacious-
ness: 2o Do you deny ye Decalogue written by ye finger of God & ye prayer
spoken by Christ, to be a Divine forme. And some Confession of faith publickly
used, was a divine forme; & if you have a better why do you not use it
but use none. How shall any know whether you assemble not as Jews
~~Others~~. You read but one Chapter: ~~they~~ some both Testaments read two & some ye Scriptures
3o Do you not use humane formes daily & as tenaciously. Are not our Trans-
lations, & dividing ye Scripture into Chapters & verses, & our Versions, Metre,
Tunes of Psalmes all humane formes. Are not yor words at baptisme
& Lords supper in prayer & preaching humane formes: using ye same words
oft makes ym no more a forme than using ym once. Is not yor method
in preaching & praying, yor notes, yor Catechismes, humane formes. I doubt
whether you speake a word to ye people but in humane forme. Do not you
tenaciously preach constantly upon some particular text of Scripture: Can
you prove yt ye Apostles used so to do: or yt Christ ever did it but once. The
same I may say of constant family prayer, wch you read not yt Christ
or ye Apostles used; & sure have no plainer texts for it than are in Deut.
6 & 11 for writing ye Law on their very doors, posts, & hands, & teaching it
to Children at home & abroad, lying down & rising up: Had God bin agt formes
even in ye same repeated words, he would not have prescribed ym at sacri-
ficing & other occasions as he did: nor should Deut. 32 ye song of Moses
bin written for all ye people to learne & repeat as we do or Litany
or Catechismes or Psalmes: Nor should ye booke of Psalmes have bin ye Litur-
gie of ye Jewish Church, or more of it: Nor would John have taught his
Disciples so to pray, & Christ also have taught his ye forme in question
Nor would Christ have bin ordinarily present at ye worship in ye Syna-
gogues by formes. Its true yt we read not of ye Apostles use of ye Lords pray-
er: No more do we read yt ever they were baptized, nor used family pray-
er; nor preached on a text as we do, nor used to pray before & after
sermon immediately: But it is enough yt we read [When ye pray say &c]
& [Teaching ym to observe all things wtever I have commanded you]; &
[Let all this be done to Edification], & [speake ye same things] & [with
one mind & mouth glorifie God] // He addes [It appearing to me to be
uncommanded by ye Lord Jesus Christ, I could not but judge it at best a humane
institution, wch to use as such in Gods worship I feare would be sinfull] //
Ans. 1o I am glad yt he holds not all his preaching & praying also to be sinfull
And wt words doth he use in ym yt Christ commanded him to use. (So more as ye
Lords prayer & Decalogue) Are any of ye forementioned things more command-
ed him. Is it more commanded to sing Davids Psalmes & yt before sermon
every day or to preach at every Church meeting. or to do it at ye place
where he doth, & why doth he all such things if they are sinfull. But ye these
& twenty are certainly humane institutions in Gods worship; & aboundance such
2o But if by [as such] he should only meane [as essentiall to worship, ye omission
disuse of wch is sufficient to ground a separation] I have but two answers: The
one is 1o yt all slanders & false reports are not these are Lies of maligners
but sometimes good mens credulitie & rash mistakes. 2o yt a good man should not
be so pittifully weake, as to forbear as sinfull, a practice yt hath ye twenty

fol. 54. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

III Mr Lob hath these words [This very former being considered by Mr B as [illegible]
" essentiall part of Divine Service, the ordinary disuse thereof is sufficient to
" ground a Separation] And [why is it yt so learned so holy & so healing a man
" withall as Mr B is, refuseth to joyne or hold communion with me, meerly because I
" differ from him &c] Againe [How can Mr B refuse preaching at or meeting
" meerly because of the generall disuse thereof or how can he judge it his duty
" to separate from any minister on such an account & rather joyne with those
" yt to his knowledge do stick more closely to humane institutions in Divine
" Service than I do] Againe [Mr B. with a just conscience cannot ordinarily
" preach where ye renewing ye Creed &c is generally disused &c] And so oft. ||
Ans. While I must speake to ye matter yt none thinke I detract from ye
person I againe seriously professe yt I take Mr Lob for a better man than
my selfe: But which we are all so darke & hard hearted & observing of bad
wch wonder if God rebuke us into ye confusion yt we are in: Thou shalt
not beare false witness agt thy neighbour is Gods words, & might
have bin better remembred had ye commandements bin after repeated. I hope
it is not a controverted point. This slander is ye worse 1o Because it
is contrary to my oft published judgment agt Separation 2o Because
it is contrary to my practice, who was thrice at his church. 3o Because
it is contrary to ye expresse words I spake to him, wch are above recited:
1o I distinguish between another mans congregation, & one of wch I am
taken to be ye guide (in part). In anothers my omissions are not mine,
when I am not to goe agt his will & order: In my owne it is otherwise.
2o I told him yt I took it not as a just cause of separation, but when
I have my choice I will choose ye best, & not ordinarily be a hearer
where ye worship is agt my judgment by omission. Just so I preach at
Barnet for Mr Haldo whose church (on ye like reasons) many yeares
refused & scorned singing Psalmes: But I told him I would not be ye
Pastor of such a church if I could have a better: Is it separation to
preferre ye best. So some will not pray before & after sermon; &
I will preferre better & yet not separate from ym. So some are agt
Infant baptisme, of whom I say ye like as of Mr Lobs practice. ||
3o I told him my reason: I judged it imprudent to preach there 1o be-
cause I should againe set ye people in an unjust expectation of me:
2o I added, It would occasion enquiries after ye reasons of our difference.
3o I could not answer ym yt asked me, why I changed my former prac-
tice. Wt reason should I have given ym. To his reflection for joyning
with others yt stick more to humane institutions than he, I answer, Those
yt use ye Liturgie stick closer to humane institutions than such as wor-
ship not God at all: And yet I had rather be found among ym. I take
sins of omission to be my same greatest sins: And verily I thinke yt
all ye failings in ye Lords day part of ye Liturgike worship, are
not halfe so faulty as ye omission of singing psalmes, of prayer be-
fore & after sermon or sacrament, of not baptizing Infants, of constant
(under scandall) refusing to use ye Lords prayer, Decalogue & Creed,
though all these are no humane institutions. But I impute Mr Lob's
false accusation so oft repeated, to his forgetfullness & short thoughts. ||
IV. The last part of my taske is to answer his reasons: But 1o I have not
leisure or mind to be so tedious as to answer all his words. 2 And I feare yt
it would be offensive by finding so many faults as I must mention. There-
fore I shall only speake briefly to yt wch seemeth his strength. || 54
I His narrative of ye matter of fact compare with mine & you'le see ye case. ||
II That you should assure him I would alter my practice without speaking to me,
& so make my purpose to be his [surprize] as he speaks, I think was not well done. ||
III The offending of truly tender consciences] by my use might be as much objected
against our new tunes of Psalmes & other things: And ye congregation yt I have
preacht to were not offended, but would have bin had I omitted ym. And why should
he bring in a few new ones to crosse ye old ones & cast out me. And I offered him to speake
with his offended members, & he consulted not. When yt could not be had
I desired to be heard by ye ministers at Dr Annesleys, & yt would not be granted (too as
this is signe of a good cause.) Therefore I silently after all my great charge &
labour gave up ye people to him & departed, carefully keeping ye cause from
their notice, lest they should forsake him. Wt more could a silencing Bp have

fall, then all are damned yt rejected divers books of Scripture long (James
Heb. 2 Pet &c) And all men in ye world are damned; for no man un-
derstandeth all ye Scripture, nor of ye various Lections knoweth which are
true: A thousand texts Commentators differ of: And words not understood
are no articles of faith. If it be but part yt is necessary to unity & Sal-
vation, wt part is it? You can stop nowhere but at these Summaries
of Religion; The Sacramentall covenant in these explained ||
18o The late Common Counsell of ye Nonconformists 1660 publishe
in wch they offered ye Bps constantly to use these & more; obliged m
to study an answer why we did so, & why we now reject them.
19o The honour of ye H. Scripture obligeth us frequently to use th
ye Lords prayer & ye Decalogue: For they are not only Parts of it
but there placed as summaries as of more noted speciall necessity
when ye prayer saith Our Father &c are plaine words to willing hearers.
than ye rest. And so is ye doctrine of ye Creed. ||
20o I must again confesse yt as I am sure yt ye Lords prayer &
Decalogue are Gods word, of eminent marks, so I take ye ordinary
use of ye Creed, Lords Prayer & Decalogue in ye Church to be of
Divine appointment by Gods Spirit in ye Apostles, & yt used & attes-
ted by their Tradition in ye true matter & substance of it, be-
fore ye New Testament was written. I have at large given my
reasons in my Preface to my Cath. Theologie. 1o The fidelity of
ye Apostles (with ye annexed Charge of Christ) 2o & ye full undoubted
Tradition & history of ye universall Church assureth me of these
two things 1o That ye Apostles & primitive Churches used to Catechi-
[illegible]: 2o That as they expounded ye meaning of baptisme to ye
(wch is to beleeve in ye Father Son & Holy Ghost) so they re-
quired their understanding & profession: Those yt we now speak to
would censure a minister yt would baptize all yt before were
Infidels, if they will but say over these three words [I believe in God
ye Father, Son & Holy Ghost] & never shew yt they understand them.
3o And this Tradition sheweth yt these are ye heads of doctrine wch
they constantly professed in their explication: & ye very words re-
remaine, though two or three clauses are added since ye Apostles
time, & some of equall signification may be varyed. And
if it be apparent yt ye Apostles & first baptizers required & used
ye substance of such a profession or Creed, & yt Christianity itselfe
was thus propagated many years before ye writing of ye New Testa-
ment, I see not but yt this is Gods institution: yea & when Christ
sent ym as to disciple & baptize nations, & teach ym all things
wtever he commanded ym, none can suppose yt they used to leave out
ye Lords prayer & Gods ten Commandements. & ye Tradition of ye
Church assureth us of it. So yt I take ye frequent use of these
as part of Gods speciall institution. But to say just when &
how often & to make Lawes for ye circumstances which ye use of
ye things require not of us, is not it yt I am pleading for.
And thus I have given you ye reasons of my self, & desire yt
you & ye rest yt dissent will rectifie me if I erre, or if any
one of these have weight, & yt constant omissions have bin long yo
like scandalous sin, yt you will repent & presently amend it, tho
ye ignorant be displeased by so doing ||

far as we can make it: & a good Christian [illegible] of differing from all ye Christian world without necessity.//

The state of ye London ministers yt forbear it, call me to it: whom you know yt it is o Scandall, & know wt hard thoughts men have of us; & how many expound it & blame us for ye omission, they now, after I in all this, do constantly (& except a few) by comon consent forbear it, do by their practice tell ye world yt they take it for unlawfull: For who would forbear a Lawfull thing in all these circumstances: Yea we are under this comon reproach yt we confesse it lawfull, & yet dare not use ym, for fear of displeasing ye ignorant yt will censure us, & so while we refuse Conformity to ye Lawes & Bps, we make ye censorious women & boys o Bps to whom we conform; & betray ym o office & ye Church by being ruled by ym to evill whom we should rule (to good): wch makes such as Dr Ashton undertake as going to ye barre of God to prove yt we are Nonconformists through pride & covetousnesse. And verily ye heart is deceitfull.//

14 The exclusion of Heresies requireth it: For they yt lay by even ye ancient Creed as an addition to Gods word, will sure on ye same grounds deny larger tests & Articles in humane phrase, as meer additions.//

15o The use of ye things ymselves in o Assemblies requireth it:

1o The Assemblies meet to professe ye Christian faith, Love & obedience, & therfore must have fit words for such profession: And there can be none safer than such as are Scripture words & all Christians are agreed in; Particular Churches have all their Confessions, & will not give ministers leave to change ym: And should there be no settled formes wt change & corruption might men soone make.//

2o Catechizing & instructing ye Ignorant is a great use of our assemblies: And we write humane formes of Catechizing: But these are ye plaine, briefe, ancient formes, wch all Christians agree in; And when ye frequent use of ye words hath fixed ym in all ye hearers memory, they are ye fitter to receive ye sense & ye application. And indeed all our Catechizing is nothing but ye expounding ye Covenant of Grace, & these Summaries of our Religion.//

3o As for ye Lords prayer, nothing can be more methodicall & perfectly fitted to its use, to be both ye Rule & ye summary expression of o desires.//

So yt though I think not any one of these (nor our preaching neither) to be absolutely necessary at every Church meeting; yet I think ym of so great use, as ye symbols of o Religion & principles before mentioned, as yt I take it for a disease in those good men yt censure a Church meeting yt is without our sermons, & not those yt leave out these symbols of o profession; much more in ym yt constantly omit them.//

16o The conformity wch we owe to ye primitive examples & simplicity requireth it; departing from wch hath bred o Church corruption: Of wch more in answer to his exceptions anon.//

17o The healing of ye dolefull divisions of ye Christian world require yt ye healing termes & meanes be kept much in mind & honoured: But these are ye healing termes & meanes: wt els did ye Church ever universally unite in? I call for an answer. And wt els can or will it ever unite in?

1o Is it in Tradition? Of wt? Not of all things delivered, but of these.//

2o Is it in Scripture? If so, Is it in all or some? No doubt it supposeth us all agreed yt all Gods word is true: But ye question is wch is his word, & what parts of it are essentiall to Christianity & necessary to salvation.

Lawfull Authority comandeth it (King & Parliamt) & it is a Law-
[illegible]. And we professe obedience in all things Lawfull. Though they
make no Law to regulate our assemblies wch they forbid, yet making the
part of ye worship wch they comand, I must obey it. Obj. Then you must
do all in ye Liturgie wch is Lawfull. Ans. Yes: If neither of these nor
accidents, ye use of ye best parts of ye Liturgie were unlawfull (except
by our like to do more hurt than good) I could not justifie ye neglect. ||
2o Our vindication agt ol comon accusations require it: We are by thou-
sands taken for a mad braind selfconceited fanaticall people, for
being agt ye use of ye Creed, Lords prayer & Decalogue. And we cannot for
shame stand to tell them but tell ym yt we are not agt ym, when our pri-
vate talke & practice justifyeth or refuteth our accusers. ||
3o The honour of ye cause of Nonconformity requireth it: when our
nonconformity is thought to lie in this, it seemeth so we oppose it too. ||
4o The conscience & salvation of ol enemies requireth it. He yt hateth his
brother is a murderer, & hath not Eternall life; To destroy Love is to destroy
soules: But many thousands are hardened in taking us as mad sedition[s]
sectaries, yt will keepe up disobedience & divisions agt such things as they
[&] multitudes are hardened in their owne wicked lives, while by this
they thinke yt they are wiser & better than we yt reproue them. ||
5o For sake of ol Rulers we should do it, to saue them as farre as we
can from ye sin of persecution; Their Consciences justifie them in all their
severities agt us & all dissenters, while they thinke yt it is but such mad
braind unruly sectaries as they punish, as are not fit for their Comunion.
6o The dolefull state of ye distracted Churches, divided Christians, silenced
& suffering ministers require it; For now ye Lawmakers & Bps say
" They are a people uncapable of ol unity, peace & concord: You see
" now if you will restore them to their times it is. You must abate them ye
" Creed, Lords prayer & Comandemts: yt is, say they all Religion & Christian-
" ity: wch theirlike may not fairly be publike practise than these.
7o The honour of ye Protestant cause requireth it, & ye saving of thou-
sands of poore soules from Popery: who are ready to forsake us
when they are told yt we shut out ye Creed, Lds prayer & Comandmts fro ol Church[es]
8o The successe of ol ministry for ye saving of many thousand soules
require it. Multitudes will not heare us, or will heare us with pre-
judice & contempt for our stated leaving out these things. And
if Paul became a Jew to ye Jews, all things to all men to saue some,
should not we do so honest a thing to remoue such prejudices. ||
9o The soules & consciences of honest mistaken Christians yt now are
agt these things require it. Our practice omitting them, persuadeth
thousands yt we are agt them in ye publike worship: & so we teach
them to fly from them & accuse them, to their great sin & dishonour. And
no wonder if they run further when we haue seduced them thus farr.
No wonder if they cast off Infant baptisme, ye Lords day, ordinances,
when we haue taught them so farre to cast off ye Creed, L. pr. & Comand[ments]
10o Our Concord with ye Reformed Churches [illegible]
ally use these, when they do but heare & beleeve [illegible] requireth it. As they gr[ow]
[illegible] them, they take us as we do Quakers, for men yt [illegible] among us re-
grall Religion & banish it from us, & instead of hearing their [illegible] of ol making dis-
Concord & prayers, we are their sorrow & shame & haue their indignation;
As may be seen in pious & Learned Lud. Capellus Thes. Salmur. de Liturg.
11o We yt are agt Conformity make multitudes Conformists & harden thous-
ands in it, by making them thinke yt these things are ye differences, & yt we
are as much more ignorant than ye Conformists as this seemeth to import.
12o Our honour of & Concord with Christs universall Church, our party requ-
ires (there being scarce a Congregation in ye Christian world yt I can heare
of out of ye Kings dominions yt useth them not:) And ye Comunion of Sts should

was to satisfie Mr Harris & ye people, wch I hardly did: And I avoyded
carefully all notifying of or difference, but wt ye people would unavoida-
bly observe: For had I told Mr Harris he would presently have turned out
Mr Lob; & had ye people known it, I had reason to think it would have
spoiled his congregation & hindred his successe: Therefore I concealed it
to this day, so yt ye people know not why I left ym. For I take
Mr Lob to be a man of as great sincerity as most yt I know, &
so honest & hearty in his Ministeriall worke yt I believe God will
blesse him more than many of greater parts: I verily believe him
~~to be~~ a farr better man than I am; But I think mistaken in this
~~matter~~: Through want of heed or memory he untruly reported my
opinion of separation, of wch among others I have given him no just
" cause, I told him [yt I take not this difference for a just cause of
" separating from other Churches or Christians, but would have Commun[ion]
" wth those yt used not ye Creed, Lords prayer or Decalogue as formes
" if they used ye matter & sense; Nor did I separate for it from him;
" But yt I thought I had great reason all this while to use ym & now
" to continue ye use on ye Lords daies ordinarily when I can, though I
" use ym not on Lecture daies, nor seeme to make ym more necessary
" than they are; And yt while I had my Choice (caeteris paribus) I
" would not in ye ordinary course of my ministry joyne as a Teacher
" in yt assembly where they are not & may not be used, if I might have
" liberty to joyne where they are used.] These words should have
prevented ye good mans oft repeated false accusation of me, for se-
paration & not bearing wth each others tolerable weaknesses, being
ye sin yt I most inveigh agt as ye cause of or calamities. And since
I left yt place I have done wt I was able to promote his accept-
ance, honour & successe; And I think or difference is unknown to this
day. Thrice I have since joyned in yt assembly, twice as a hearer
& once as a speaker (when one of his people on a Thanksgiving day
put up a note to me, to forbear a collection, because they understood
yt I intended it not for ye poor of yt place; whereas I had no other
thought). Mr Lob desired me to preach there occasionally some-
times, wch I denyed for these reasons wch I told him (& not as separ-
ating) 1o Because it would revive ye peoples expectations of my
returne, wch I had allready frustrated; 2o Because whereever I settle
I must looke for as much worke as my strength could undergoe.
As for ye Reasons of my using ye Creed, Lords prayer & Decalogue, I
desired Mr Lob to aske you whether you would give me leave to 52
come out to day to yor meeting & propose ym to ye ministers Conside-
ration to find out who was in ye right; (Because he had told me
yt you had told him you were confident I would not expect ~~this~~ of
him, to use ym) But he brought me your denyall. Whereupon after
about two yeares time since Mr Lobs entrance, I only privately told
" you alone, how ye case stood [yt when (on yor choice) I was forced
" to leave ye only place yt I had chosen to my great charges & no gaine
" not for imposing on any man but because I had not liberty of continuing
" my selfe to use ye Creed, Lords prayer & Decalogue, & yet I would tell no
" man ye reason of my departure, but beare ye blame of surmizers,
" lest I hindred or cast out Mr Lob, I desired only to know why you
" denyed me leave to offer my Reasons among you for ye use of these
" formes, yt I might be convinced or convince.] And thus much for matter of fact. ||
|| The Reasons yt moved me to use these formes, & to desire liberty to have
used ym, & wch I would have offered you were these following; not to
prove ym more necessary than they are; But to me hic et nunc a duty: ||

Mr Harris having built a Chappell not farr off to let out for hire (encouraged by ye Ks Licenses) offered me ye use of it, wch I accepted & a while continued there to preach: At last Justice Parry & Sabbs granted warrants to ye Constables to guard ye place & apprehend any yt came thither to preach: I desired ye Bp of London to procure their recesse & or continued liberty, of wch I must not say wt hope he gave me: but ye Constables & other officers continued at ye doors about 24 Lords daies together after this. After their recesse (none molesting them) Mr Harris & ye people desired my returne, or at least yt they might have one of my nomination. I purposed to returne but to get an Assistant yt should be a fixed [illegible] then first alone: As I had followed yor advise before in preaching as farre off as Southwark, so I made you at yor meeting ye choosers of an Assistant for me: You & Mr Vincent named Mr Lob: I before thought so well of his piety & moderation yt I gladly accepted yor choise. Here it must be knowne wt was ye quality of my hearers: The most knowing neighbours told me yt besides some moderate peaceable Anabaptists & some few more orthodox, the main body of them were poor & ordinary neighbours, yt had no Church to goe to, & desired none through disuse, some not having been at Church of some yeares before: such as were much for Liturgie & Conformity, & yt a great reformation had been wrought amongst ym since my first preaching: And judging it most suitable to ye times yt accused us, & to such kind of hearers, I constantly used to cause to be read (by a strict Scotch presbyterian farre from Conformity) the Psalms & two Chapters, & ye Creed & the Decalogue, & I used ye Lords prayer, wch reconciled many to us yt before despised us as wild fanaticks. Having constantly used ym to this, I dreamed not of giving it over: But when Mr Lob came he omitted ye Creed, Lords prayer & Decalogue, & read but one Chapter of ye Scripture. When I thought to returne & joyne with him I would not do it till I first knew his judgmt whether we might agree so farre as not to be noted for difference to ye hindering of or work. I found yt he was not free to use these formes as I had done, & he told me It would offend some of ye hearers Case's, some new ones yt left Mr Harrington & chose him for their Teacher: I thought yt should he use one way & I another it might seem strange & be inconvenient; But yet thinking yt our loving agreement notwithstanding so much difference might do lesse hurt than my recesse, & might be a president for mutuall forbearance, I motioned to him 1o yt because he pleaded but ye non-necessity of these formes, he would use ym but sometimes as a Lawfull thing: 2o or if not so, yt he would give me leave to use ym & let each of us follow our judgmt & use our liberty: But he dissented & said It would offend some, & yt some had heard Mr Read use ye Creed & had scarce patience to hear it: so yt either Mr Lob or I must be gone, or I must conforme to him; for here was no toleration. I thought it my duty to recede, because I had brought him in, & I could do it with least notice of ye cause. But ye difficulty

To my Reverend & worthy friend Dr [illegible]

You left with me Mr Lob's papers wch I have read & I thought my selfe obliged to returne you this answer, wch conteins 1o The matter of fact, 2o my Reasons, 3o my answer to his undue accusations 4o My answer to his reasonings.

1o Its knowne yt we live in a time & place where Divisions have disgraced & shaken ye Churches: The higher & greater part being Conformable to ye present Lawes, ye Nonconformists are looked on & publikely represented, as anomalous, heteroclytes, monsters, schismaticks, by disobedience introducing sedition, heresie &c. And their worshipping assemblies are taken for sinfull conventicles, costing men their estates & liberties, by fines & imprisonments, & reproach & ruine. I was called out by my superiours, & my fellow ministers to long & earnest treaties & debates for ye preventing [illegible] of those divisions yt have silenced about 2000 ministers, & cast us into great distances, confusions, temptations & great disadvantages to ye Gospel: I will set in ye front, & bore ye storme of indignation, being ye first man silenced yt I know of. The London Ministers as many as would appear in ye work unanimously concurred. Besides verbal disputes, they engaged me to write 1o An Answer to ye Bps first paper (never yet printed) 2o A Reformed Liturgie 3o A Petition for peace 4o Two or three shorter addresses 5o A Reply to the Answer to their Exceptions agt ye Liturgie. All ye Ministers yt met at Sion Colledge, & also afterwards commissioned whose names are to be seen in ye printed Commission, yt came among us, did agree to ye Reformation of ye Liturgie, & profest their judgmt & purpose to use even ye old Liturgie corrected, & were it not corrected, they published their judgmt not therefore to separate from ye Churches yt used it. This treatie being frustrate, ye Bps refusing the desired alterations, I have since bin called by ye Lord Keeper Bridgman (as he said by ye Kings will) with others to treat to ye like purpose, & we insisted on ye like termes. All being in vaine, we are commonly mistaken & reproached, as if we were agt ye lawfulness of all formes or Liturgies, contrary to our common repeated profession; yea we are scorned & made odious as if we were agt ye very use of ye Lords prayer & Decalogue, & had cast it out of ye Churches formerly: where we used it, & appealed to all ye Reformed Churches & even to ye late Catechismes & Directory yt shew ye contrary. And when by ye Kings License many preached more publikely than before, ye Conformists lowdly charging us with schisme for assembling thus, for our publike preaching & worshipping of God, & with all ye dreadfull consequents of our divisions, I still told ym yt only true notorious necessity constrained me to preach who else should rather have sought another Kingdome (could I have their language) yt had more need; but durst not sacrilegiously leave my calling; for wch I published my reasons in part. And yt I might be sure to fly from ye guilt of schisme, I chose a parish to preach in yt is said to have 60000 soules of wch 50000 cannot come in to ye Parish Church: I took a place over ye Markethouse at St James to my great charge, where I preached freely & not without successe; wch encouraged me (when yt place was like to fall, & we were all saved by a wonderfull deliverance) to build a fitter place not farre off: wch I did partly at ye charge of my friends, & to so great cost, trouble & inconvenience of my owne, as I think not fit here to expresse. When I had preached there but one day, ye next day while I was in ye Country a Country minister was procured to preach for me for wch he was imprisoned by three Justices of ye Peace, & his release & deliverance cost me (besides great labour & trouble) about 20l. And it was resolved yt I should not be endured to preach there, because it was neere Secretary Coventrys house, who was against it. But our

For my Reverend friend Mr John Reynolds
at Stourbridge in
Worcestershire

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praise or favoured by us, As 2º you suppose that that comes
« when I there say & fully prove ye contrary: 3º And you suppose I
say [merit without Covenant] because I say [without supernaturall pe-
culiar promise] & yt ye Law of nature is a kind of naturall promise. And
at this rate you may say wt you please. || But nº 4º you prove
« 1º you say yt Saints have sin: to which. If you could prove yt they may lose
(& happyness) do you thereby prove yt they either merited it or by it. 2º you say
« It would merit lesse continuance] This is answered before. Its granted: but
on supposition yt God freely give us Immortality, & ye object there in,
« that a meriting Love. 3º your supposition is false yt ye blessed sa-
vour, or for all yt any passe place for; whether you understand
them or wrong them I now passe by. For you answer none of
my proofs of their doctrine, & I have no books now to examine
ye matter further. 4º As to your comparison of Mr F.s Hospitality,
his act of meer Beneficence is not an Act of Government: And
there is no proper merit of ye sort yt we dispute of, but under a
Rector: Gods giving us Christ himselfe was no Reward but
a meer Guift: And therfore was not Merited. But Heaven
is ye Reward of a Governing Rector quoad rationem ordinis
as it is ye free Guift of a Donor quoad rei valorem. It had
bin a Greater Guift of bounty if Mr F. had said to his sons, I will
give each of you 1000l per annum if you will as loving children
thankfully accept it, & respect me as a Father. & yet this had bin
a Reward: And ye contrary doctrine is unchristian. Morall quali-
fications may be Rewardable, when meer physicall ones (as to be poor)
are not. As 5m You feigne me to speake for Meritt proportionable
to ye Reward, when I againe & againe told you ye contrary, hoping
yt those ill-speaking Papists meant but a Reward proportionable
to each ones merit or Holy capacity, yt is, yt every vessel shall
be full, & yt no degree of Love to God shall not be proportionably
satisfyed with ye beatifying object, & rewarded by his pleased &
accepting Love. But you say its Formall Constitution yt makes the
difference, & not proportionable merit. But to all yt's said I adde
1º That Gods Love to us is ye chiefe part of our Happyness & Reward.
And on two accounts God Loveth us: 1º As related to Christ, 2º As sancti-
Lovers of him yt have his Image. And Gods Image meriteth (1º To be Esteemed
to be wt it is, 2º To be Loved according to ye full proportion of its
Goodness, 3º & to be accordingly Prayzed: And all this ex natura rei.
For every thing deserveth to be judged, Loved & Praised as it is,
or so farre as it is Good. But yt ye Imperfections are pardoned,
& perfected Immortality given us in heaven, are ye Rewards of Christ's
merits, of wch we are no further Worthy than by a believing thank-
full acceptance, wch hath no proportion to ye guift in value
nor any naturall capacity, but a congruity from the free grace.
But all this is fullyer opened in my booke. || Your recapitulation is
« 1º The whole Reward is not essentiall to Holyness. Ans. True:
« 2º That part wch is essentiall is not properly merited by itselfe. And
To be Holy is not (de presenti) merited by being holy. But ye formall
Relation of Reward is Evangelically under Christ merited by Holy
obedience: And so is Gods felicitating Esteeme, favour (or Compla-
cence & praise) wch are not essentiall to our holy Love. And it is
to be noted yt in fine ultimo ye meriting & constitutive causes fall

per: it all lies next in ye Activ Love doth Eternally meet & com[illegible] & Communion with God wch is our happynes. 3o you say, Though holyness have an aptitude to ye reward, it is not merited or inseparably annexed but by ye promise &c Ans. True: But do not ye most then deny ye naturall signification of Gods donative will, to be a sort of promise & confine it only to supernaturall positive promise only, as if Adam had no promise in Nature. Or if you will, prove it. You seeme here to grant Merit as by Promise. As to yt of proportion wch you talk of I have said ad tedium usq, yt its a sort of blaspheming to ~~the~~ affirm yt he hath merit from God as Proprietor in Commutative Justice; And a man would think yt yor word Proportion intimated Commutation: wch I hope you believe not though among so many below Proportion. But as to Paternall Governing Reward, I still tell you yt It is totally a free guift in ye value of ye Benefit (& therefore wt roome is there for ye very name Proportion when there is no Merit at all of ours, but Christs). But yt in ordine Conferendi God doth it as a Paternall Rector, & will make his guifts ye motives to obedience, & so there shall be a Comparative reason of one mans being rewarded rather than another (wch is sincerity) or one mans more than another (wch is Degrees of duty). And God will fill up all mens Capacitys & reward them according to ye proportions of their holy Love to him, & doth Love nothing in any but their Goodnes, & (Complacentially) Love them no lesse or more than they are Relatively & Really Good & amiable.

I conclude againe in intreating you to read ye Papists doctrine fully before you judge wch it is; And let no Protestant (lest it corrupt them with false answers) nor no Papist (lest it harden ym agt us) ever heare you say yt ye Church of Rome, or ye Generality or most of ye Popish Doctors Do hold Merits as without Christ & his Merits presupposed, or without Gods promise (naturall or supernaturall) or as exceeding Gods free guift, when I have proved to you ye contrary, even out of ye Councill of Trent, & yor reading them will tell you much more.

Yor Servt Ri: Baxter

Feb. 20
1675

The Covenant hath it preceptive & promissory part; without ye first, it is not morally Good; But then it is ye very Law of nature yt makes ye Act of precept, wch obligeth us to Love God: And without ye promissory part there is no formall Reward due to any: But then it must be remembred yt as Creation of nature went before ye Law of Innocence, so ye Redemption of nature goes before ye Redeemers Law of Grace: And yt supposita Redemptione, ye nature of man & ye matter, make Faith & Repentance Naturally apt to be Rewarded with pardon through Christs merits, & Holy Love naturally apt to be againe mans Happyness & Reward. Holyness or Divine Love is like Gold or silver, valuable in its nature (from ye Law of Nature) but ye Promise puts ye stampe uppon it, wch makes it ye condition of a Reward. // Ad 4um you frankly undertake not to dispute. // Ad 5um you repeat my owne answer oft given to ye question, How a Lover of God can be punished. Seing whilst such he canot be damned, I oft answer, yt though a Lover of God canot lie in Hell, yet he may forfeit ye grace necessary to continue ye Love, & so lie in hell, if he lost ye Love: This you repeate agen; but I know not how. // Ad 6um My argument was brought to prove yt there is such a thing as yt merit wch is but Rewardablenes, & ex abundanti ye merit of a proportionable reward: wch being as in a parenthesis may be supposed in ye conclusion. 2o I said only [Even in this sense of proportion] before spoken viz. yt Glory may be according to ye degrees of gracious capacity. 3o I included both ye Law of nature & Grace: And these things remembred I answer you, yt as ye Aptitude is in ye very nature of Holy Love, so naturall Happyness is proportionably in it: ex natura rei, so farre as we Love God we are Happy; And both ye Law of Nature & Grace God hath signifyed his will yt it shall be so; wch putteth ye stampe of a Jus uppon it; from whence ye Relatio praemii necessarily resulteth (as is aforesaid). So yt ye Materia praemii is essentiall to it, even in ye Proportion yt we have it (Life is Communion with God in Love, for yt is ye Reward), & ye formalis ratio praemii ariseth to yt Communion by necessary resultancy from Gods Law of nature & Grace; wch we have presupposed. Ad 7um you ~~[illegible]~~ overlooke not my words [Supposing yt God will freely continue us in Life & Immortality.] And then I say yt 1o to give us ye Spirit of Adoption & filial nature, is Adopting us: And to give us ye Spirit of Love & Life wch we forfeited by sin, is to remit ye penalty & so to pardon: As to give a Traytor his life & lands is a pardon of his forfeiture of them. But you talke of Merit of ye Spirit of Glory. But review ye case. Did I ever say yt our present merit or Rewardablenes is essentially proportioned to ye Heavenly Glory. No such thing. No nor to any more Grace or happyness than we have, except wt ye presence of ye beatificall object will give (for I supposed forgiven Immortality): wch how great may it be? I only say 1o yt in ye very nature of ye things, we shall be as happy proportionably as we are holy. 2o yt God hath promised us through Christ ye Glorious Immortality (ye Reward of Christs merits) where he will fill each Soule with ye Reward of Glory according to ye measure of his Capacity: As our Divines use to say, All vessells shall be full, though they be not all of a bignes or equall capacity. 3o And Soules in Heaven yt have more Love than they had on Earth, do then have Merit more Reward, yt is, God as their Governor & Father doth there notifie his governing will, yt Great Love shall be great felicity, wch felicity acquireth ye Relation of premium from ye will of God. You goe further & say yt I am [pleased to fabol this notion of Merit beyond our Covenant] Ans. I pray tell me where in yor paper, for I canot find. Though I take not all yt Love to be merely supernaturall or positive (as they). The words you cite have no such thing. Did I expressly say (as that opinion of some few Papists) yt there is no Positive supernaturall promise. The very Law of nature wch is Gods first Law, containeth such a signification of his will, yt he will love & blesse ym yt love & obey him as is called a kind of naturall promise.] And here you seeme 1o To suppose ye Papists saying fol.48 . of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

But somewt you do cite, under Numb. 2 & 4th wch I must not overpasse, //
For I find nothing else in yor words yt much concerne me, // yor words
(or to this effect) are not a good cloak for misrecitation of my words. //
" 1° You say Holynes materially ~~is~~ not happynes meritorie, if it do formaliter. 2° yt Ho-
" lynes either needs to be wt it is (wch is no merit) or something more. 3° You say
" yt ye latter you deny, as without respect to ye Covent. For then man is under
" ye Covent of workes, as to Condemnation. 4° you feare their doctrine of perfection
" mortall & veniall sin must be taken in &c. 5° you say, yt sin of such as [illegible]
" deserveth a deprivation of all good &c. 6° You recite an argument of mine, & say
" yt ye Justificn is not in ye Conclusion. &c. A morall aptitude is not Merit, but congruity
" wch this be [proportionable merit.] 7° The pardon of sin, adoption, further commu-
" nications of ye H. Ghost & beatificall vision are not essentiall to true Love. 8° Ho-
" lynes meriteth not itselfe: though it be ye formall cause, yet not ye meritorious. //
Ad 1. 2. & 8. wch make up one: 1° Whether it do make us happy formaliter or
materialiter must be solved by a distinction of Happynes. But by granting
ye greater (yt it doth it formaliter) surely you see yt you say much more
for ye advancing of mans Holynes (or workes as men now call it) than I did.
He yt saith They are Heaven or Happynes itselfe, yea more than Materially even
formally such, doth say much more of ym, than he yt saith, yt they are
ye Evangelicall worthynes or merit of a free guift by a child at ye hand
of ye paternall Justice of a Benefactor. Therefore if I overvalue ym you do it
much more. 7° You have acutenes enough I doubt not to distinguish
betweene Felicity & Reward, yea & ye Matter & Forme of Felicity. And do you
think it unconceivable, yt ye same thing wch Materially is Felicity, may
be a meritorious cause of ye forme of Felicity, & of a Reward as such.
Had I not bin guilty of tedious repetition in opening this in ye contrary
instance (How sin is both ye Merit & ye misery, & ye punishment, (~~[illegible]~~
God maketh sin ye sinners punishmt)) I should wth lesse backwardnes have
done it here againe: Though I have repeated till I am weary of repeti-
tion myselfe. I have oft told you yt God so made ye nature of man, yt if
he would sin, his sin should be his hurt & misery: E.g. Passion, envy, gluttony
ungodlynes; (just as he made mans nature such as yt if he will in a sinfull pas-
sion drink poyson it shall torment or kill him:) Here now are many things
considerable in one: 1° The Law of nature saith sin not. Nay if thou do it
shall be thy misery, & ye misery thy punishmt. 2° Man by omission
or commission violateth this Law: He omitteth or committeth ye Act. 3° Next
this Act & Law compared cause ye formall Relation wch we call sin
or disobedience; wch resulteth a suo fundamento: 4° From this Relation & ye
Law of nature resulteth another relation, yt is, Reatus poenae. 5° In ye same
or [illegible] instant of nature, from ye very fact itselfe ariseth Hurt & misery:
it being contrary to mans nature or wellfare. 6° Lastly ye Relation of
Punishment, is added to this Misery, by resultancy from ye Reatus poenae
& ye Law of nature as minatory. Now here it is cleare yt sin is both in its
Matter ye Matter of Misery, & ye Matter & Forme of it are also ye meritori-
ous Cause both of ye formale miseriae et poenae. And so many Relations
result from ye same Act & yt it is as sin ye merit of itselfe, as Punish-
ment yea & as formall misery. // So is it in ye case wch you mistake ~~about~~
1° The Law of ~~Grace~~ findeth mans nature Redeemed by ye Merits of Christ, &
such in itselfe as yt Holy Love will be its health or happynes if predominant.
so farre as he hath it. 2° The nature of ye things is a revelation of Gods will
& so becometh a Law to man. This Law of nature saith yt Holy Love is so
Congruous to God & Soules, yt whoever hath it, shall in it have God ye object
& be happy in him; And this Happynes shall be his Reward: So yt ye Law &
Act supposed, 1° It becometh by resultance A Performed Duty, 2° formall felicity &
3° a reward. And as it is materially & formally ye Evangelicall duty &
Condition, it is ye meritorious Cause of itselfe as a Reward, being first
ye constituent Cause of felicity wch is ye Reward. To be in tantum felicity
is inseparable from it ex natura rei; & to be praemium is inseparable [illegible]
Ad 3: would you make me believe, or did you believe yt I said it without ~~[illegible]~~
respect to ye Covenant: Sure either I was, or you are [illegible] in this

Ad 6. 1° If they say some Protestants write as Dr Crispe or Saltmarsh &c, is ye Pro-
testant Religion therefore odious? 2° I never saw such a writer as you suppose.//
Ad 7m. God save his Church from such teachers as will honour him by dishonouring
his works: yt will honour ye Creator by dishonouring ye Creation, or ye Redeemer
by dishonouring Redemption, or ye Sanctifyer by dishonouring Sanctification.
How happily if this be ye way, do ye malignant reproachers of ye Godly
honour God in comparison of ye Scripture yt calleth ym a Kingdome of priests
a holy nation, a peculiar treasure, ye excellent on earth &c. How see we
God but in ye glasse of his perfections & Image: from wch only we can ana-
logically conceive of him & mention him. And if his Image be dishonoura-
ble, wt will follow. If it be no honour to be a Saint, or to love & obey
God, is it any honour to Christ & his Spirit to cause it. I'm perswaded not
sure yt Christ will speake popery in Judgment, by saying well done good &
faithfull servant &c. But wt Papist ever said, yt God giveth away or
diminisheth his own honour by honouring his Saints. Verily bother this
kind of talke agt ye Papists doth by shaming us harden & increase ym.
in. This is a meer calumny as to their Church. 2° Is it seemly for
Ad 8. 1° a Divine yt hath Bellarmines copious arguings at hand, to make a Justi-
ficationem yt opposition of all. 3° When it seemeth to a Christian a difficul-
ty to discerne just how much belongeth to ye part or office of man
as to Christ himself, as con-
duty sub ratione medii, & how much to duty, (for I beleive Christ & Duty are medii
tradistinct from mans duty
ad finem) I think yt Tutissimum est, to ascribe as much to Christ
as we may & as little to duty when there is any shew of an opposition
or competition: And yt such uncertaine distinctions are too common yt
Antinomians, Papists & others prove [illegible]. 2° And quoad fiduciae actum,
though I think yt I discerne Christs office from mans, yet I may be
afraid lest (while I judge rightly of both) I may exercise my trust
in man more inordinately than my trust in Christ, & leane harder on
man & less on Christ as to my acquiescence than I ought.
And here Tutissimum est, to leane as much as ever I can to Christs
merits, & as little as necessity will allow to my owne Evangelicall
worthiness. And have I cast away my hope in Christ by this Tutissimum.//
Ad 9m. 1° Did I ever except their Prayer books, or superstitions. Or have
I not said agt ym in those words more than you have done. 2° Do yt
I not said agt ye Conformists will describe their Doctrine by ye Prayers &
late writers as ye printed books (of Mr Shepheard & many others) wch they cite.
Sinfully [illegible]
3° Do men use to speake their faith as aptly & expositively in popular
sermons or prayer books, as in their Creeds & Confessions. 4° How many
of those prayer books are approved by any Generall Councill &
taken as Decrees de fide. 5° If their Doctrine of faith be con-
tradicted by their Prayer books & practices, or our Doctrine by our
must we therefore either silence yt doctrine or slander it. 6° Do
you think yt I ever questioned whether they have selfcontradictions.//
Ad 10m. The same answere sufficeth.
Ad 11m. I deny yt I name my words wch their generality contradict. 2° If they
did, yt shall not tempt me to imitate them.
Ad 12m. 1° Because they misunderstand & slander us, as some do them.
Did I ever say yt ye Papists think ye difference no greater than
I have described it. 2° They would have no words a[illegible] had beene
rage to them in disputing. 3° You may also aske, why they
keepe up their Tyrannicall Kingdome, & burne men for dissenting
from them. But wt is all this to any thing of theirs yt I have
written. Againe I desire you to cite ye words wch you deny.//

Sr Though your obliterating yor name seeme a prohibition of an answer, yet I will presume to returne you my great thanks for yor elaborate animadversions. But you know yt objections seeme something or nothing according to ye variety of or perceptions & of or understanding of ye matter. I can now but say yt I am uncapable of improving wt you have written unless you shall please 1° To cite me (if not ye words) ye number of ye page & line of my words wch you oppose. 2° And tell me where ye question lyes, & whether it be de re vel de nomine. 3° And as to wt you charge ye papists with, whether you intitle it as agt me; & if so, on wt supposition. Whether you intimate yt I justifyed every popish writer, yea or all yr opinions or words, or wch words I did so. 4° Whether you thinke yt you have ever confuted my citations out of their Councills & church, out of them. 5° Whether you thinke truly yt wch you charge on them is the doctrine of their church, or any considerable part of it, as yt we merit without respect to Christs merits, ye promise or Law &c. And whether ye expresse words cited by me of ye Counc. of Trent & their writings meane not ye contrary. 6° Whether you have read their Councills & writers yorselfe fully on ye subject. If not, whether you can expect yt I yt have read them should not know wt I cannot choose but know, because you give me some scraps as cited by other men, without ye context. 7° Whether you would have me answer againe yt great part of yor notes, wch is all ready answered in ye book wch you except agt. //

Yet yt you may perceive my meaning about ye matter of yor Letter I give you this Index of an answer. Ad 1m. 1° I never excused any such words. 2° It is none of ye doctrine of ye Church of Rome. They professe yt merit of reward supposeth it a guift of grace. //

Ad 2m. The answers are ye same. It's a false accusation of their church. And those [illegible] men yt I have read yt speake words like those recited by you (who are ye smaller number) by fancy meane yt ye word of promise as supernaturally rewarding doth but tell us wt God judged congruous to ye nature & aptitude of ye case itselfe. And yt as ye Law of entire nature was Gods first Law & ye supernaturall supposed it, so there is a Law of lapsed nature by wch, Gods redemption of man by Christ (& Christs sacrifice & merits being presupposed, ye obligation was lost [of] ye first covenant) Gods wisdome judged it congruous, yt ye believing repenting sanctifyed should be saved, as being an apt recipient, & congruous yt ye contrary should be damned: & then before he made a verball promise or threat, wch doth but declare Gods will upon his judgment of ye said congruityes. This is ye doctrine wch you put an ugly visor on, because they do not all skilfully open it, yet it [illegible] if you read their books by Suarez or [illegible]: //

Ad 3m. 1° I never excused such a word. 2° I never read Papist of yt opinion, & a great part of my library was their writings. Are these forgeries honest & pacifick [illegible] long. Were it not yt ye Devill we should be justi[fied] yt wch ye common [illegible] derides? [illegible] ye contrary, viz yt they hold yt Christ merited yt or merits should be accepted. //

Ad 4m. 1° It's answered in my book. 2° It's none of ye doctrine of their church. 3° Those yt speak intelligibly meane yt God giveth his free guift of glory according to ye proportion of yt Holynes wch is ye dignity & morall capacity of ye recipient. If you thinke otherwise, yt makes it not an heresie. //

Ad 5m. 1° Yor exclusion of Christ is none of ye Roman doctrine. 2° I take it to be no folly to hold yt ye Dignity wch ye Gospell ascribeth to ye Godly as qualifyed for ye reward, is not in their Actions or habits as proceeding from corrupted nature, but as from ye Holy Ghost, who 1° Relatively dignifyeth them, 2° Really, by making them like their principle in some degree. I never read Papist yt said yt all workes of ye spirit were equally so meritorious of salvation: or yt said yt they were such merely because ye spirit wrought ym, but because ye sanctifying spirit as such wrought them:

To mr William White

Deare Brother

I thanke you for your last: your notes on Phil. 3.20 are
suteable to my thoughts (wth some cautions wch I need n
trouble you wth) I would you would perswade the men of yo
iudgment in Doctrinals now in England (as your iudgment
is supposed to be, for I know it not but by fame) to enter-
taine your peaceable principles, & honour ye doctrines by
waies of Charity, & let us see yt ye faith doth worke by
love. Where I see ye Love of God & holinesse & oneanother
breake out in any, it forceth me to returnes of Love, as
heate causeth heate. Wn ye dividing reproachers of ye brethr
to take ye course to worke such affections in others to them
as they expresse. It did me good to see old St Curcellaeus (i
his preface to Blondell De papissa Joanna) so heartily lab-
ring ye reviving of Charity among differing brethren
wth sorrow I must tell you yt ye contrary spirit rules in
that sort of men in our pts. No peace, no love, no holinesse
in their brethren will reconcile them, but yt worke is to
make odious to all ye people, as schismatickes, hereticks,
no ministers, of no Churches, to be disowned by all. If
you have read Dr Hide, Dr Swadlin, Dr Heylin (bitter, though
he say not so much as they) & lastly Mr Pierces Libelle. All
the protestant Churches must be unchurched, & all the protes-
tant ministers confesse yms selves lay men yt have not ordi-
nation by a prelate of yr species, & then they will hear-
ken to motions of peace wth us. Your brethren are print-
ing some papers of mine, yt this uncharitablenesse hath for-
ced out of my hands, wch I publish in ye trouble of my heart.
How you will like them I know not. But I beseech you as
ye Lord hath blessed you wth ye highest grace of Charity,
if you converse wth any of this sort of men, improve your
interest in them to dispose them to Charity & peace, accor-
ding to these savoury papers you have sent me.
I suspected long agoe by a booke or two yt he printed, yt he was
learned, but I was not sure, till now you tell me. If you
tell me wt way it was he went, I shall ye better know how
to suit myselfe to his profit, & be much ye more willing
to do any thing for him, yt I may at your desire, & remaine

Your weake but faithfull brothe

Novemb. 8. 1658

Ri: Baxter

ffor ye Reverend mr
Baxter of Kedder-
minster, thes./

fol. 44. of Baxter Letters in volume sho

5

divertunt haud dubie illi omnes, qui quacunque de Cau-
sa (nulla n. Confessionis, publicae et specialis esse potest Cau-
sa justa) in partes abeunt atque ~~[illegible]~~ Schismata. Huc acce-
dit, quod Hoc pacis Cura, Regula et Canon dictatur ex-
presse solum, in illo illustri Loco quoque, quem dedi Episto-
la ad Galatas vi. Gal. 6. vv. 15. 16. Nam quod hic dicit
Nova Creatura, ibi est Fides per charitatem consum-
mata. Et quotquot, inquit Apostolus, hoc Canone incedunt &c.

Haec, fratres, Haec sunt illa trina de Ecclesiastica pa-
cis et Concordiae studio constituta atque monita, hujus Profes-
Apostolica. Quae quidem, si ante haec ~~[illegible]~~ digne satis fuis-
sent observata, a dissensionibus, quae nunc Ecclesiam et pacem va-
stant, Confessionibus eam sartam tectam conservassent. Et
si nunc tandem, hujus fundamentissimi edocti malis, ea certe
expendere vellent Christiani, et distincte custodire;
Ecclesiae pax esset non sola montis Sion, sed Regina;
Et, quod maximum est, Christiani omnes, pro hoc statu coelestis
munia potius modificatione [illegible], unde ex
Apostolo, hic in loco fierent Coeli Cives et municipes
verissimi, etiam dum hic in terris agerent. Etc.

Finis. /

est atque optabilior, quam exactissima Ejus, quod verum est, Cognitio atque Intelligentia, in quibuscunque, etiam minutissimis, Fidei et Religionis apicibus et Capitibus.

Uno verbo, Mens Pauli in hoc Monito, hoc videtur; ut, Cum Pax et Verum simul nequeant haberi, Tum saltem Pacis studium anteponatur studio Veri. Rationes, 1. Quia multo districtius multoque diligentius præcepisse videtur nobis Deus Custodiam Pacis, quam Disquisitionem Veri. 2. Quia quarundam veritatum disquisitionem accuratiorem disertè prohibuisse videtur Apostolus 1 Tim. 1. 4. Imo non nudè vetuisse, sed gravi quoque Censura onerasse, cum disquisitiones illas quæstiones atque intempestivas, stultas appellet et ineptas inflantes et arrogantes et inscientes 2 Tim. 2. 23. coll. cum 1 Tim. 6. 4. Ex una tamen parte, Hæ quæstiones verum a se habebant. Ex hisce itaque 3bus Locis bene expensis et collatis, Minimum, quod colligamus, hoc videtur, Censuisse viz. Apostolum, Quæstionum in Theologia discussionem atque determinationem tamdiu differri atque declinari debere, quamdiu certum est periculum, Ex tali aut discussione aut determinatione oriturum esse in Ecclesia Schisma, aut etiam Contentionem Publicam, Publicasque Rixas. Etc.

3tium Monitum sive Præceptum videtur Commune infirmioribus cum validioribus; Omnes, inquit, quantum assecuti sumus in Religione, sive Id pusillum est, sive Grande quid et Amplum, Eodem semper incedamus Canone. Est vero Canon, Est hoc Locupletissimum et brevissimum verbulum, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν, unum Idemque Sapiamus [illegible] h.e. Per metonymiam Consequentis pro Antecedentis, aut Adjuncti pro Subjecto; ut firmam Pacem Concordiamque inter nos studeamus colere. Nam, pro vulgato verbo, Idem velle atque Idem Nolle, Ea demum firma est Amicitia.

In Re agonistica, unde plures hic atque alibi in Testamento Novo sumptæ fuerint Loquendi formulæ, Canonem nôrant ὅροι Esse illud septum, intra quod in Cursu suo se continere debebant Cursores; Extra illud autem si forsasse divertebant, tum νομίμως illos non decurrere. In stadio autem Fidei et Religionis, Hic Canon sive hæc Linea Candida ipsi Apostolo, hoc in textu, nihil aliud est quam τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν h.e. Idem sentire perpetuumque Pacis et Concordiæ studium: Extra quod, sive Magnum quid in Cognitione Sacra assecuti sint, sive Perexiguum, ut illi omnes in eo toti sint, quod proxime edocti erant h. e. ut nunquam se putent per ea tales, quales ut ten. exigit Evangelicae Regulae fastigium; adeoque nunquam non ad alia et majora et altiora contendant etc. Sic n. apud se ubi statuerint tam proclives non erunt ad spernendum alios, aut ad schismata fissurasque incoeptandas atque ascendendas. Uno verbo, Qui accepte sunt perfecti, se tamen consummati=perfectos nollent putare.

Dico, Nunquam se consummatissimos putent aequissimi fidelissimi; nunquam κατειληφέναι se crede, quod summum est in morte et vita Christi v. 10. Quanquam n. vi Gratiae et Spiritus possint fideles et debeant nunc, sese consequi Integritatis, quae per Evangelii ἐπιείκειαν acceptabilis; uno verbo, Quamvis Negativam Integritatem et possint certo et indispensabiliter debeant in se exhibere atque efformare: h. e. ut Aquinatis verbis loquar, et debeamus et valeamus per gratiam habitualiter totum Cor nostrum in Deo ponere, ita scilicet, ut nihil cogitemus aut velimus quod divinae dilectioni sit contrarium; Quae quidem est peccatum vel minimum nobis permittere aut indulgere; Quamvis, inquam, Haec Negativa Perfectio sit non possibilis solum sed necessaria quoque; Positiva tamen h. e. illa, qua Cor Hominis semper feratur in Deum actualiter, Haec, inquam, dilectio sive Perfectio h. e. dilectio perfecta tum quoad gradum, tum quoad non-intermissionem ejus operationis, in hac vita et statu non videtur possibilis.

2dum Quoties infirmiores fratres diversum quid sentiunt ab Ecclesiae corpore, tum ob opiniones illas diversas, aut ab ea, quae opiniones quasi novas sequuntur; neque Ecclesia eos a sua arceat Communione, neque dissentientes ipsi se separant a corpore: sed utrinque, magno charitatis et pacis precepto bene custodito, Deus, certo certius, etsi non illo ipso, suo tamen tempore, utrisque ostendet, Quid utrique rectissime et statuant et faciant; Nimirum, Hoc in casu, ut nulla omnino reddatur satis justa Causa Schismatis; ut pro Ecclesiae pace ad tempus quasi deponatur aut differatur veri disquisitio; ut Dei et Fidei Revelatio cum longanimitate expectetur; Haec tria puto Ego innuisse Apostolum, cum dixerit: siquid aliter cogitatis, et hoc vobis Deus revelabit. Cum n. clare doceat Apostolus, Quoties credentes ἑτέρως φρονεῖν ab Ecclesiae corpore, non debere eos tamen ob hanc novam, ut videri possit, lucem Ecclesiae pacem movere, sed expectare, donec ulterius eos Deus illustret atque in~~struat~~; Hoc quidem minus innuat, quam quod Pax publica Res multo extollentior

(1.)

Ad 3. Philip. vv. 20.21. Noster enim municipatus est in coelis — Concionacula 3tia

Antelog. A moribus, qui tum, cum haec scriberet S. Paulus, obtinebant in urbe Principe, sumpta videntur multae locutiones in libris sacris; Hoc nominatim, Municipatus noster.

Cum n. dicat Cicero 2. de Legibus, Omnibus municipibus duas esse quodammodo Patrias; Unam, Naturae; Juris, Alteram; Catonis exemplo, qui Tusculi natus, in P. R. Civitatem est susceptus; Cumque Municipum tam genitorum quam factorum, illi soli munerum urbis obeundorum essent capaces, qui in ipsa urbe vitam traherent; Quo quidem jure, qui peregre agebant Cives, non utebantur; Pro hisce Romanorum Civium discriminibus, contexisse videtur Apostolus, Coelestium quoque Civium duos Ordines. Nam quamvis illi soli, qui jam sunt consummati per mortem, jamque domicilium suum in ipsa urbe h. e. in coelis ipsis, tenent immotum, idonei sint ad Physicam Regni Participationem, et ad Unum Deum facie ad faciem exaltandum q. d. ad urbis munia in ipsa urbe administranda: Tamen fideles omnes, dum hic peregre in hoc agunt seculo inferiore, Juribus multis et Privilegiis gaudent illius civitatis tam coelestis, suntque Meritorie et Jure Cives; quamvis nondum Actu et Physice.

Ad hunc autem moralem et Civilem municipatum assequendum et perfruendum, cum, ex Apostoli doctrina in hoc capite tradita, Haec 4tuor sint absolute prima; Unionis, Christi et Conformationis et Resurrectionis participatio; Ad majorem indies in fide et pietate profectum, vehemens Contentio; Concordiae et Pacis Ecclesiasticae, Instauratio et Conservatio studiosissima; et denique, Summi Rectoris Dni Jesu, ex illa sua Metropoli reversuri, quotidiana Expectatio; de duobus prioribus jam a vobis diximus, quae dicenda videbantur; Tertium jam est quod nobis exhibent vv. 15tus et 16tus Pauli sc. atque demitatis studium acuminum.

De hoc autem studio perquam Christiano, Tria Sapientissima simul et utilissima Instituta, innuere hic videtur Apostolus;

Imum ut qui sibi aut aliis videantur, et reipsa sint perfecti, ea ingenuitate, quae pro Evangelica Perfectione (ex proposito Evangelii [illegible] sinceris acceptabili), etiamsi non sit Evangelica Perfectio ad Regulam exactissime;

v. E , after all this stay, Wee must, for ought I can discerne, shut-up or debate about Rom. 7. and ye thgs thereto [redacted] [redacted] relating, with yt peaceable Theoducian.

Σοὶ μὲν δεῖ αὐξ[illegible], ἐμοὶ δ' ἐλάττ.

The inclosed is ye Aptest directions for Peace, brought-out into a clearer Light, then any where else I have met with. I desire your Censure of them at your best leisure to

Febry 24to -58.

Sr, Your daily servt at ye throne of grace,

Wm White.

Postsc. I have to thank you Sr for 2 favours. first, those your good words to Mr. Is Goll, concerning mee, wch by you there came into this Country; because from you, they have done mee good (that is nothing, they have done, I hope, ye Gospell some good) that you think not of. Next, That you are pleased to think well of my brothers worke in printing soe many thgs of yors. If it were seemely for mee to aske any thing of you in secular thgs, It should bee, that you would employ him very much. Hee has been [illegible] heretofore, and yor Bookes are fit Bargaines for most of it, and like to worke a great deale ye more upon him for the high opinion hee hath of yu, and ye civill gaine hee hath by You. I trust You will finde him noe other, then others have, lawfull, faithfull & not to seeke in his trade. &c.

Postsc. 2. | Whereas in one place You say yt our Scope & Scheme would make agt. Cht as well as his Moses his law, seeing chts Law of it selfe cannot kill sinne & cause obedience; I cannot but tell you, That this, I doubt, is a great mistake, if not πρῶτον ψεῦδος, The procreative one. For ye Evangelicall Law giving grace and promising Acceptance of sincere (though it bee not perfect) Obedience, That is, chts Law together with Cht or ye Spirit of cht, can doe wt the Mosaicall Law, yet whole Oeconomie considered wthout cht thus enabling & accepting, was not able to doe. The Reason is plaine; knowledge of duty is not able to overcome our corrupt Inclinations, but Grace received into an humble heart is sufficient. By ye same consideration alsoe Wee have to understanding, How ye motions of sin ἐνηργεῖτο [illegible] Rom. 7. v. 8. for the Law by teaching duty 1. must needs bring encrease of guilt to those, who obey it not. 2. doth rather excite in [illegible] corrupt affection, and so being not ye better, wee must in ye issue bee the worse.

shall appear erroneous; that you would be pleased in order thereunto to consider impartially what I confess has but been weakly represented, not as an Adversary to my Cause but as a diligent enquirer after truth, wherever it may be found as our most serious common interest; that therefore you would excuse my failings in the impropriety of words, and correct those that may be found in the disadvantage of my management, and consider all, not according to the unskilfulness of my proposall, but the native strength and evidence of the Arguments themselves as discernable in order to your own satisfaction by your own most discerning judgment; that you would beware of precipitancy in resolving, and of tenaciousness in maintaining unsufficiently grounded resolutions, in a Question of so great consequence for [illegible] peace: These I say and the like topicks might have been urged and insisted on to another that had been less skilfull or tender; but to you I believe it is sufficient to have intimated them, rather as warnings what you may avoid, than as Instructions in what you need to be informed. I shall therefore recommend the whole success to God, who has often manifested strength out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings, and to your own ingenuous and pious industry, and favourable judgment in an affair so nearly concerning the Churches peace and the good of Souls, for which you are deservedly so zealous; and conclude, only desiring the continuance of your Prayers (if I have already impetrated any portion in them) for

Trin. Coll. near Dublin
Jun. 26. 1673.

Your sincerely-affectionate ffriend and Servant
Henry Dodwell

60.

,, were so many, yet Discipline was not dissolved. To this you Answer 1. that in all this I leave out a matter of chief
,, consideration, viz. that all the Presbyters then were Assistants in Discipline, and had a true Church-Government, which
,, now they have not. If you mean such Church-Government as you count true, that is, of reproving, exhorting, declaring &c. then
· just you cannot but know that they have this power as much now as then. If such as is [illegible] in respect of their Parishio-
=ners, this you know is not denyed them; they have a power of executing their Ordinarys commands among them, and to discharge
their own Office, though with dependence on the Bp. which is as much as is consistent with an Ecclesiastical Monarchick Govern-
=ment, and is an Assistance sufficient to enable an Ecclesiastical as well as a Secular Monarch to perform Discipline. If such a
is true in respect of the Government in general, even this they have in the lower Houses of our Convocations. So that all that you
· can complain of among us as dissonant from the primitive example is that they are not indeed assistant as their Bps. Counsel
· in every particular Act of Discipline. This you may remember I wished reformed, but as it is I cannot conceive it so extremely
prejudicial to Discipline as to excuse the want of it under a Diocesane Government. For even among us, the Bp. or he who re-
=presents (though for my part I could wish that he would act personally without such representatives) does not give sentence in
particular Acts of Discipline without Counsell, and that Counsell qualifyed with such requisites as would make Presbyters fit
to assist in it, that is skill in the Canon Lawes and prudence in Government; so that their being also ordained persons would on-
=ly prove an advantage of decorum, not of material influence on Government. Certainly unless Clergymen were better skilled
in these things than I doubt they are commonly, their only being Clergymen would not so conveniently fit them for service in this kind
if wanting these other more essential qualifications, as these having them though wanting orders; so that of the two evills, which follow
their disunion in the same persons, this seems to be the less. But if you think no Assistancy sufficient but such as may make them
61. ,, independent on their Bp. that I have proved as far from the practice of those earlyer Ages as of the present. 2ly you say, It's strange
,, that we that have eyes and ears must be sent to the Persians (you mean the Indians) and ancient Historys to know whether
,, one Bp. can hear, and try, and ~~[illegible]~~ admonish so many thousands at once as we see by experience are those objects of
,, Discipline which the Scripture describeth: and when we see that it is not done. But all this need not have been thought so strange
if you had remembered the true state of the Question: that it was not whether Discipline were actually maintained by our Diocesan
· Government, but whether it could not possibly be maintained under it: and that it does no way follow that it cannot because it is
not; that although the argument ab actu ad potentiam negative (which is yours) do not hold, yet mine which proceeds affirmatively
will, that Discipline has actually been maintained under a Diocesane Government, therefore it is still possible to be maintained under
it; that for concluding this possibility it is not requisite that it must have been maintained in all times and places, but it is sufficient
that it was in any, and that that may be proved as well by ancient and exotick Historyes as by those which are modern and of our
Country. And for showing the possibility I have already proved that so many thousands may as well be disciplined by one Ecclesiastical
as one Secular Monarch: that of those many thousand objects of Discipline you conceive described in the Scripture, many are only objects
of private cognizance, which is not denyed to ordinary Parish-Ministers; that they who are of publick are not so extremely numerous; or
if they were, they may be dealt with as in Secular, some punished in terrorem, and others equally guilty permitted to escape without any great
charge of partiality than what is ordinarily thought equitable in great multitudes of secular persons; and that of those which re-
,, =main it is not so requisite that all be tryed at once as that one must hinder the proceeding against the other. But after all this you
,, say, we have built but of a phantasy: For it is not one Bp. but one Layman, a Chancellor, that useth the Decretory power
,, of the Keyes &c. and that the Bp. rarely medleth with it. Still you forget that I did in my former Letter expressly decline this contro-
— =versy; that our present Question was not concerning the decorum of the person, but the possibility of Discipline under him; and
just you will not deny that a Laymans abilityes for Government may be as great as a Clergymans; and therefore that Discipline
may as well be performed under him; that our Question was concerning Diocesant Government as such, that is, as including
within the Circuit of several Presbyters, to which this office of Lay-Chancellors is accidental. The business of the Covenant
I am unwilling to engage in because I do not know whether it can be done conveniently without offence. Your Explication of
my Information concerning the words [consent to the use &c.] in the Act for Uniformity I verily believe to be true, both because
you say it, and because it doth not deny but only give a further account of some passages not mentioned by my worthy Author;
and because the word [Use] is omitted in the form it self, though mentioned immediately before. What the reasons were that
were urged by the House of Commons for proving them intolerable I know not, nor have been informed by you. Yet I could con-
=jecture several that were very apposite and expedient, notwithstanding they might not intend to oblige to an internal assent in
· case of exterior peaceable acquiescency, as it is usually understood by Conformists themselves. And that they did not intend
to exclude peaceable Conformists though otherwise not satisfyed of the expedience of every single imposition, seems very evident
because there is not the least intimation of so rigid an exposition as that is which is mentioned by you that you must never
endeavour any alteration, no not by a request or word. All that is desired, is that you would not, while you are a private
· person, endeavour any further than by requests and words, as indeed you cannot lawfully and justly do without encroaching on
— the Offices of others, which cannot be excused by the conceived justice of your cause; that you would give leave, when all is done
to the persons requested by you to judge of the reasonableness of your requests, not obliging them to act by yours but their
· own Consciences, which, when all is done, must be the measure of their own proceedings; that, in case of their dissent from
you, you neither raise partyes against against them, nor encourage them that do by communicating with them; that you
would, in such a case, not easily conclude the error to be in your Superiours, considering that your self are, at least, as falli-
=ble as they; or if you did indeed think the cause so evident as might justly warrant your dissent (as I confess that there are
— some degrees of evidence to private persons sufficient to counterpoise any Authority whatsoever) yet that you would use no
· other means for prevailing against the conceived prejudices of Governours than such as would become the modesty of a pri-
— =vate person, powerfull persuasions and hearty prayers; that even in such cases they would give active obedience in things
· not sinfull, and passive in such as were. This behaviour would salve all difficultyes on both sides, would both preserve the
peace of the Church, and the peace of the dissenters Conscience if invincibly persuaded, would minister more comfort to him and
satisfy him of his own sincerity in designing the glory of God when there were less suspicions of any ends of his own; and his suf-
=ferings for the peace of the Church would be as glorious and rewardable, if we may believe St. Cyprian, as if they
62. were for the Truth of the Church. If I had been dealing with a person less zealous and industrious for this peace than you have
approved your self by publick monuments; it had then been seasonable to have conjured you by all that is or can be dear to a
Lover of God, or of the honour of Religion, by all your sacred or civil interests, by your respects either to the Church or Country
of your birth and education which are not more prejudiced by any thing than our Ecclesiastical Divisions; that you would be pleased
to lay out those great talents of parts and interest in the Peoples affections, wherewith God has so abundantly enriched you, on the
reconciliation of the People with themselves and with their Governours (I am confident you would find that a more effectual way
of promoting that Discipline for which you are so zealous than the unsettlement of the present and the fruitless establishment of another
form of Government as much maligned as this when it has prevailed, and has attempted the execution of Discipline) that you would con-
=sider it as your greatest security to be inquisitive and wary in a cause of so dangerous consequence, if you should prove mistaken
and your greatest honour to yield to Truth, and to relinquish any opinions, how long maintained or how dear soever, when they

shall

cannot give an instance of a Parochial Church in the sense we now understand it, for such a multitude
of believers as were governable by a single Presbyter alone, either in the Scriptures, or in any other Church in
the world (excepting those two so much decryed by you) for the first 3 Centuryes, so far you are from proving
what you seem to design, that BPs ought to be multiplyed in proportion to them. Your volume of proof from the
requisite of one Altar and one BP in one Church will not do it; for I have already shewn that Church to be the
Church of a whole City how great soever, and therefore to have been Diocesan not Parochial. And for the argument
from Experience, though it will hold well enough as I have managed it, that Discipline has once been preserved
under a Diocesan Government, therefore it may be so again; yet not vice versa, as you do, Discipline is not obser-
58. -ved (for this is all the undeniable experience you so much insist on) therefore it cannot. My instance of Ulphilas BP.
» of the whole Nation of the Goths, which sure were greater than one Parish, you seem to deny, when you say he was
» BP only of a few Goths who were patiently persecuted to the death by Athanarichus (ub. Socrat. L. IV. c. 32.) which
» few you say I may call a Kingdome if I please. But that the number were not so small as you suppose, for they were
converted long before they were perverted to the Arian communion, which was no sooner than the time of Valens, when
Socr. L.I. c.18. Eudoxius [illegible] prevailed with Ulphilas to bring them to it. For they were vanquished by Constantine, and by an admi-
Gotic. Hist. -ration of his success against themselves, were drawn to embrace his Religion to which they imputed his victoryes so
Socr. L.II. c.41. beyond their expectation, and accordingly had a former BP of their nation one Theophilus before Ulphilas, so that the
though, even at the first, the Nation, that is at least, the generality of them, were converted to Christianity; yet so
before the time you speak of, they had a considerable time to allow for further propagation. And accordingly when
Sozom. L.VI. c.XXXVII. Ulphilas was brought over to the Arians, he is said to have separated τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος (an expression certainly
as comprehensive as that I used of a Kingdome) from the Communion of the Catholick Church. For his Authority is des-
Theod. L.IV. c. 32. Sozom. L. VI. c.XXXVII. -cribed to have been so great with the Goths, as that they took his words for irrefragable Lawes, which certainly was not
so great with any but converted Christians. But you say, they were patiently persecuted to the death by Athanaricus. If you
mean this as an argument that they were few because they were patiently exhausted by persecution, you are certainly mistaken.
For Athanarichus's storm lasted not long; but upon Fritigernes's return who by the assistance of the Romans prevailed a-
-gainst him, the Christian Religion again returned and was countenanced, and so far advanced as that in their invasions
of the Romane Empire afterwards in Honorius's time, their Army was generally Christian, which could not have
» probably been if they had been exhausted by Athanarichus. But you say Athanarichus Ulphilas was an Arian. But
1. if he had been so yet that cannot weaken his Authority in our present case, both because this practice of a Nations having
but one BP. is never reckoned by the Heresiographers as a point of Arianism, no nor as a singularity of the Arians them-
-selves upon personal accompts; nay my other instances of Frumentius and Moses were both Catholicks, nay the Goths them-
-selves, whilst Catholicks, had the same form of Government, that is, till Ulphilas was wrought on by Eudoxius. Till that
time not only his predecessor Theophilus, but himself, maintained the Nicene faith in opposition to the Arian Communi-
-on, and in all likelyhood they were not much less numerous when Catholicks than when Arians, for the whole Na-
-tion which is said by him to have been reconciled to the Arian Communion, were in all likelyhood none but Christians
and therefore Catholicks, seeing they seem at that time to have been unanimous. But 2ly it does not appear that he was
a real Arian. I confess he did communicate with the Arians, and that not only with the more moderate Homousi-
-ans, but also with those who owned Christ to be a Creature, and [illegible] from communicating with the Arians the Goths
afterwards used the Arian formes of speaking, and from them to embrace much of their opinion, and so at length alienated
themselves from the Catholick Communion, as appears in their later persecutions of the Catholicks in Italy and Africa. But
Theodoret ubi supra. at first the main reason that prevailed with Ulphilas was that Eudoxius pretended the difference betwixt themselves
and the Catholicks to be ἐκ φιλοτιμίας, δογμάτων δὲ μηδεμίαν εἶναι διαφοράν, as Theodoret shews, and Sozo-
-men confesses his proceedings therein as done ἀπερισκέπτως, as inconsiderately rather than out of any ill design. And
there were other deceipts as disingenuous as this used by the Arians to draw such to their Communion who were other-
-wise really to retain the Nicene faith. You know how the greatest part of the Latine Fathers were imposed on in the Council of
Ariminum by Valens and Ursacius, who read ὁμοιούσιος instead of ὁμοούσιος in the Nicene Creed, and how a Confession
of their faith was drawn up by them at Nice in Thrace, and imposed on the Catholicks under the name of the famous
Nicene Creed of Bithynia. So that there were two reasons that in those Ages prevailed with some Catholicks to com-
-municate with the Arians: One that the first quarrel betwixt Alexander and Arius was only personal, not on account
of any real difference, at least that that betwixt the later Arians and the Catholicks was so: another was that if
there was any real difference, yet it was rather in expressions mutually misunderstood than in things, or at least in things
not conceived sufficiently momentous to divide Communion. As therefore you would not, I believe, in your own practice
allow it concluded that you are an Independent or Ritualist because you are for communicating with such as are so, but
only that you think their differences unworthy that the Churches peace should be broken for them; so you cannot con-
-clude that Ulphilas was an Arian because he communicated with such as were, but only that he thought the Con-
-troversyes too trivial. Nor can you blame him for thinking them trivial, seeing he was persuaded they were nothing
but words. Nor is there in his Communion the least intimation of his deserting the Catholick Doctrine, seeing he embraced
them no further than he conceived them not to differ from what he had formerly believed. Nor need you think it
so strange in Ulphilas; for I verily believe that there were very many more in Constantius's time especially, who did
of this kind of such [illegible] Euseb. de Marc. L.III. Cont. c.13. not seem to condemn or deflect the Catholick doctrine, but were unwilling to separate Communion for any unscriptural
expression whatsoever, when they conceived the sense sound; and did as much censure the Arian formes of ἀνόμοιος
as the Catholick ὁμοούσιος of being Unscriptural, so that their whole design seems to have been that
59. persons agreeing in things might not disagree about words, which I believe you will not disapprove. To my other instance
of a National, at least much greater than Parochial, Church under one BP. that of the Indians (not the Persians
» as you mistake) both converted and governed by Frumentius, you say, that its easy to gather by the History, how
» few of them were then converted. If you mean, that they were so few that they might conveniently resort to one
place of meeting (which we mean by a Parish) the contrary is so manifest from the places I believe you would not
Socr. L.I. c.19. have said otherwise if you had been pleased to have consulted them. Socrates plainly mentions one εὐκτήριον founded
Sozom. Ibid. L.II. c. 23. before Frumentius was consecrated their BP. by St Athanasius; but after his return to them with Episcopal power, he as
plainly sayes that he founded many more. Theodoret sayes that he did ἐκκλησίας οἰκοδομῆσαι in the plural
Theod. L.I. c.23. number. Theodoret that πολλοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἤγρευε, which appears also from
the relation from Aedesius himself who was the companion of Frumentius. To my third instance of Moses all that you an-
» -swer is that its likely he had as few among the Arabians, there being no mention in the History of any thing to per-
Sozom. L.VI. c.XXXVIII. -swade us, that he had many Churches under him, that you remember. But Sozomen's words concerning him are,
Theod. L.IV. c.XX. Χριστιανοὺς πεποιηκέναι κομιδῇ ὀλίγους εὑρὼν τῆς δόξης μετέχοντας. Theodoret is indeed indefinite; but yet
his words are such as imply a very considerable multitude: τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἐνεχειρίσθη [illegible] πρὸς τὰ ἤθη
-οὕτως [illegible] ταῖς ἀποστολικαῖς διδασκαλίαις τε καὶ θαυματουργίαις πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐποδήγησεν.
60. If they had been but few who were converted by him it is not likely that the expressions would have been so un-
-limited, having before spoken of the whole Nation who had desired him by their Princess Mavia. After these instances of
great numbers under the Jurisdiction of single BPs I at length applyed them to my purpose, observing that though they
were

" in the Discipline. If you mean a Decisive power in the sense I have explained it; then I think I have proved that the 46 Presb-
themselves had it not, but the Bp. alone. But you can thence no more conclude the paucity of believers in one of the Dioceses of those
times, than in one of ours now when it is plain that the Bp. himself has monopolized it as your self complains. But if you mean an ex-
-ecutive or even a consultory power of given consent or Advice in affairs of Discipline to be decreed by the Bp. that was so far from being
confined to the Presbyters, as that it was communicated to the Deacons, nay to the common people themselves. This might easily have
been cleared from Cornelius's contemporary St. Cyprian, from whom we have the clearest account of the Discipline of that Age, if I had
not been unwilling to be more tedious than needs I must; and because, upon reflection, I believe your self will acknowledge it, and
because it is usually undertaken by Presbyterian, but especially Independent Authors. Indeed there were some priviledges of the Pres-
Ad Evag. Ep. 85. -byters, that they only sate in the Bp's. presence, as St. Hierome tells us, besides other dignities in the Synaxes. But it is sufficient for
my purpose that the execution of Discipline, which is the main thing which necessarily requires plurality, was managed by all; and that
for Counsell here was a number exceeding the Counsells of several Princes of Dominions larger than any Dioceses. But if, you say,
55. " by all this reckoning, the whole Church maintained not besides the Officers near a 1000 poor, we may probably conjecture that the
" whole Church of that Bp. was not bigger than some one London Parish (Stepney, St. Giles, Cripplegate) where are about 50000
" souls. But 1. you are mistaken in your account. For 1. the number of the poor besides the Officers were not near 1000 only but
1500, for the Officers are not included in that number, as you suppose; 2ly that number of poor maintained on the publick charity, does
imply a greater number than you suppose. For consider 1. that no poor were reckoned in that number but such as were unable to earn
a livelyhood for themselves, according to St. Pauls rule already mentioned; consider 2ly that even of these impotent poor none were
to be charged on the Church that had believing friends able to maintein them, according to another rule of the same St. Paul 1. Tim. V.
4. 8. By which means none were likely to have been maintained by the Church but such as must have been starved if they had not
been so relieved. Now considering that, according to Captn. Graunts calculation, of 229250 in London, not above 51 were
starved, which he reckons as the 4000th part, but with too great latitude, for it is indeed the 4495th part besides a frac-
Or thereabouts) -tion of 5; if his numbers be rightly printed; let 1500 be multiplyed by 4495, and the summe will be 6742500; or if it
be multiplyed by his own proportion of 4000, it will amount to 6000000, a summe too great for the City and by all deductions
that may be made, for the unkindness of some Christian friends and of most heathen, that would leave many destitute of their
help, for no other reason than their being Christians, and of others that were maintained by the Church, not for want of callings
but of lawfull ones, as the Stageplayer in St. Cyprian, and the remissness of some officers of those many intrusted in this affair, who ei-
-ther might not have used their utmost diligence in informing themselves of the poverty and helplessness of the persons admitted by them
or might have failed of the success, and been misinformed after all humane diligence, and have had persons sufficient either in them-
-selves, or by the help of their friends, obtruded on them, or all other failures imaginable (for I confess morall affairs are not to be
estimated by Mathematicall measures) yet it will be hard after all to bring the summe so low as 460000, which Captn. Graunt con-
-ceives to be the whole number of Inhabitants in London, much more to reduce it to the limits of the greatest Parish mentioned by
you. But 2ly if you had indeed computed right, and the number had been no greater than of one of those great Parishes you speak
of, yet why should not the numbers of people here mentioned be thought sufficient for a Diocese even in our modern sense? For
I doubt there are no Cityes in the Kings Dominions that have Episcopal sees that have 50000 Inhabitants, except London. Ours
of Dublin which is thought by most that have seen it to be second to London for greatness and populousness, is by a Bill of
Mortality, and an account of the poll-money sent to Captn. Graunt, estimated to contain only 30000 or thereabouts, though I
can hardly believe that to be our full number; according to which estimation the Parishes you speak of will exceed by one third
2/3 more, and so I believe they will equall our whole Diocese; for I believe the rest of it put together can hardly exceed the propor-
-tion of two third parts to the City. And can you think the same number in a Parish governable by the single unassisted abilityes of
a single Parish-Minister, and not think it so by a Bp. seconded by his Presbytery, Vicaryes and Parochian Curates? Or if the case
of exercising Discipline be harder in such a Parish than such a Diocese (as certainly upon the accounts now mentioned, it needs must
be) then I pray consider what equality is it to communicate with our Parishes indiscriminately, such great ones themselves not being
excepted; and yet to separate as indiscriminately from our Diocesane Communion, even of such as exceed not those greater Parishes
in the numbers of their people though they do in the numbers of their Governours? And if you think that as many may meet in one
place as may make up our ordinary present Dioceses (as you must do if they may conveniently included in a Parish) then how can you
conclude the less populousness of the ancient than our modern Dioceses from that very Topick of their meeting in one place? For my part
I verily believe that it is by accident, not designedly, that those Parishes have so vastly exceeded their ordinary proportion,
meerly from the encrease of the trade of the City in those parts, which were more thinly inhabited when the Parishes were first
distributed; as you may easily conjecture from the disproportion, some of them exceeding other Parishes in your City a hundred-fold, as
is observed by Captn. Graunt, which is more than there are Parishes in some of our Dioceses; and from the disproportion of their ancient
Churches, when they were designed Parishes, with their present multitudes, and their equality with those other Parish-Churches, whose
present Parishioners are so extremely unequall, and that these vast Parishes are generally in the Suburbs, where the City was very like-
-ly to encrease. And therefore seing the greatness of those Parishes seem never yet to have been approved, though they are not yet amended,
you cannot thence conjecture, what has most certainly appeared false as to matter of fact, that the Romane Christians were no more than one
56. " Parish, under the personal and immediate care of their Bp. 10. 3 you say, when none were Christians but persecuted Volunteers, they
" were the holyest and best of men, and you have sayed that 600 such make less work for Discipline than ten of the Rubble that are dri-
" -ven into our Churches, and chuse them rather than the Gaol; upon account of which conceived disparity, I presume your meaning is,
to conclude that one Bp. might rule a greater number than now, and therefore that though Diocesane Churches might then have
been rulable by one Bp. then, yet we are not thence to conclude that it may be so now. But I have already shewn that Government
must not be proportioned only to the good humours of men, but must be able to prevent and reform those lapses to which men
easily and naturally degenerate, and therefore that there must have been the same power in Governours then as now, though there
was not the same necessity of its actuall exercise; and that the Bp's. power was not over orderly Converts, but over lapsed Criminals
who had then more temptations to fall and being so to behave themselves refractorily against the Discipline of their Church, when
their lapses were countenanced, than now when they are discouraged by the Civil Magistrate; and over the Heathens who were
to be converted and severely disciplined for the triall of their sincerity, and securing them from a relapse. And if you find it so
hard a matter now to perswade such as know their duty, and acknowledg its reasonableness, and have a reverence of such perswa-
-sions and perswasions instilled into them by the Principles of their Christian education, to the practice of what they cannot deny themselves
obliged to; certainly the difficulty of reclaiming Heathens must have been much greater, who were as debauched in their lives as
ours now, and less disposed for conviction in all the regards now mentioned than vicious Christians, nay contrarily prejudiced not
only by practical but dogmatical prejudices against the wisest and most rational exhortations as proceeding from the mouth of
a Christian of whom they had conceived so unworthy an opinion, by reason of the slanders raised against them, they so commonly believed.
57. " What I said that a single Altare contra Altare in any City whatsoever was counted Schism. But when all is done (you say)
" two Cityes, under the power of great Temptations, are not to be our Rule against God's word, and the State of all other Churches in
" the world, and undeniable experience. So that it seems you are at last diffident of your Exceptions against these two instances, and yet
unwilling to yield though you should be convinced of their weakness. Indeed if what you pretend were true that they were against
Gods word &c. I should confess so great evidence sufficient to reject them. But it is certainly otherwise; and I believe you
cannot

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[illegible] give some account how their Clergy might be numerous though their people were few, from the [illegible]
[illegible] extraordinary exigences of those times. But not besides it appears that the exigences were indeed extraordinary, there
appearing no ground to believe any innovations accommodated to present exigences, but rather that that had been
the ordinary and perpetual [illegible], nor if it had, was it to your purpose. For the same extraordinary exigences with their requi-
ring an [illegible] [illegible] of a multitude of Clergy made the burden too great for one; and therefore if a Bishop cannot (as
[illegible] [illegible] the Canons) undertake the Government of a number too great for his personal care without pre-
judice of [illegible] of Discipline, it will follow that he could not do it then. But it appearing clearly otherwise, namely that the
[illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] under a Government properly Diocesan, that is including a multitude of Subordinate
[illegible] it is plain that [illegible] [illegible] cannot be imputed to the Government but the Governours
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the Christians meetings were then obscure and small in houses (as the
[illegible] [illegible]). But I have already shown you how the multitudes of Christians were, according to the
[illegible] of those Ages, [illegible] without any [illegible] multiplication of Altars or Tituli or Churches; and that this
multitude of [illegible] was [illegible] accommodated to their [illegible] ordinary meetings in houses occasionally, but their solemn and
" [illegible] places for [illegible] Assemblies, for such were the Tituli or Basilicae. You consider 2ly that these meetings were
" in so [illegible] so many [illegible]. But the Christians of those times were not so sparing of their pains, as to [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Altar for the comfort of their Synaxes, for in St Justin Martyrs time they came out
of the Country to [illegible] [illegible] which were from the most distant places of the same City. And therefore it is not proba-
ble that the distance of places but the multitude of the persons occasioned the multiplication of the Clergy. And by the
multitude of their poor ([illegible] 1500 as you mistake) you may guess at their multitudes, for it was too great
a proportion for the multitude of one Parish, especially when St Pauls rule was severely observed, that none should
be maintained on the Church account but such as were poor indeed, and else none should eat who did not labour
if he were able. And almost a hundred years before this the treasures of that Church were thought worthy the design of the secular
Magistracy, and great multitudes of poor are said to have been maintained on the Church-account in the time of Pope Six-
tus and St Laurence. You consider 3ly the Suburbicarian Assemblies. I suppose you mean the Assemblies in the Suburbs
of Rome, not those of the Regiones Suburbicariae (which I believe you will not doubt but that they contained a number too
[illegible] for a single Parish) and then the former Answer will suffice, that they, who ordinarily came out of the Country to the
City-Assemblies were not likely to scruple coming to them from the Suburbs if their numbers might be entertained in one place
with convenience. 4ly you say many Presbyters used still to be with the Bp in the same Assembly. If you mean it on solemn
occasions of great concernment for the government of the Church, I confess it; but you cannot thence infer, that, they being de-
-ducted, few would remain for Parochial Cures, being [illegible] being but rare, they might all be spared from their Parochial Offices.
But if you think that in all ordinary Synaxes such a number of them were obliged to a personal attendance on him as must
[illegible] them from their other employments, I believe you have no ground to think so. In the form of their Offices by St Ju-
stine Martyr, we find no mention at all of the πρεσβύτεροι and the διάκονοι, a sign that there was no part of the Office
" obliging Presbyters to be present. 5ly you observe that there were in all but 7 Deacons. But this is no argument to conclude
the [illegible] [illegible]. For it was an opinion taken up in that age, from that unsecure principle of Apostolical practice in
in Ecclesiastical obligation, that no Church how great soever must have any more than 7 because there were no more in the
Church of Jerusalem at their first institution. The words of the Neocaesarean Canon are plain: Διάκονοι ἑπτὰ ὀφείλουσιν
εἶναι κατὰ τὸν κανόνα, κἂν πάνυ μεγάλη ᾖ ἡ πόλις· πεισθήσῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τῶν Πράξεων.
And this number was not casually taken up in the Church of Rome, but on some such designed account, may very
probably be conjectured, because we find it observed in St Laurence his time, who being Archdeacon of Rome, is called
Primus e septem viris qui stant ad aram proximi &c. by Prudentius. And you will accordingly find constantly in the
Author of the Pontifical the number of Deacons ordained by every Bp of Rome to be less than of Presbyters. And if the four
[illegible] Chairs appearing in the Revelations be taken from the Bps sitting in the Church (as if I be not mistaken, the most
learned and judicious Mr Thorndike thinks it is) then as the 24 Elders may allude to the Christian Presbyteries derived
from the lesser Sanhedrims of the Jews consisting of 24; so the 7 ministering Spirits may in conformity to the Septenary
number of Angels so famous among the Jews (as Mr Mede proves professedly) which are called λειτουργικὰ πνεύ-
ματα by the Apostle Heb. 1. allude to the Septenary number of Deacons, which were always attending on the Bp in a rea-
-diness to execute his commands, as the Angels are supposed by the Jews to do on God himself. Nor need you wonder that so
small a number of Deacons might be conceived sufficient to answer so great a proportion of Presbyters, considering that
their special office was to distribute the almes of the Church to such as were maintained on publick charity, and to attend
more immediately on the Bps person as ordinary executioners of his commands, for I believe you will never find that they
performed any service to Presbyters acting separately from their Bp. And certainly for distribution of Almes and per-
52. " sonal attendance on the Bp so small a number as seven might be sufficient in a great City. 6ly you say, that many
" there were Presbyters that used not to preach, but for private oversight, and as the Bps Assessours. This, though for
my part I conceive it very true, seems strange to me to proceed from a person of your Principles, who usually teach
publick Preaching in Ecclesiastical Assemblies to be the indispensable duty of every particular Gospell-Minister, by which
name they include, if they do not only mean, Priests. But supposing it true, as I believe it was, that there were severall
Priests who did not preach, yet will nothing diminish the multitude of Priests, as you seem to conceive. For I believe you can-
-not prove that publick preaching was then accounted an ordinary Parochial employment. And though it were not, yet there
were others equivalent sufficient to take up the time and pains bestowed on it now with equal edification: such were vi-
-siting, communicating, absolving, persuading, resolving cases of Consciences, and satisfying themselves concerning the lives
of Penitents, for discerning who were fit or unfit for their communion: all these offices which were performed out of their
publick Synaxes, and all that were performed in them, besides preaching, that is, their ordinary Prayers, their Hymns
antiphonally, their reading of the Scriptures, their Catechisings, their generall exhortations [illegible] not designed and so-
-lemn, their collections and oblations, so that though there had not been so many Preachers, in our modern notion of
53. " the word, yet there might have been as many Parochial Priests as Tituli or Parishes. 7ly you say, that the poorer
" sort most commonly received the Gospell. If your meaning herein be to conclude that the 1500 poor were the most
considerable part of believers that you might thence conclude the whole number of Converts to have been small, you
should have remembered what poor they were, such as were maintained on the publick charity, that is such as were not
only poor but impotent, unable to get their livings otherwise. And sure you cannot but think that the multitude of other
believers upon whose charity they were maintained, especially if poor themselves (though able to earn a livelyhood) as
you seem to suppose, must have been great, especially considering the other expenses of their Charity, on the Clergy,
on the Martyrs and Confessors, on their hospitality to Strangers &c. all which may be sufficient presumptions that these
1500 poor did not in any probability beare any considerable proportion to the multitudes of the Romane Church by whom
they were maintained; and I believe in few Cities in our Kings dominions, if any, will be found so great a number of
poor who by reason of impotency are thought by the Magistrates fit objects of the publick charity, even in these our Ages
54. " wherein all are supposed Professours of Christianity. 8ly you say, that none of these but the 46 Presbyters had any power
in

Prudent. Peristeph. in Laurent.

Can. 14. Conc. Neocaesar.

Prudent. Peristeph. ubi supra.

^ and this competent paucity of Deacons in proportion to the number of Presbyters being accounted by ancient Christians an occasion of the Deacons presumption [illegible] in his Ep. ad Evagr.

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fol. 39. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

under it Act. ii. 46 (if it be meant of the Sacrament, and not rather of their Feasts of Love) may not also allude to this custom. I
shall not now dispute it, but only observe that this practice, though not mentioned in this Text, yet certainly used in those times,
might from the same Altar have communicated much greater multitudes than are contained in our ordinary Parishes. But there
was also a 3d expedient for those numerous Communions, that though indeed the known Altar where the B. Sacrament was ordinarily
and solemnly administred, were only one even in those populous Cities, and that in the publick Assemblies yet in private and occasional
Assemblies Presbyters were permitted to do it by leave of the Bp. without any prejudice to the unity of the Church which was
signified by the unity of their Altar. I will not mention the instances hereof in the Acts of the Martyrs, which are not so secure to be
relied. Ignatius and Tertullian are very clear to this purpose in the places already produced. Now this account being, how notwithstanding
the multitude of Communicants, and though the Sacrament were the greatest obligation to attend publick Assemblies, yet much
greater numbers than our Parishes might have been supplied conveniently enough from one Bishop and one Altar; it will be easy to give
an account of others. For as for Preaching which is now most insisted on as a reason of Church Assemblies, besides the Sacraments, tho
though certainly very differently from the sense of those Ages, it will not much prove that to have been so appropriated to the Bp. as that
ordinary Presbyters were excluded from it. All that can be pretended to this purpose, is, that the exhortation with the Communion-Office, was
then generally in the presence of the Bp. and that in his presence it was not usual for Presbyters to preach. For this is the only thing that was
thought so strange in the preaching of Origen before Theophilus and St. Augustine before Valerius, that it was done in the presence of
their Bps. and that the power of Ecclesiastical Assemblies upon what pretence soever, preaching as well as others, was appropriated to the Bp.
But 1. all private visitations and conferences which were much better suited to the exigencies of those times might undoubtedly be performed
by single Presbyters, and these being performed with that diligence as they were then, would in a great measure supply the necessity
of publick Sermons; and 2ly even for those publick preachings which had no relation to the Communion-Office where the one Altar
was concerned, might have been ordinarily permitted them by the Bp. and 3ly even those which were conjoined with that Office might
49. " yet by the Bps leave have been permitted in places distinct from the one Altar as well the Communion itself. Your instance of St. Patrick
" founding 365 Churches (for I only take notice of the most probable number) and ordaining in them 365 Bps. and under them 3000 Presbyters,
" does not methinks seem any thing to your purpose. You say, here is no more Bps. than Churches: I believe you meant the contrary,
that there were no more Churches than Bps for this is only to your design, of shewing as many Bps as Churches, that is, in your acception
of the word, as Parishes; and you know that though we pretend many Parish Churches may be subjected to one Bp. yet we are far from
saying that there ought to be many Bps in one Parish. But admitting there were in St. Patricks time no more Churches than Bps. yet how
can it follow thence that there were no more Parishes, or that the word Church in those Ages, used without any restrictive particle, must
signify that only which were equivalent to our present Parishes? For you know that we do not pretend that there ought to be any more
liberty for Bps to hold plurality of Dioceses than for a Minister to have plurality of Parishes, though I will not defend all practices in both
particulars, so that if the word Church imply that which is Diocesane as most probably it did according to the style of those times, then we
do not think there ought to be more Churches than Bps. Indeed I confess the Dioceses of those times must have been, for scope of land, as
much less as the number 365 is greater than 21 or thereabouts, which is our number now. But it is withall most clear 1. that as small
" as they were, they were greater than our Parishes, there being about 9 Presbyters to a Bp. as your self observe. Now your own notion of a Parish
containing no more than are capable of being governed by a single person, where 9 persons were thought necessary there must be supposed
9 times that proportion, that is, 9 Parishes. And then if you think your self obliged to abstain from that communion where Discipline
is impossible, and think it impossible where the Bp. undertakes the government of any more than he is able to give an account of by his
own personal care, you must have conceived your self obliged as much to separate from Diocesane Communion in Dioceses then
as now, and therefore should not plead those Dioceses as precedents. But 2ly your own principles will warrant the enlargement of our
Dioceses now. For if Bps might in the primitive times take the charge of whole Cities, not because the Cities were small, or the Inhabitants
few, but because they who owned Episcopal Authority, that is Christians, were so; then I may say our present Dioceses may be very much enlarged
since the divisions of Christians, for whereas then they were all unanimous, the case is otherwise now, when Papists and Sects and other
Non-conformists being deducted, of all Sects and opinions, those only are accounted that own our present Episcopal Authority, would be so few,
comparatively so that you see, that, by separation upon account of the too great extent of our Dioceses, the inconvenience is not remedyed
but confirmed in consequence of your own Principles. But 3. what inconvenience soever may indeed be in things of this nature is to be regarded
as well as reformed by the Governours, whose proper care it is, not to be remedyed by such, such as are the undutifulness and separations
of private persons from their Superiors on that account. I confirmed the Argument from experience from an instance of Rome, which
though so great in Cornelius's time as to need the services of about 1000 Clergy, was yet at the same time under the government of
" one only Bp. To this you Answer 1. that this was about 250 years after Christs birth. But this is not the Question, how soon it was
but whether it was not when Discipline was strictly enough observed? For from hence it follows, that experience has then shewn that Discipline
was sufficiently reconcileable with a Diocesane Government, and therefore may be so now if Governours would be equally industrious.
50. " And that Discipline was then observed I believe you will not deny. You Answer 2ly that you never took all the Impotent persons, poor
" and widdows in the Church to be Clergy-men and Clergy-women. I shall not dispute the propriety of my expression, not but that I know
that the word has indeed been used in a very large sense so as to comprehend most persons relating to the Church, and possibly the
all there enumerated; both because I do not conceive the thing material to my present purpose which is only to shew the numerousness
of the Church from the multitude of Presbyters, whom you will not deny to be properly Clergy-men, and because I
confess I too much trusted my memory in quoting the place, and upon consulting the place find my self to have been mistaken in
2 things: 1. that I thought the word Clergy to have been used by Cornelius; 2. that I thought that all the severall sorts there
mentioned, Presbyters, Deacons &c. to have been comprized in the number 1500, whereas I now find that the latter sort of the
poor maintained on the charges of the Church were only therein included. Omitting therefore these mistakes which now I know, I
will not undertake to justify, the thing I insist on is, that here are 46 Presbyters mentioned, and that there were in Rome
Optat. Milev. l. II. cont. Parm. Plus quadraginta, & quod excurrit, Basilicae (as we learn from Optatus) when Victor Garbiensis was sent from Africa to be
made the Schismatical Bp. of Rome, which was about the persecution of Dioclesian, when the Schism of the Donatists commenced,
which number of Basilicae or Parish Churches (for you have already seemed to grant that Rome was then divided into
Parishes) may very well agree with the number of Presbyters mentioned by Cornelius. There being therefore even then so many
Christians in Rome as were able to make up 46 Parishes, besides those of the [illegible] Region adjacent subject according
to the practice of those times to the jurisdiction of the City Bp. it is plain that the Diocese was even then of a larger extent
than Parochial, as your self had already granted (though here you endeavour to answer the Arguments that are designed to prove no more
than what you had granted) and therefore 46 times exceeding the ability of a single person. Yet I believe you will not deny but that
all this number was then sufficiently governed by one Bp. without any visible decay of Discipline observable in those times. I
Interpr. of the Numb. 666. C. 19. know indeed that Mr Potter in order to his own design does endeavour to prove the number of Presbyters and Titles originally ordained
from Cletus, Evaristus, Dionysius and Marcellus to have been 25. Nor shall I now digress to shew the ground of his mistake. All
that I shall desire you to observe at present, is that his Authors are either evidently late, or suspicious if pretendedly-ancient;
not comparable in credibility to Cornelius and Optatus produced by me; but if I should admit all that he pretends, yet 25 Parishes are
themselves are too large an extent for such Dioceses, as you desire, that might not exceed the personal abilities of one. But you endeavour

terms were described) without [illegible] for publick future contributions. It being therefore so well attested by the [illegible] of [illegible] that the summe given was so great as not to be thought [illegible] containing a Parish, and being no way credible that any but converted Christians did contribute to it, it must hence follow that the number of Christians was [illegible] greater in Carthage then in any of our modern Parishes. To that Christian Author I shall add a Heathen. It is Pliny whom I mean, who thus dissuades Trajan from his severity against the Christians by an argument from the multitude of the persons likely to be concerned in it.

47.

Plin. Ep. L. X. Ep. 97.

Visa est mihi res digna consultatione maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam vocantur in periculum, & vocabuntur. Neque enim Civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est, quae videtur sisti & corrigi posse. Certe satis constat prope jam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, & sacra solemnia diu intermissa repeti, passimque venire victimas, cujus adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit poenitentiae locus. You see that many, not as you say few, were Christians, that not only Cities but villages and towns were overrun with the contagion (as he calls it) that he thence concludes what a great multitude (that is turba) might be gained by a more [illegible] way of treating them. And that this multitude was to be understood comparatively to the Heathens, directly contrary to what you say, that in comparison of them they were but few, appears clearly from what he adds, that their Temples had been almost desolate (exactly herein agreeing with Tertullian's [illegible] vobis relinquimus Templa) that their solemn [illegible] had been long intermitted, that their sacrifices (which we find to have been exposed to sale in the markets 1 Cor. X. 25.) found few buyers, which could not have been if the number of Heathens had been then considerable, I do not say, as you do, comparatively with the Christians, but even absolutely in it self. And then for discerning the pregnancy of this Testimony I pray consider 1. that this Epistle of Pliny is mentioned by Tertullian, Eusebius and Orosius, so that there can be no doubt of its being genuine; consider 2ly that this Epistle was certainly written very soon after St Johns death, who dyed in Trajans time (Baronius places St Johns death in the 2d year of Trajan, and the writing of this Epistle in the 5th or thereabouts) and therefore the words diu intermissa will in all likelihood extend the paucity of Heathens in those parts to St Johns time at least, certainly very long before your period of Constantine; 3ly that this Church of Bithynia, of which Pliny gives account being his own Province, was converted in the Apostles times as appears 1 S. Pet. I. 1. and therefore the government there settled must have been, if not instituted, yet at least approved by them, especially being so near those [illegible] which were undoubtedly founded by the Apostles. Yet it cannot [illegible] but be thence that [illegible] one City had more than one presiding Bp. 4ly that this Testimony is of an Adversary whose interest had been to have made the Christians most despicable by concealing their numbers, if he could have done it [illegible]; and 5ly that as Pliny must in all probability be presumed veracious in telling what he knew, so he had means of knowing what was really true, being Governour of the Province, and having actually made enquiry after the Christians in their persecutions of them.

Tertull. Apol. Euseb. Chron. Hist. Oros. L. VII.

I believe [illegible] the great reason that inclines you to believe the paucity of Christians in those times, is that in great and populous Cities they were able to communicate at one Altar, upon which account you conceive them to have been no more then what may assemble in our ordinary Parochial Congregations. But you might as well have concluded whole Cities indeed, nay whole Nations, to have no more People in them then our ordinary Parochial Assemblyes. You know every clean male in Jewry was to appear before God at the 3 solemn Feasts of Easter and of Tabernacles, whose numbers computed by Cestius Gallus, amounted to a number sure too great for a Parish, and the numbers in Jerusalem when besieged by Titus taken there upon occasion of Easter, is a plain argument of the vastness of their Religious Assemblyes. Nor was it only proper to the Jews thus to confederate and unite their Commonwealth by their Conventions on account of Religion to partake of the same Altar, but the same Policy was observed among the Heathens. The Assemblyes of whole Cityes are so ordinary that it were but pedantick to give instances of them. For those of Nations you may observe the Athenians Panathenaicks, the Olympick solemnityes which were of all Greece, and the Panionia of the Asiatick Ionians; not now to mention those of the [illegible]. Nor were only Sacrifices common to these vast Assemblyes from the same Altars, which is most easily intelligible, but speeches also were made to numbers much greater than our Parochial Assemblyes, which I believe you will think the greater difficulty, how the Bp who, you say, then was the principal, if not the only Preacher, should be heard, in a multitude proportionable to a populous City. Yet is this so far from being impossible, as that it was in those Ages frequently practiced. I will not instance in places of special contrivance, such as were the Roman Rostra, the Theaters and Amphitheaters, [illegible] where many thousands, sometimes 100000 or more might heard with convenience; and yet it is very probable that these publick places of Religious Assemblyes were contrived with conveniency for that purpose, nay [illegible] custom that the Jews had their Synagogues and [illegible] [illegible] for that [illegible] end, nor the Orations of Generals to their Armies who had the best advantage. It is very clear that upon occasions not so solemn nor prepared, great routs of tumultuous people, wanting heads to whom a particular address might have been confined, have been spoken to. I will not again instance in the Speeches of [illegible] and King Agrippa to the generality of the Jewish nation of which we are discoursing.

48.

Scripture Examples though purely Historical I find more easily admitted by you, and therefore I am the rather willing to insist on them. So Jehoiada makes a Covenant with all the People of the land 2 Kings XI. 17. 18. 20. Rehoboam speaks to all Israel 1 Kings XII. 1. 13. 16. 20. our Saviour preaches his Sermon on the mount to great multitudes from several places S. Matth. IV. 25. V. 1. and several other places, to 4000 at one time, and 5000 at another though in wildernesses, by which we may guess how much greater his Auditoryes were in populous Cityes. The Town-Clerk of the Ephesians to the whole City Act. XIX. 35. St Paul to all the City of Jerusalem Act XXI. 30. 35. 38. 39. 40. and by the multitudes converted by single Sermons of the Apostles, you may easily conjecture the vastness of their Auditoryes; which will be the rather credible when it is considered that the principal preaching of the first propagators of Christianity was generally in places of greatest frequence, such as the Temple or Synagogues of Greeks, or Schools or Market-places. Thus you see that it will not follow that the number of Christians must have been few, if they assembled in one place for the word and Sacraments, and if the Bp alone had preached. But neither supposition is so very certain, at least not so general, as you seem to believe it. For preaching, we see that while the extraordinary χάρισμα of Prophecy lasted, under which preaching was comprehended as well as prayer (which by the way is observable against them who allow studied Sermons, and yet complain of the Spirits being quenched if their Prayers be other than extempore) several Prophets met and officiated in their Synaxes 1 Cor. XIV. 29. 30. 31. So far was it then from being confined to any one person, Bp or other, to preach to the people, and even afterwards we find preaching not alwayes performed by the Bp. though I am apt indeed to think it was ordinarily. The Catechists were usually Presbyters, and Origen though a Presbyter, yet preached before Bps. But for the times of persecution, wherein they could not meet so numerously in one Assembly, yet other provisions might have been made agreeably enough to the Principles of those Ages for supplying the necessityes of much greater than Parochial multitudes. Such was that of reserving the species which I believe was a shift found out in the times of persecution, when every particular person could not get an opportunity of frequenting the Synaxes as often as he was desirous to communicate, which then was daily, it being the first meat they tasted. This reservation is clear from St Cyprian de Laps. the Author de Spectaculis among his works, Tertull. L. II. ad Uxor. Dionys. Alexandrin. Ep. ad Fab. Antioch. in Euseb. St Irenaeus to Pope Victor. Now by this means very great multitudes might frequently communicate though their Synaxes were rarely and thinly celebrated, that they might not give their Governours any just offence by their numerousness. For by Plinys Epistle to Trajan it appears that they did upon this account utterly forbear their feasts of charity, [illegible] upon his promulgation of the law de Hetaeriis in force; and in all probability yielded as far as lawfully they could they might. A 2d shift was that of sending the Sacrament by the Deacons to those that were absent. So St Justin Martyr expressly: οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου κὴ οἴνου κὴ ὕδατος, κὴ τοῖς ΟΥ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΠΟΦΕΡΟΥΣΙΝ. And again: ἡ διάδοσις κὴ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται, κὴ τοῖς ΟΥ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙ διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. And who knows whether the breaking of bread κατ' οἶκον or from house to house, as we

render

Optat. L. II. co

in the Eulogy [illegible]

Just. Apol. II. p. 97.

ib. p. 98.

Interpr. Numb. 6

LETTERS
fol. 38. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

possessions for unborn Spirits behind them; they who had left their City [illegible] as it were, dead, almost destitute of Citizens to be go-
-ne, and their Enemies [illegible] subjects, must needs have been much the greater number. But when he [illegible] that almost all
their Citizens were Christians, what can be clearer than that notwithstanding what allowances may be made for the confidence of the man, and the [illegible]
of opposite parties to advance their numbers, Christians were so far from being few in comparison of the Heathens as that the contrary seems most
likely, that the Heathens in the Romane Empire were considerably outnumbered by them? And that in other Cities besides Rome and Alexandria (which
45. though Apostolical Sees you will not admit as precedents) much greater numbers were under the government of [illegible] Monarchs with their
[illegible] than had been governable by any single, however able, Bishop, instances may be given (besides the [illegible] growth already intima-
-ted) in the good records of those times, as imperfect as we have them at this present. One is of Neocaesarea, a Metropolis of the Province of
-bus Polemoniacus (which I take notice of that you may understand how great a City it was) that though the Pagans are [illegible] said to have
[illegible] that inhabited the City it self and the adjacent Region (by which you may understand the extent of the Diocese of those times, that it inclu-
-ded the περιοικίς as well as the πόλιν, and that the number of the Inhabitants of such a Diocese did far exceed the Government of a single Parish)
yet there were but 17 Christians when St Gregory Thaumaturgus was first made their Bishop, who managed his charge with such good success as
that in a visitation of his Diocese a little before his death (again [illegible] as formerly [illegible] πάσας τε τὴν περιοικίδα [illegible] τὴν πόλιν
[illegible]) he found only the same number of 17 Pagans. Yet this infinite number he had governed himself without any addition of coordinate
coadjutors upon the increase of his charge, and left them in the same condition τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν [illegible] τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, that is, to his suc-
-ceeding Bp. Sure you cannot think this Diocese exceeded the greatest Parish in London. Another is that of Carthage, the multitude of Christi-
-ans wherein mentioned in my former letter you tell me plainly you believe not. Not to insist on the general argument I formerly made use of from
the multitude of Presbyters (as well as Bishops) which sure would not have been multiplyed if one had been sufficient, [illegible] the testimony of Pontius con-
-cerning the great multitude of the Christians that were present at the martyrdome of St Cyprian, of which himself seems to have been one, which may make
him the more credible, is somewhat considerable. He tells us that "conivebat eius infinitus [illegible] [illegible] ad expugnandam mortem mente fideli
[illegible]; which military expressions of their readiness to dy, are not so applicable to any as to Christians, who were only concerned on that account. But a
more pregnant presumption of their numbers is the summe collected out of the contributions of this Diocese for the relief of the captives. Misimus autem
(says he) sestertia centum millia nummorum, quae istic in Ecclesia cui de Domini indulgentia praesumus, Cleri & Plebis apud nos consistentis collatione
collecta sunt &c. This 100000 sesterces being reduced to our English coyn, according to the rate observed by Mr Brerewood and Dr Hakewill
will amount to [illegible] and more according to the Bp of Hereford: A summe so vast in the judgment of Pamelius, as without the au-
-thority of any new MS. and against the consentient readings of the former Editions of Manutius and Morelius, by no greater warrant than their
own conjecture from the incredibility of the thing, they endeavoured to correct it by leaving out the later words millia nummum, leaving only
sestertia centum, and by that means reducing it to a 1000th part. Yet even so it will rise to 781l. 5s. a summe very considerable for a single
Parish of those times, especially considering that they were newly recovered from a severe persecution, which may be presumed considerably to have ex-
-hausted them, both by the summes confiscated, and the loss of all their lands and rising rents, and the multiplication of the domestick objects
of their Charity (for we find the necessities of the Martyrs and Confessors to have been supplyed out of the Treasury of the Church from the
story of Peregrinus in Lucian and several passages of St Cyprians Epistles) besides the [illegible] value of money at those times before the disco-
-very of the Indyes, and the readiness of that Church to a new contribution, if the Numidian Bps to whom they wrote should think it
necessary, a sign that they had not been extremely impoverished by their former charity, whereas such a summe would seem in these dayes, since
46. the great supplyes from America, have ruined several of our modern Parishes. But notwithstanding these difficulties I confess a single
Parish I mean the same multitude of Christians there, which might have made up a Parish according to our late estimation, might [illegible] co-
-ntributed a summe as great as this later of Pamelius and Baronius, without disabling themselves for future contributions. For I consider that in
those times as well as the Apostles, there were those who sold their lands, and brought the prices to the Bps who (as St Justin Martyr tells us) was τοῖς
Apolog. II. p. 99. ἐν χρείᾳ [illegible] κηδεμών [illegible] which we have St Cyprian himself for an example who disposed of his own land that way at his conversion, and had
Pontius in vit. S. Cypriani. the same land returned into his hands when Bp which he again would have sold if he had not been prevented by the persecution as Pontius his Deacon
assures us, besides the constant offertory at every Communion, which we find practised in S. Justin Martyrs time, and the same Cyprians, and
in the time of the Author of the Constitutions called Apostolical, and in those times was reckoned as a part of the Communion it self, and
accordingly Criminals were as well excluded from the Offertory as from the B. Sacrament, and it was then the general practice to com-
-municate dayly. To which may be added their most solemn Synaxes and Offertoryes on Sundayes (on which the Apostle himself particularly ad-
-vised a provision for the poor) and their occasional contributions, such as that mentioned by the Apostle for the poor Christians in Judaea, and this
of St Cyprians we are speaking of. And indeed besides the great propensions of the Christians of those Ages to works of Charity, and the particu-
-lar diligence of St Cyprian to stir them up to it by his own example as well as exhortation (as appears from Pontius and from his Treatise de
Opere et Eleemosynis [illegible]) it was in reason the most prudent course they could take to convert their lands into moneys to provide for
[illegible], and to lay out those moneys on such good uses which might entitle them to future rewards rather than hazard their loss in such times
when they were unsecure how long they might keep them, besides that such a disposall of their riches was the most likely way to animate them
for such accidents and to make them unconcerned for temporal fortunes, and to raise their minds to Heaven, where their Treasures had been de-
Τῆς καὶ ἡμεῖς [illegible] -posited. Besides the great [illegible] fruitfullness of the Country adjacent observed by Strabo, and several other ancient and modern Authors
which must have inhanced the price of their lands when exposed to sale, and not only that but its great improvements, if we may judge of St
Cyprians time by what it was when Agathocles invaded the Carthaginians, which you may see described in Diodorus Siculus Bibl. l.
XX. p. 731. Edit. Graeco-Latin. Hannov. 1604. that it was admired by the Sicilians themselves whose own Country was admired for
Strab. l. II. p. 131. the same causes by the rest of the world; and the vastness of the City it self, if estimated with what it was before it was destroyed
l. XVIII. p. 833. by the Romans. The Ground it stood in was (as Strabo tells us) CCCLX stadia in compass all walled in, which being reduced to our miles
l. XVIII. will amount to about 45 miles a scope very much larger than London, and [illegible] their walls so vast and capacious as to contein
stables for Elephants and 4000 horses, and lodgings and guard-houses for 20000 foot and 4000 horse, which were their ordinary
constant guards, as Appian. Bell. Punic. p. 56. Edit. Graeco-Latin. Stephani 1592. and when it was destroyed by Scipio Africanus junior
Strab. ib. or Aemilianus, had 700000 inhabitants. And though at its rebuilding by Julius Caesar it might possibly fall something short of its anci-
-ent magnificence, yet was certainly a very great City even then after the rate which then they counted great (which rate I might easily
have shewn to be as great as now) [illegible] Strabo who lived not long after the restauration, sayes that it was even then inhabited as well
as any other City in Libya; and after him it is by Ptolemy who yet flourished about a 100 years before St Cyprian, called μεγάλη [illegible]
Tertullian, and Apuleius call the Carthaginians Principes Africae relating to their own as well as former times (for Alexandria which
Ptol. l. IV. c. 3. was under a Praefectus Augustalis was excluded from the ordinary notion of Africa, according to the Notitia of those times) as very well
Tertull. de Pall. Apul. Florid. they might considering that of the 6 African Provinces that of Carthage only was Proconsular, and the City was the residence of
the Proconsul himself, which must very considerably have contributed to its greatness. And now considering the very great fertility and
Vid. Pamel. in Tert. de Pall. & S. Cypr. improvements and populousness of the City and the adjacent Region under its Civil, if not also, Ecclesiastical jurisdiction; considering that in
Ep. XLV. XLIX. times of persecution it is most probable that as much as this as belonged to Christians was converted into ready money; that of these very
vast summs which may have been thought incredible to have been raised by these means, many were [illegible] bestowed on charitable uses, and
that generally so much was as could be spared from the owners necessary expences, and might therefore be reputed superfluityes, were so; that
according to the state of Christian affairs in those times, much more would have escaped superfluityes than now, when not only all expenses not
adequate to the dignity of their persons were accounted so, but even such as were, it being then neither safe, nor prudent, nor agreeable to the he-
-roical magnanimity so common then, to maintain that dignity; that as the former sums were exhausted more were daily brought in, that saying
of Tertullian appearing then experimentally true, that the sanguis martyrum was semen Ecclesiae; it cannot be thought so incredible as Pamelius
and Baronius conceive, that a considerable proportion of the Inhabitants of the Diocese of Carthage, according to the rate of Dioceses in those
times, might indeed contribute the [illegible] greater summe so well attested by the consent of MSS. so that there will be no necessity to [illegible]
the received reading upon account of their vastly conjectures which have [illegible] appeared so groundless. But then as this summe of 100000 se-
Carol. de Globo. -stertia is in a Parallel case [illegible] grounded by Seneca to have been equal to the revenues of [illegible], and so too great for a Parish after the
rate now in use; so it is no way improbable that a considerable part of the Diocese might indeed have given the number of a Parish [illegible] the

means

those who had already been converted by our Saviour's personal preaching (which may be supposed to have been very many for the multitudes that [illegible] before him, which amazed the whole City, and the terrour of the Pharisees who [illegible] take on them by force [illegible] of the people, and [illegible] possession that all the world went after him &c.) and those who were afterwards daily added v. 47. besides 5000 men more expressly said to have been converted by another Sermon Act. IV. 4. and multitudes of men and women Chap. V. 14. and multitudes again added through all Judea (besides which Jerusalem was [illegible]) Act. IX. 31. how many thousands are mentioned (which [illegible] myriads, for in the Greek it is [illegible] ten thousands) Act. XXI. 20. yet were all these under the single [illegible] of St James and his successors, as far as Histories can inform us, though in all [illegible] the number was vastly increased when most of the unbelieving Jews, who most of all hindred the progress of the Gospel, were destroyed in the siege of [illegible], and [illegible] This is [illegible] though it is [illegible] to have been established by the Apostles as [illegible] as was [illegible] by Adrian, and the town called Aelia not [illegible] in those times. For Samaria seems generally to have been converted. They appear in that [illegible] to have been deceived by Simon Magus Act. VIII. 9. all from the least to the greatest v. 10. and the same number seems to have been converted by St Philip, and to have been baptized both men and women v. 12. and therefore Samaria is said to have received the word of God v. 14. the least that can be understood by these expressions is, that much the greater part [illegible] and the [illegible] which must have very much exceeded the government of a single presbyter. In the Church of Antioch [illegible] a great number is said to have believed Act. XI. 21. also after Barnabas's coming much people is said to have been added to the Lord v. 24. who are therefore to have been supposed distinct from the former. And again v. 26. Saul and Barnabas [illegible] for a year together taught much people, who there first received the name of Christians, being probably from the great multitudes [illegible] above other places adjacent, which could hardly have been so likely if they had not born some great proportion to the inhabitants, which if they did must have very much exceeded our ordinary Parochial Limits, for Antioch was the third City of the Romane Empire in [illegible], as well as Ecclesiastical, dignity. So in Antiochia Pisidiae many of the Jews and Religious Proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas Act. XIII. 43. and afterwards almost all the City came together to hear the word of God v. 44. with what event may be conceived from that which follows v. 48. 49. that the Gentiles were glad and glorified the word of the Lord, and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed, and that the word of the Lord was published in all that region, which besides the opposition mentioned only by the Jews, and the devout and honourable women (that is Proselytes of the Gate, as some understand) added by them v. 50. must make the number of converts to have been [illegible] very considerable in proportion to the whole, which must have included a great multitude, this City being a Metropolis of a Province. At Thessalonica some [of the Jews] believed, and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few Act. XVII. 4. And at Berea another remarkable City, they were more noble than those of Thessalonica v. 11. and accordingly many of the Jews believed, also of honourable women which were Greeks, and of men not a few v. 12. In Ephesus [illegible] disputed [illegible] in the Synagogue Act. XIX. 8. afterwards two years in the School of Tyrannus, so that all which dwelt in Asia (that is the Lydian or Proconsular, whereof Ephesus was the Metropolis) heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks v. 9. 10. fear came upon all of them, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified v. 17. and you may guess at the great multitude of converts by the vast summe which their conjuring Books then burnt valued at 50000 pieces of silver v. 19. which is observed by the H. Ghost himself as an argument how mightily the word of God grew and prevailed v. 20. and it must [illegible] argue a very great number, considering that Books were a commodity which is not to have been presumed a considerable part of the goods of each, much less of that particular subject, how ever the Ἐφέσια γράμματα be celebrated among the Ancients, and the total number of the persons concerned must needs be greater, by how the particular proportions to be distributed among them are likely to have been less to the particulars, and it is accordingly observable that no particular is noted to have been considerably impoverished by so great a loss. These are the most remarkable Cities mentioned in the Acts which we have reason to believe to abounded with numbers of Christians too great for the care of any private person. [illegible] it is to be considered that as in their preaching you find little mention of their preaching in villages, but in Cities, so it is most evident that they left them to the care of the Government established in the Cities, whence it will follow that the Ecclesiastical as well as the secular Government of villages depended on the Cities, and that they were Dioceses in the modern extent, and that the Government established in Cities seems to have been most agreeable to the design of the Apostles, and of all Cities those are to be supposed most accurately provided for by the Apostles, which were converted by their personal preaching, and which in their times had numbers sufficient for Government, and therefore if other places that [illegible] from the examples of these, as those in Africa and Scotland, which you cannot prove to have been converted by the Apostles, you ought rather to have corrected those by these, than, as you preposterously do, to confine these erected and established by the Apostles to the dimensions of those which were not. But besides these Scripture arguments evincing the great numbers of Christians even in the times of the Apostles themselves, another may be drawn from the multitudes of Heretics which must needs have drawn great numbers from the Church, not only those [illegible] which rose immediately after the decease of the Apostles, as the Basilidians, Valentinians &c. but also those who were contemporary with the Apostles themselves, as the Simonians, Nicolaitans, Ebionites, Cerinthians &c. For though some few of these did even in the Apostles times themselves separate, as is clear from 1 Cor. 11. 19. and from all other places of the Epistles where they are blamed and confuted, and the multitudes of them that perished in Jerusalem in the Captivity, yet most of them did then act more covertly, and were followed by smaller parties in regard of what was done after the decease of the Apostles, which is the reason why Hegesippus in Eusebius calls the Church a pure Virgin till the time of Trajan, in whose time St John the last of them died not long after his return from Patmos. Now if the Christians were so numerous, as it appears they were, even after these defections of their own members by schisms, and the hindrance of the conversion of others, whom we find to have stumbled at a greater distance by the scandal of the multitude of [illegible] by Celsus, who wrote his book against the Christians under Hadrian the immediate successor of Trajan) we cannot think their number so small, as you conceive, in the times of the Apostles when they did not labour under these disadvantages. But when they had overcome these difficulties, and were [illegible] with new persecutions, it is strange how exceedingly they increased. In Severus's time, about the year of our Lord 201 according to Baronius, Tertullian wrote his Apologie which was about 100 years before Constantine. Yet even then there were such multitudes of Christians as that he prefers them before the Moors and Marcomans and Parthians, as being spread over all the Romane world. His words, though they be so known that I wonder that you forgot them, yet are withall so very pertinent and full to my purpose, as that I think it necessary to transcribe them. Thus therefore he in Cap. XXXVII. Apolog. Plures nimirum Mauri & Marcomanni, ipsique Parthi, vel quantaecunque unius tamen loci, & suorum finium, gentes, quam totius orbis? Hesterni sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus templa. Here you see Cities, and throughout the whole world (that is according to the language of those times, the Romane Empire) full of them. What can be more contrary to your assertion? Yet, that this may be understood with a latitude, for a great, though not the greatest, number, will easily appear from what he afterwards adds: Potuimus & inermes, nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupissemus a vobis, suffudisset utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium, imo & ipsa destitutione punisset. Proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum & stuporem quendam quasi mortui orbis; quaesissetis quibus imperaretis. Plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent. Nunc enim pauciores hostes habetis prae multitudine Christianorum, pene omnium civium pene omnes cives Christianos habendo. And again: Suffecisset hoc solum nostrae ultioni, quod vacua exinde possessio immundis spiritibus pateret. Certainly they whose very secession would leave nothing but solitude and silence and amazement, and empty possessions

[illegible] in the same place [illegible] the word of God [illegible] Act. XII. 24.

44.

4. 37. & An. 200.
§. 7.

LETTERS
fol. 37. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

you can have herein if your desire had been granted? Is it that the Bp. must not do that which himself thinks to be driving
men to sin? You cannot but know that they pretend (and how can you know that they do not believe?) their prosecutions of dissenters
to be not driving them to sin but from sin, from disobedience to that which they think lawfull Ecclesiastical Government, and from
those separations which themselves judge schismatical, and from the defence and practice of unlawfull oaths, and certainly what they
think to be disobedience and Schism, and the maintaining of unlawfull oaths, your self cannot blame them if they believe them highly sin-
-full. And the Preachers silenced by them are not by them thought faithfull Preachers of the Gospel, at least, not in the cause of their
silencing; but Preachers of contention, and founders and fomenters of Schisms, to the great weakening of the common interest of the [illegible]
and can you think it faulty in them to be zealous against them whom they conceive such enemies to the Gospel, at least while they think them
so, and profess themselves unable to find any reason to think otherwise? Or do you mean that the Bp. must not drive to that which the Cri-
-minal will pretend to be a sin, or prosecute that which he calls faithfull preaching of the Gospel? If so, you had dealt more plainly to
have denyed the Bp. any power at all to draw men from sin, or silence Blasphemers; than to grant him it, and yet to make it useless
and unpracticable, as it must needs be if he must not practice it till the sinner or Blasphemer confess themselves so. For how rarely do
you find real Criminals plead guilty at the Bar? Besides that by this means, the most innocent, if any, must only suffer, and the most dan-
-gerous must generally escape. For they who confess their crime must generally be presumed penitent, and they who are so are almost innocent, if
we may believe the Gospel; but he who denyes his guilt aggravates it by the disingenuity of his denyal. Besides he who confesses him-
-self a sinner or a Blasphemer, is only chargeable with a personal guilt, but he who pleads sins and Blasphemies to be no sins, sins more hei-
-nously not only in sinning himself, but teaching others to do so too. And that is the mischief only more considerable that is drawn aside by
this latter sort of disingenuous sinners, but the quality of the persons seduced, and the greatness of their danger, is much more considerable
than in those who are prejudiced by the former. For none are likely to be seduced by professed debauchees but such as are inclined them-
-selves; but they who are deceived by them who teach ill Principles, not only defending sins and excusing them, but pretending them to
be duties, are usually such who are of the best lives, and the most innocent meaning, whose errors are likely to be authenticated by their per-
-sonal Authority and reputation. And those who acknowledge their sins are most easily recoverable, their own Conscience being ready upon
occasion to joyn with external conviction whensoever offered to them; but they who mistake their sins for the service of God, do both alienate their
minds from conviction by laying out their zeal against hearing or impartially considering that which they look on as temptations and, in the event,
resolve their conviction into an affair of more difficult proof. For it is generally more easy even to the meanest and most popular capacity, to
prove a matter [illegible] a matter of right, how unquestionable soever. Certainly you would your self acknowledge him to be much the greater
and more dangerous person, who should preach for drunkenness, and maintain it to be an Evangelical duty, and call this his Preaching a faithfull
preaching of the Gospell, and accordingly be guilty of it without any thing of remorse or shame, than he who should ingenuously confess his
guilt and his unworthyness for all. Now this you know is the case of the supposed conforming dissenters. They think that to be their
Subjects duty, which their Subjects pretend to be sins. And can you blame them for obliging their Subjects to perform their duty? If you do, you
will thereby make their Government useless and insignificant. They think Schism to be a sin really much greater than those which sound louder
in the popular esteem, than drunkenness etc. [illegible] and more nearly relating to their trust as Governours, as be-
-ing most directly prejudicial to the publick, to take care of which is their peculiar office as Governours. They think that which is called faith-
-full preaching of the Gospell, not to be for reforming of mens lives, which is the great design of the Gospel (for God be praised we do not differ in mat-
-ters of that kind, but men may be as zealous as they please against sin, without Conformity) but the continuing and perpetuating of Schism, which is
by so much the more dangerous by how much it is more palliated by specious titles, such as is that now mentioned, so that though themselves may believe them
faithfull in other things, yet in this they are far from thinking them so, and therefore as far from professing them as faithfull Preachers. And, I believe, your
self will hardly pretend that their fidelity in some things must excuse their unfaithfullness in others. Or do you mean, that persons of a pious conversation
and conscientious must not be driven to that which they think sin, or from that which they think faithfull preaching of the Gospel? If you mean that all
truly pious conscientious persons ought to be treated with all candour and respect before severer means be used, or that the use of severer means
is wholly to be forborn, as far as may be, that is, so far as such forbearance may be reconcilable with the publick interest, which is to be prefer-
-red before the private of any single person how pious soever; I could for my part heartily wish it were so too, and I believe most of the
Bps do practice accordingly with those concerning whom they have entertained such a good opinion, and do endeavour to shew the same chari-
42. -table demeanour to them on earth, which they believe God will in Heaven. But you know that they who are indeed free from carnal vices, and such
as are obnoxious to ordinary observation, may yet be guilty of spirituall, such as obstinacy in yielding to conviction, or disobedience to Superiors, or negligence
in inquiry, or too much prejudice and partiality to the persons or reasons of their Adversaries, after they have given them an equal hearing, or some such
other prejudice which unawares seduces the very best and wisest persons; and their guilt upon some of these accounts may be discerned and judged by their
Superiors, from their perverse Demeanour under those milder treatments. And when it is discerned, though their innocence as to carnal crimes may in-
-deed in prudence and charity be thought sufficient for the expiation or pardon of smaller delinquencies, yet they can upon neither account be
judged so in regard of Crimes of a more heinous nature than their virtues are eminent, and of such a kind would Schism and factiousness appear to
such as would equally and soberly consider them. But suppose that Governours do indeed believe that their subjects do bona fide believe as they pro-
-fess and conceive themselves obliged in Conscience to deny their due obedience, and to follow those factious courses they are engaged in; yet sure you
cannot think but that well-meaning men as well as others may be mistaken, and that their well-meaning nor does their goodness secure their judgments
from error, in thinking that evil which is good and on the contrary; but only their practice, that they are not likely to be guilty of what themselves
think evil, nor to be negligent of what themselves think good. One would justly think that Ravaillac and several such resolved persons who en-
-gaged themselves without any private provocation in dangers they could never hope to escape, and much greater than any possible secular ends, if in their
wits, could have been animated by nothing to such desperate enterprises but only a strong persuasion of the goodness of their cause, and the hopes of future
rewards. And yet you would not think that a sufficient reason to exempt them from the severity of the Law. God may indeed be mercifull to such in
regard of their pious intentions. But 1. their practices by being acknowledged to need mercy must be supposed blameable, not commendable; St Paul con-
-fesses himself the chiefest of sinners in regard of those persecutions, for which he owns his ignorance as the reason of his pardon; and 2ly even God himself
does often chastise them for the terrour of others with temporal afflictions, whom he intends to spare in the world to come. A clear example hereof we have
in David 2 Sam. XII. 13. 14. where after his sins of murthering Uriah and defiling Bathsheba had been forgiven him; it is yet expressly added, that,
because by this deed he had given occasion to the enemies of God to blaspheme, the child that had been born of that adulterous mixture should surely dye.
And therefore good men themselves, when guilty of Schism, giving the like scandal to the enemies of the truth, and drawing others to the like sin by their perswa-
-sion or example, may in this life be punished for the good of others; and 3ly God himself cannot be thought mercifull to men good for all other things, and
peccant only in one kind, especially if of so heinous a nature as Schism, without their repentance, either particular, by an actuall explicite confession and refor-
-mation of it, when known; or generall and implicite, and in voto, when they are penitent for all sins unknown as well as known, and are in a ready preparation
of mind to use and accept of all moral means of discovery, and to reform what might be convicted by such discovery, how dear soever otherwise. And this you
know is the case of the Church in punishing well-meaning persons who are guilty of Schism. It is plain that they are so far from being penitent for what she thinks to
be sin, as that they defend it, and draw others to it; and as to generall repentance, she thinks she has not reason to believe it in them, when upon proposal of
her reasons, they shew themselves perverse and factious and incorrigible. If it be pretended that the Church may be mistaken in censures; I pray consider this that
she must act according to her own Conscience, though erroneous; and though God may prove indeed indulgent to many persons whom he, as a searcher of their
hearts, may know to be penitent, yet the Church, being obliged to accommodate her demeanour to them, to her own knowledge, may at the same time justly and
commendably prosecute them, if they seem otherwise to her. And I believe you will find it a general occasion of your mistakes in this kind that you look upon
Superiors as obliged to act according to your own private Conscience. But if your self had been a Governour, and had to do with a person of a reputation
otherwise unblameable, but yet notoriously guilty of some very remarkable offence coming under your cognizance, and so far from being penitent for it as that
he should defend it and preach it to others, and call such preaching a very faithfull preaching of the Gospel, I believe you your self would most secure making accord-
-ing to your own Conscience than that of the Criminal, though you might confess your self as liable to mistakes as him; and believe it, that it is the most equal
43. way to clear your self from prejudices, and to prevent uncharitable censures, to represent their case as if it had been your own. You Assert 5ly that you
remember that great Abyss had long but few Christians in comparison of the Heathens till Constantine's time and mostly long after. But 1. though this
had indeed been true, yet it will not follow, that the Government must have been proportioned only to the necessities of those times, both because heathens
as well as Christians, the reducing of Infidells, as well as the Government of believers, belonged to their charge, which must have been by far more rather
than less, as there was much more difficulty in reducing one from his vitious practices as well as opinions to the severe rules of Christianity than to govern many,
especially such good and excellent persons as Converts were generally in those times, when actually [illegible] Christianity was in a growing condi-
-tion, and therefore the Government was to be proportioned to their future hopes as well as to their present numbers. But 2ly the supposition that Christians
were so few till Constantine's time or afterwards, is a great mistake. In the Church of Jerusalem, we find 3000 converted by one Sermon Act. II. 41. besides
those

which may too probably be the event, if you should prove too true the conclusions of your present opinions.

I confess you do not act consequently to this later Principle, whilst you refuse not our Parish-Communion, which communicates with our Diocesane quà Diocesane; and I had much rather decline the dispute than urge you too far to approve your self more rational by being more uncharitable. But I believe, Sr. if you would be pleased to examine, you would certainly find your self mistaken in thinking their ordinary Cities to have been no more considerable than our ordinary market-Towns. For first you know that then, as well as now, Cities were the highest denomination; and that in those flourishing Countryes, proportionably much more populous than England, it is likely their Cities were accordingly frequented. Nay most of the Cities of those times, especially the Orientall, the Greeks and Asiaticks, had been little Republicks among themselves before the success of war had subdued them to the yoak of a common Master, which must in all likelyhood have made them more considerable, when their Governours care and interests were more confined to them than if they had originally been included in a greater Society. Besides the wars waged by them, and the resistance made against numerous Armyes, and the multitude and capaciousness of their temples and Theatres then frequent in ordinary Cityes (as you may see for the small part of Greece very fully in Pausanias, besides what other Authors have mentioned occasionally concerning that and other places) are sufficient arguments of their ordinary populousness. And considering that those Cities that were among them eminent for greatness, did rather exceed than fall short of those which are accounted so now; we have reason to believe
39. that the common Cities did also hold the like proportion. Nay according to all the qualifications of our modern Cities, those anciently were every way as considerable as ours. They were Towns corporate among themselves. This appears from the Government mentioned as exercised among them; the ἔννομοι ἐκκλησίαι Act. XIX. 39. the ἐκκλησίαι and δῆμοι & γερουσίαι so very frequently mentioned in Greek Cities; and the Praetors and Aediles among the Latines. They were walled; whence the ordinary Etymology of Urbs quasi Orbis, from the compass allotted for the walls by the plow, and the customes of plowing for founding and demolishing their walls, so famous among the Romans. And the same you may observe to have been the generall custome, where you will I believe never meet any mention of a City unwalled, though possibly not with those ceremonyes and formalityes. And this seems to have been one of their principal distinctions from places of a next but inferiour account, that the oppida, [illegible] among the Latines, and the κωμοπόλεις among the Greeks were not walled, as our Market Towns usually are not. They had suburbs subject to their jurisdiction frequently mentioned in the Scriptures, particularly those of the Levites Num. XXXV. 5. about 2000 cubits on every side without the walls, which is m[illegible] a mile. So the Romans had their Pomoeria and Suburbana, and the Greeks their προάστεια or προάστια obvious in Authors. And besides these suburbs there were severall places of inferiour denomination subject to the ancient Cityes. These you have frequently mentioned Josh. XVI. and in severall other passages of that and other books of Scripture; and are rendred Towns in our English translation, vici and viculi, castella, and sometimes oppida in the vulgar, κῶμαι & ἐπαύλεις in the LXXII. And expressly Aristotle defines a City ἡ ἐκ πλειόνων κωμῶν κοινωνία τέλειος. And as the Grecians had their κώμας subject to their Cities, so the Romanes particularly had their Pagos places of some natural advantage for strength to which the Rusticks might have a ready recourse in time of danger, instituted by Servius Tullius, yet subject to their City, as you may see in Halicarnassaeus; whence you know the name Paganus first signified a Country Clown in opposition to a Citizen or a person of civil education. And generally through Italy you may find mention of vici and pagi and oppida, who yet in all affairs of consequence had recourse to their neighbouring Cityes. And besides the examples now mentioned from the Scriptures, the same practice seems to have been observed in other Orientall parts, as appears from Isidorus Characenus who in his Parthick Stages mentions not only κώμας but κωμοπόλεις, in contradistinction to Cityes, as also Xenophon in Exp. Cyri. And that they were subject to the Cityes might have been shewn from the manner of their census described by St. Luke III. 2. that they were to be taxed in their own Cities, which seems to have been the common custome of the whole Roman Empire; and the ordinary practice of the men of those Ages to denominate themselves from the City they had relation to, though born in the villages; and their usual recourse on solemn occasions to the City-Sacrifices, a practice very much conformed to their secular dependence by the ancient Legislators; besides their repairing thither for secular justice. But besides all this, the right of a City was given to places, not upon account of their greatness and populousness, but by special Charter. A clear instance hereof we have in the XIII. Action of the Council of Chalcedon. There we find Anastasius Diaconus pleading a right to Basilinopolis, because it had been formerly a Region of Nice (what Regions were is notorious from the divisions of Rome and C.P. into them) till it was made a City by Julian or some other Emperour. Nor yet was a place so considerable as that it was afterwards made a City, yet originally only a ward of another City, which ward was in all likelyhood equivalent to our ordinary Market-Towns. Nay more than that, for he gives instances of two such others Tatteus and Doris that were then acknowledged Regions of Nice. He sets also this Region raised to the dignity of a City by the Imperial Rescripts. And further he proves the dependence of Basilinopolis on Nice by this argument, that the Emperour who made it a City took πραγματικὰς or Curiales (whence the Imperial Rescripts themselves are frequently called Pragmatica) from Nice; and that the custome was still observed, that the vacancyes of Basilinopolis, as they fell, were supplyed from Nice, and that they were frequently transferred from thence back to Nice again; and that thus that which had formerly been a Region became a City. Where severall things are observable to my purpose: 1. that that which made the Region a City was the having Court-officers of their own; whence it appears that Courts were appropriated to Cities, and that therefore all other Towns not thus priviledged must have been subject to the jurisdiction of the Cityes; 2ly that these Courts were granted by special Charters of the Emperours; and 3ly that the borrowing these Officers from another City if constantly observed, signified some secular dependence of such a place on such a City from whence they were borrowed. And now I pray, what can such a Town walled, incorporated, and having jurisdiction not only over suburbs but a proportion of the villages and Towns adjacent, by special Imperial Charter, want of
40. our modern notion of a City, were as contradistinct to our Market-Towns? And that the Government of the Church was proportioned to that of the State is so commonly observed by learned men as that I cannot think it necessary to be tedious in proving it. And that in this very particular of the subjection of the ἐγχωρίους παροικίας to the City Bp. appears from the 17th Canon of this same Council, where it is not only for this, but all other affairs of a like nature, established as a generall Rule (very probably occasioned by the forementioned controversy) Εἰ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὖθις καινισθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω. And, though we had no express Testimony, yet the multitude of Clergy requisite for the Government of their ordinary πόλεις, a whole Presbytery in the City besides the Deacons and the other inferiour Orders, and others in the Country subject to the Chorepiscopi or περιοδευταί, and all subject to the City Bp. do plainly shew that the Bps. jurisdiction, if not as large as now, was at least much larger than our ordinary Market-Towns, which usually have but one Parish and are therefore thought sufficiently governable by an ordinary single Presbyter. And this form of governing Cityes was so universal as that your assertion to the contrary is not credible even in Africa or any other place where Bps. or Cityes are observed to have been most frequent or numerous. But if it had indeed been otherwise in some singular places, yet it is plain that the general rate of Cities among the Ancients was equal to ours; whence it will follow that the Dioceses generally designed were such as ours are now, though in some particular more Anomalous instances they were (it may be) as small as you would have them. Whence 2 things will follow very apposite to my Design: 1. that the judgment of those Ages themselves were certainly more for us than you, since their judgment is only to be concluded from their general Rules, not from their particular anomalous practices; and 2ly that the case of Discipline must have been the same with them as us. For the general observation of Discipline cannot be effected by singular, but general practices and designs. Whence it will be safe to infer that if Discipline was then generally observed, then it is observable under a Diocesane Government in the
41. sense we are now disputing concerning it, for such I have proved to have been generally practiced then; and if it was observed then, you can give no difficulty why it may not be so now, if Governours would be equally industrious. Your intimation concerning the Bps. you would have in your Parochial Dioceses, [that their office must be to drive men from sins and not to it, to silence Blasphemers, be not faithfull Preachers of the Gospel,] as if our Bps. were guilty of the contrary, is methinks very sharp and uncharitable. We are all agreed you as well as we that this is our Diocesane Bps. office. Our only difference is that you conceive their actual practice to be otherwise. But I pray consider seriously what good meaning

Polit. L.1.c.2.

and the ages denominated from the City.

you

36. And how long before Heraclas's time this distinction might have been introduced, you cannot tell. Yet I believe you will hardly say, much more hardly prove, that the Discipline failed there, in the time of Heraclas, or for a long time after. Heraclas himself [illegible]. How much the Church of Alexandria and himself particularly suffered for Christianity, you have fully related by his successor Dionysius in Eusebius, in the times of Decius and Valerian; and how severe they were in their [illegible] appears from his Canonical Epistle to Basilides, besides his other Penitential Treatise now lost. What the Alexandrians also suffered in the most bloody persecution of Diocletian you may find in Eusebius, and particularly in Thebais (which by the Nicene Canon establishing the ἀρχαῖα ἔθη, we find to have been influenced by the Alexandrian Discipline) the number of Martyrs was so great as to denominate a famous Epocha which those Countreys observe to this day, called the Annus Martyrum or Diocletian. Which severity is by so much the more remarkable because it followed an interval of rest, which usually corrupts that Discipline which is onely voluntary, and unseconded by good lawes. I need not mention the Martyrdome of their Bp. St. Peter in this persecution. His very severe Canonical Epistle is sufficient to shew how rigorous Discipline was then practised, when in the height of persecution such severe penances against lapsed persons were not judged unseasonable to be exercised on such persons over whom they had no coercive power but the obligation of the Penitents Conscience. I might have proceeded to have shewn the same severity still maintained in that City (which you so particularly reflect on as unworthy to be made a precedent) during the [illegible] of Alexander and the great Athanasius from the great Elogies given to those excellent Prelates by the Fathers, and the courage shewn by them in ejecting and keeping out Arius, and the very slight exceptions urged by the Arians their enemies against them, especially in the severall Synods convened in the cause of Athanasius. Eusebius owning the generall severity of the lives of Christians, their memorable example of their great diligence in providing for those who had been formerly their fiercest persecutors, in the great plague and famine which immediately followed the persecution of Diocletian, and enduring many of their own kin in the famine, when they had been deserted by their nearest friends, may be an illustrious instance. Besides the contest between St. Peter of Alexandria and Meletius the occasion of the Meletian Schism shews how generally the Alexandrians were affected to Discipline. For when St. Peter, though severe enough against lapsed persons, as appears by his forementioned Epistle, yet thought it a necessary indulgence to admit penitents to Communion during the persecution, [illegible] as well as others, that they might be the better animated to new occasions of suffering; Meletius opposed it, and was followed by much the greater part of the Clergy. Wrong you to conclude that the like subdivision was not introduced into other Churches because we have no records alleging it to have been so, since there is so little extant of those earlier Centuryes ~~[illegible]~~, much less any thing so minute and particular in describing the customes of particular Churches, as that it would be safe to argue negatively from their omission of a custome to conclude that there was none. For my design it is sufficient that the ancient Dioceses had as many Presbyters besides other Clergy requisite to rule them in conjunction with the Bp. as are now thought sufficient since their distribution to particular Parishes; besides the Chorepiscopi and the Clergy under them, all subject to the Government of the City Bp. which is enough to shew that the charge of a Diocese was as great then as now, and much beyond what you would have it, the abilityes of a particular person without Parochial Subsidies.

apud Euseb. l. VI. c. 40. 41. l. VII. 10. 11.

l. VIII. c. 10. 12. 13.

l. IX. c. 8.

Epiphan. Haeres. 68. n. 4.

37. 4ly You say, "At Antioch (the third Patriarchate) Ignatius professeth that every Church had one Altar, & one Bp. with his Presbyters and Deacons, fellow-servants." If you mean every Church at Antioch, as if that or any other ~~[illegible]~~ City in that time had more than one Bp. presiding over a Presbytery, that is more than you will find in Ignatius or any authentick writer of that time. But if you mean at Antioch as a Patriarchate, that is within that circuit which was afterwards subject to the Bp. of Antioch as a Patriarch, including the whole Oriental Diocese, there were many Cityes that had in them but one Altar with one Bp. and his Clergy, that I have already granted probable; but have withall shewn how little it will advantage your cause or prejudice mine, and I am not desirous to trouble you with repetition. The name of fellow-servants I doubt you misunderstand. It is indeed true if related to God that persons of all Orders in the Church are his fellow-servants. But if you mean it (as I doubt you do) that they are Servants coequall among themselves; that is clearly against the whole current of Ignatius's Epistles, and against the supposition of their being distinct Orders; and, I believe, against your own opinion concerning Priests and Deacons, whom I think you will not say to be thus coequall. But for what you add farther (as if you had it out of the same Ignatius, though indeed you have not [illegible] it as you did the former part) "that in this One Church the Bp. must enquire all by name, even Servant-men and maids, and see that they absented not themselves from the Church; whence you ask, why is not Ignatius confuted if he erred? and refer me to Mr Mede on the point; I am confident that you will find no such thing in Ignatius or Mr Mede that will need confuting; though indeed if it were, I should not think that it would need it, because this enquiry by name need not have been performed by personal visitation of them, but by schedules delivered to him by his subordinate Clergy, which if any of our Bps. would do, I should be so far from offering to confute, as that I should highly honour and reverence him for it. But you say 5ly that "Alexandria and Rome by not multiplying Bps. as Churches or Converts needed it, began the great sin and calamity, which hath undone us; and therefore are not to be our Pattern." If you mean by Bps. your Parish-Bps. (as you seem to do) who must have no greater charge than one particular person unassisted with a Presbytery may give a particular account of; then sure you cannot but know, that as they are by you thought singular in introducing this distinction of Altars in the same City, so, they must have been so in multiplying such a kind of Bps. that might attend them, at least, in more accurately proportioning them to the multitudes of Churches and Converts. But if you mean a multitude of Parish-Priests, whom you would fain call Bps. independent on a principal President; then it would concern you to prove 1. that Alexandria and Rome were herein singular, which you will find impossible to be done; and 2ly that their guilt herein, was not onely an occasion (for occasions of evill cannot be proved evill, and so unfit for being Patterns) but naturall causes, of that grand sin and calamity you so lament. You Assert, or rather argue 6ly that "were Bps. necessarily to be distributed by Cityes, the Empires that have few or no Cityes, must have few or no Bps. and an Emperour might aliud agendo, depose all the Bps. by disfranchizing the Cityes." This does not shew the impossibility of a Bps. maintaining Discipline in a City that is great and populous, which is indeed our Question; but onely the inconvenience of scrupulously multiplying Bps. according to the multitude of Cityes. And that, as it is not to our purpose, so, I know no Adversary you have in it. For there are no humane establishments whatsoever that can fit all circumstances; yet are not such possible inconvenient cases thought sufficient to abrogate them though known and foreseen. And therefore it was not in prudence a sufficient reason for the Church to alter her general rule of multiplying Bps. by Cityes, because the cases mentioned by you are but rare and improbable, which kind are not taken notice of by humane Legislators. They are rare; for where will you find that Empire that hath few or no Cityes at least, in those civilized parts of the world they were then acquainted with? They are improbable, for the administration of Justice among Subjects, and the encouragement of Traffick, which are the Governours interests, do require such priviledges to be given to places not too distant from each other. But if the inconveniences were greater than indeed they are, and sufficient to perswade a deviation from such a generall rule in such cases; yet 1. the Church never acknowledged any unalterable Divine obligation to observe it; but has alwayes reserved a power to her self of deviating in such cases, of which she might be satisfyed that they were sufficiently momentous; and 2ly she has in such cases actually taken the liberty of erecting her own sees; as in those Nations which had but one Bp. though many Cityes, of which instances were already given; and in those places where Cityes were too numerous and too little frequented, against which she has made those express Canons that Bps. should not be placed over them, ne vilescat nomen Episcopi, which those of your perswasion do so often take notice of with offence.

were all in the same City.

Can. VI. Conc. Sardicens.

38. "But first you say, every Corporation, Oppidum, like our Market-Towns, was then a City, and so is. And if we will procure every such City with us to have a Bp., and the office of such Bps. to be to drive men from sin and not to do it; and to silence Blasphemers, & not faithfull Preachers of the Gospel; all our Controversyes of Prelacy are then at an end." But I fear though you had your desires that in Analogy to Cityes Bps. should be multiplied ~~[illegible]~~ according to the numbers of Cityes (which rule you lately seemed to dislike) and that every market-Town should be accounted a City, as you conceive it to have been practised among the Ancients, and that Bps. discharged their duty as you have described it; yet you would hardly suffer our Controversyes to end so, especially if you add consequently to your own Principles. For you know by the first rule that small Cityes, as you have described them, must have small Bps. the greatest that are, London it self, for example, must have but one, together with the Villages about it; and I doubt that would be found to be a charge as disproportionable to the abilityes of a single man as some of our Country Dioceses, especially here in Ireland. Nay ~~as I believe~~, by Capt. Graunts calculation, ~~[illegible]~~ London bears a greater proportion to all England than any single Diocese which is onely the 25th part. Now according to your Principles, our Communion, qua Diocesane, that is, if I understand you, as exceeding the abilityes of a private man, is not to be embraced. Therefore even in this case you must refuse to communicate with the Church of London. And considering that in communicating with a particular you do communicate with all with whom that particular Church holds Communion (for Communion with a particular Church is no where understood as a profession of union with her alone, but also with all such whom she accounts orthodox members of the Catholick Church) you must by the same sequele conceive your self obliged to decline the Communion of all particular Churches communicating with London. Unless therefore you suppose a Schism of all other Churches from her, you must make one from them; and so be in the same condition wherein you are at present.

14th or 15th part p. 83. 84.

If

Bishop. For though χώρα was indeed taken in the sense here is concerned it should be, yet there is no necessity that it should be referred to κωμῶν, as if distinct Bps had been imposed over them from those of the Cities to which they were related; but may conveniently enough be joined with κηρύσσοντες, to signify their preaching in the villages, as well as Cities, and their ordaining of fit persons from both for Bps and Deacons to be disposed of where they thought convenient. However it seems very probable that the Apostles, as they planted Christianity first in Cities, so they seem to have settled the Government there first, and as they generally left the villages to be converted by excursions from the Cities, so it seems most credible that the influence of the Government must have followed that of the propagation of their Doctrine. Certainly the τόπος χωρίου Ῥωμαίων mentioned by Ignatius in his Inscription of his Epistle to the Romans, over which the Church of Rome is said προκάθηται, cannot in the narrowest exposition, chuse but include a precinct as large as our ordinary Dioceses. But lastly supposing all had been as you would have them, that it had been enjoyned by the Apostles that every Parochial Church should have a distinct Bp. yet how can you prove that it was an injunction of an immutable and eternally obliging nature (as it is clear that some, that of abstaining from blood Act. XV. was not) so if it be not you ought not to urge them to the prejudice of superinduced Constitutions. But lastly all that you can pretend for your purpose is only that the having only one Bp in the appropriated sense in a Diocese, was not conformable to the sense of the Apostles. But it does not thence follow that Discipline is not maintainable under such a Government which was the only thing for whose proof I produced it. You answer 2ly that a particular Church then was a Society of neighbour Christians combined for personal Communion in Gods worship. I confess personal Communion was generally practised with the Bp. But I have proved it to be of whole Cities and such great Assemblies as could not be served by a single person (without the assistance of a Presbytery which the Bp had for his help) and therefore could not be Parochial in the sense of the word now commonly used. If you think otherwise, when you prove it, I may then, and not till then, be concerned to think of a further Answer. You Answer 3ly that for 250 years, you think I cannot prove, that any one Bp in the world (save at Alexandria and Rome) had more such Congregations and Altars than one: nor these for a long time after the Apostles; nor in many Churches for some hundred years longer. This is the same mistake as before, to think them answerable to our Parishes, who did all communicate at one altar; whereas indeed the same circuit and number of inhabitants who had first been governed by the Bp and his Presbytery in common, no particular Presbyter having any proper portion assigned him but by the provisional commands of the Bp. was after distributed into parts proportionable to the number of the Presbytery, that so every one might know his own work. And I pray what essential difference is there betwixt the same Presbyters acting in common as they did at first with the Bp. and distributed into several divisions as they are now, unless it be that this latter is more convenient? And if the Bp was major universis when they acted in conjunction with them, why must he be minor singulis or at least aequalis when dispersed to their several distinct employments? If all of them when united might not attempt any thing without his consent and privity, why must each of them be allowed that liberty when deprived of their united forces? And if Discipline was maintainable by them when acting in common they were more remote from particular application; why should it not be much more so when none is invited to be negligent by shifting to another as men are apt to do in cases of common engagement, and when each of them has a task

35. proportionable to his own abilities? But 2ly suppose that this subdivision of the Diocese into Parishes (which is all that you can pretend to have been attempted at Rome and Alexandria, for by this means it fell out by accident that there were several Altars under the Jurisdiction of the same Bishop) had not answered the primitive examples, nay had been a culpable, not a lawfull prudential innovation; yet will you say that Discipline was not maintained when it was actually, however upon other accounts culpably, introduced? If you grant it was, that is sufficient for my purpose, to shew that the Experience of those times has evinced the possibility of Discipline under a Diocesan Government, and therefore that it is practicable even now if men would but endeavour it. If you say it was not, you must then charge the most celebrated Churches in the purest Ages with want of Discipline. For in Rome the first division in Titles (answerable to our Parishes) attributed to Pope Evaristus who came into his See A.D. 112. by the Author of the de Pontificib. commonly ascribed to Damasus, (for afterwards in the 2 Epistles of Pius (which are of better repute with learned men than the others that bear his name) to Justus Viennens. we find mention of two Titles then newly established by Euprepia and the Pastor; so that I think this division there (if we may trust these Authors for it; and if we may not, you will have no ground of charging the Romans of those Ages with plurality of Altars more than in other places) will appear to have been as soon as they had any settled places to meet in. For before that their meetings seem to have been ambulatory and uncertain: sometimes in the Temple, sometimes in the ὑπερῷον, sometimes in secret places, particularly in the Cemeteries (for of some of these may the passages of 1 Cor. XI. and the ancient Author of Philopatris in Trajan's times who bears the name of Lucian be understood) and then it was not so convenient to subdivide into Parishes, when there were not any settled places peculiarly designed, and so convenient for Parochial Assemblies; upon which account there will be no reason that the not following examples of the former Age should prejudice against the prudence and convenience of this. But the Titles mentioned by Pius as left by Legacy seem to have been perpetually alienated to the use of the Church, and therefore fitter for this purpose. Which if it be supposed, then the Antiquity of divers Altars in the same Diocese will be equal with Churches and Parishes which you do not condemn, and as ancient as they could be with any tolerable convenience; and you cannot blame them for being no sooner. And that you will not deny that even then, and a long while after, Discipline was maintained among the Romans themselves. If you do, you must contradict all the Histories of that Age which mention the Martyrdomes of their Bps of those Ages together with very many of their other Clergy and Laity for several successions, and the great Elogies of Tertullian and St Cyprian, and the confident appeals to the Romane Church as well as others, for the assertion of Apostolical Tradition, used frequently by the Fathers against the Hereticks, which a sensible decay in Discipline would have weakened their credit, even in doctrinals. And for the other instance of Alexandria, the first mention that we find of a subdivision there is in the time of Arius, who is said to have been Presbyter of a Church called Baucalis, upon which occasion Epiphanius tells us, that the Churches of the Catholick Communion in Alexandria, under the Jurisdiction of the same Archbishop, had their particular Presbyters assigned them, for the Ecclesiastical necessities of the Inhabitants, which divisions were by the Alexandrians, according to the custome of their Country, called ἀμφόδοι or λαῦραι. But it is not mentioned as an Innovation in or near his time, and therefore is in all probability to be presumed much more Ancient. And if the custome of the eldest Presbyters succeeding in order to the Episcopacy, was in Alexandria (where it seems observed as a special custome) practiced from the Apostles time to Heraclas (who was Scholar to Origen) as St Hierome and Eutychius say it was, and then ceased as St Hierome seems to intimate; then it would be very probable that this subdivision into λαῦραι was introduced at least before that time of Heraclas; because some relicks of that practice remained in Arius's time, whose place as Presbyter of Baucalis is made next to the Bp. [So Gelasius Cyzicenus speaking concerning Alexander, καθιστᾷ τὸν Ἄρειον πρεσβύτερον ἐγγίστα ἑαυτοῦ.] Whence also the relation in Nicephorus Callistus of the quarrel of Arius with one Baucalus being the first and 2d Presbyters of that Church of Alexandria, which is given as an occasion of his heresy, a story very probably raised by occasion of his mistaking Baucalis the name of his Parish for the name of a man, who is made the 2d because Arius was known to be the first. For this precedency of Arius is no way probable to have been because of his longer standing in his office of Presbyter, seeing Alexander is said expressly to have given him it, who was the first that made him Presbyter, for he was only made Deacon by his Predecessor Achillas. Now Alexander himself is thought by Baronius to have succeeded Achillas in the year 311. and if he be mistaken seems rather to err in placing him too soon after Peter, and the difference betwixt him and Arius arose about the year 315. not above 4 years after, too small a time to make him in course the Senior Presbyter. His precedency therefore seems to be upon account of his Parish, which at the first distribution had in all probability been allotted to that Presbyter who had been senior in due course of standing, which therefore seems to have been introduced whilst that seniority was observed, that is, at least, before the time of Heraclas.

And

ὅσαι ἐκκλησίαι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ ἕνα ἀρχιεπίσκοπον οὖσαι καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ταύτας ἐπιτεταγμένοι εἰσὶ πρεσβύτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας τῶν οἰκητόρων, καὶ ἀμφόδων ἤτοι λαυρῶν [So it is to be read] ἐπιχωρίως καλουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων κατοικούντων πόλιν. Epiph. Hær. 69. n. 1. Conc. Nicen. C. 1.

note all in same City

Con. VI. Co=ning 38

14th or 15 part p.

later Churches from their respective BPs. By the word Churches are only meant Orthodox Societyes including BPs. as well as other members, whence it will follow that the Church is only therefore said to have this power because the BPs have it, and therefore that no Ecclesiastical member can have it independently on them. 3ly That by the word BPs. to whom this power of remitting sins is ascribed, to which all other Ecclesiastical power is consequent, Presbyters are not included will appear probable, if you consider 1. that though the word Presbyter and Sacerdos be often attributed to BPs. properly so called, yet at least, in that Age, I believe you will hardly find that a single Presbyter is called Episcopus. Blondell himself I think will not furnish you with an instance; and 2ly that these BPs are such as are called Successors of the Apostles. And that by these Successors of the Apostles single persons are understood in the language of that Age appears in that when they prove succession from the Apostles they do it by Catalogues of single persons, as those in Irenaeus, Tertullian &c. and that BPs. in the confined sense are so frequently said to be Successors of the Apostles, which is not said of simple Presbyters. See S. Cyprian, Ep. 42. 65. 69. and the Author de Aleatoribus, with many others usually produced in the Disputes concerning Episcopacy. And then for the sense of St Cyprian, he was as absolute in vindicating his own right as condescending in his practice.

32. He it is that asserts the unaccountableness of the Episcopal Office to any under God, that makes the Church in the Bishop as well as the BP. in the Church, that charges the contempt of the BP. as the originals of all Schism and Heresy, and paralells it with the sin of Corah, Dathan and Abiram, that spares not even Presbyters themselves when presuming to act without his order, but puts them in mind of his being their Superior, and charges them with rebellion when they took that liberty you desire of acting arbitrarily and independently. Ep. X. Instances of all these kinds might have been produced, if I were not affraid of being too tedious. These things may at present suffice to shew that the liberty you desire of admitting or rejecting whom you please from your own flock is not more unreasonable than different from the practice of those Ages for which you profess a reverence. Nor do I understand your Design in the use of that liberty you desire. If it be that you would have those whom you think unworthy of your flock excluded from your care, that is as improper as if a Physician should desire to be excused from visiting those who are most dangerously, though not desperately, sick. Certainly the contrary would rather follow, that, as they need most, so, they should have most of your care. It is our Saviours own saying, that the whole need not a Physician but the sick, that is, at least not comparatively; and generally his greatest pains and favours were afforded to those who had least deserved them. Nor is their unwillingness to deal with you in affairs of this nature a sufficient reason to exempt them from your Care; for this unwillingness it self is a most considerable ingredient in their distemper, and that which makes them more truly pittiable, and it would be as great a piece of inhumanity for the Spiritual as the Corporeal Physician to desert them on that pretence, some[illegible] different from the behaviour of Christ and his Apostles, who found the world generally as much prejudiced against, and unwilling to hear them concerning affairs of that nature as you can with any probability presume concerning a Christian Auditory. If your meaning be, not to be excused from the use of all other good means for their recovery, but only from admitting them to the B. Sacrament which ought to be the priviledg of such as are already reformed; I pray consider 1. whether, though you deny them to be Christians, yet, at least, their very Baptism and external profession of Christianity be not at least sufficient to entitle them to exterior priviledges, if on their own credit they will venture on them; and that Sacramental priviledges are but exterior. They are invited to the marriage-feast, and none may exclude them if they come, though it is at their own hazard, if they presume to do so without the marriage-garment; and 2ly that this does at least hold till they be convicted and censured by their due Superiors; and you know it is questioned whether you, as a private Presbyter, ought to have that power; but 3ly that you have a power of suspending [illegible]suading persons till you acquaint the BP. and with him you have that power of convincing and perswading, which seems as much as your self desire, so that even upon this account you have no reason to complain.

33. My 2d argument was from Experience even in Ecclesiasticals; to which you Answere, "that its hard then to know any thing, and that you "dispute all this while, as if the question were, whether men in England speak English; that therefore, if you believe Sense, you profess your "self incurable, and allow me to despair of you. If I had disputed from present Experience in England, I should have confessed your Answere proper, that I had endeavoured to conquer your Sense and Experience, as you elsewhere express it; but I wonder how you could understand me so, considering that our present want of Discipline was the occasion of my desire of its revival, whence you took the occasion of these Disputes. My meaning was, that in the primitive times, when BPs. were indeed laborious and conscientious, and were willing and desirous to do what they could do, Experience shewed that Discipline was actually maintained under such a Diocesan Government; and therefore I concluded that the multitude of persons governed was not the reason of our present neglects. And what is it that is supposed in this discourse, or need put you to those unequal resolutions of being incurable? Is it whether the number of Christians in Dioceses were equal then with what we have now? This was proved in my former Letter. Or that the BPs. then challenged the same power over the Presbyters as now? This I have but lately proved. Or that Discipline was then maintained? This I do not find that you deny, nay certainly your self thought Discipline maintainable under Episcopacy when you professed your self ready to yield to such an Episcopacy. Or that what was then performed by the same Government is still performable, if men would be the same? The admission of this would not oblige you to question your Sense or Experience. Nor indeed is any thing of this kind, concerning Antiquity, as notorious to you as what men do at present in England. For proving the great multitudes then subject to Diocesan Discipline, I said, that the greatness of no City was thought sufficient to multiply BPs. To this you Answere 1. "that Gods insti-"tution was, that every Church have a BP. for which you quote Act. XIV. 23. &c. But 1. the place you refer me to has no mention of a Divine Institution; for Apostolical practice is not a sufficient proof of that, and this is all which is as much as intimated in this place; 2ly it does not as much as mention the word BP. but that of Presbyter. And though the words were granted to have been then confounded, yet you know they were so afterwards when the things were evidently distinct. And therefore you cannot conclude from the word Presbyter that a Bishop was meant, especially in the sense wherein it was afterwards appropriated. Nor 3ly is it evident that by πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν is meant a single Presbyter in every particular Church, as in a Parish; but may as well be meant of Presbyteries as Presbyters. And when afterwards the presidency of a single Monarch was introduced, no Churches had Presbyteries but such as had BPs. and were Diocesane, in the sense we now understand the word. And if they were Presbyteries, you cannot hence disprove the presidency of one of them, as we find it soon after practised. Nor 4ly is it evident that by ἐκκλησίαν must needs be meant a Parish, as it concerns you to believe, after the word Church was applicable to great and small Societyes, [illegible] and the great ones may as well be called one in their kind though they be capable of a further subdivision into many Churches of smaller denomination. Thus the Catholick Church is called one in the Constantinopolitane Creed, though consisting of many National, and the Church of England but one National Church though consisting of two Provincial, and the Province of Canterbury but one Provincial Church though consisting of several Dioceses, and every Diocese but one Diocesane Church though consisting of several Parishes. And even in the Scriptures there are several notions of the word of different proportions. There are the ἐκκλησίαι κατ' οἶκον, and there are the two or three gathered in the name of Christ, which from the coherence, and the Christian notions of Assemblyes seem to make up a Church, and accordingly Tertullian calls an Assembly of two or three a Church, though consisting only of Laicks; Exhort. Cast. and yet these Churches are so little serviceable to your purpose as that I believe you would not be for confining a private Presbyter to so small a Cure, and am sure they are much below those populous Parishes which you do not seem to disapprove. Supposing therefore I should grant you that every distinct Church should have a distinct BP. yet how will you prove with the least plausibility that this Church must be understood of a Parochial one, that the multitude of BPs. may answere that of Parishes? Especially considering that the notion of the word for a Parochial Church will not be so easily deduced from Scripture as that for a Diocese. For thus much the Independents, I think, do prove sufficiently, that a whole Church in those times did generally meet in one place; but they fail in proving distinction of Churches in Cities, though never so great and populous, there appearing no footsteps in those times of any subdivisions allotted to particular Presbyters; which two put together do plainly amount to our notion, not of a Parochial but Diocesane Church. Besides if we may believe the πρεσβύτεροι κατ' ἐκκλησίαν had parallel with those κατὰ πόλιν Tit. I. 5. as in all likelyhood they are; then a Church will be that which will extend to the libertyes of a whole City. And because you find no mention of distinct Presbyters for villages recommended to Titus's care, it seems very probable that they were sufficiently provided for by those of the City, and therefore that they had some dependance on them. For that the Apostles did take care even for villages, we have the express testimony of St Clemens Romanus (that κατὰ χώρας κ(αὶ) πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.) if these words be understood as commonly they are. But I confess it does not seem to me so clear that by χώρας here is understood those country villages which are obnoxious to the jurisdiction of the City, but rather Regions, as it may be translated, not as Rome and Constantinople were divided into their regions answerable to our wards, but as it may in a larger sense signify Provinces, under which many Citys might be comprehended (my reasons I would give, if I were not unwilling to digress) much less am I satisfied with Blondells conjecture who contrives it to relate to the Chorepiscopi, and thence concludes that they were not originally subject to the City-Bishop.

That the name of Churches was first attributed to Cities see proved by the Ingenious Dr Stillingfleet Irenic. P.II. C.7. §. 2.4.

34.

p. 54. Edit. Junii

Of Cyprian

to Ignatius, which you seem to approve, it is very plain that all the power of Presbyters was dependent on the Bp. That

Edit. Usser. p. 3.

Ignatius (in his genuine uninterpolated Epistle to the Ephesians) ἐὰν μή τις ᾖ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ θεοῦ. And that that θυσιαστήριον is the Communion of the Bp. appears from the sequele, whence he con=cludes, σπουδάσωμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὦμεν θεοῦ ὑποτασσόμενοι, whence you may easily guess what he would have thought of Presbyters communicating in opposition to the Bp. that even such Communions being without the Altar must needs have been deprived of the bread of God.

Ep. ad Magn. p. 11.

To the same purpose also the same B. Martyr advises even Presbyters not to despise the youth of Damas the Bp of the Magnesians: ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τῇ ἡλι=κίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου [the word συγχρᾶσθαι translated appositely to the sense of this place, familiariter uti, seems to argue a greater distance than you would I believe think consistent with the parity you are so desirous of] ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν θεοῦ πατρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν [observe I pray again the word ἐντροπὴ reverence] καθὼς ἔγνων καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πρεσβυτέρους [hence it appears that Presbyters as well as others are concerned in this his Exhortation] οὐ προσειληφότας τὴν νεωτερικὴν τάξιν [this is the νεωτερικὴ τάξις so much disputed of; the youthfullness of the Bp's person, not the novelty of the institution of his Order, for it was that youthfullness which they were likely to take advantage of, which is the notion of προσειληφότας] ἀλλ' ὡς φρονίμους συγχωροῦντας αὐτῷ, οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ. Εἰς τιμὴν οὖν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος ὑμᾶς πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑπακούειν κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν. ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται. Τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον, οὐ πρὸς σάρκα ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεὸν, τὸν τὰ κρύφια εἰδότα. You see here that even Presbyters are not to take advantage even of a youthfull Bp either for presuming on too much familiarity with him, or denying him the reverence due to his Order though in a youthfull person; that they are to yield to him, or rather to Jesus Christ whose person is represented by him (and sure you would not think much to be imposed on by Jesus Christ) that this duty is to be payed without all hypocrisy to the Bp for Gods sake whom it is impossible to deceive; that hearkening to him (for that is the notion of ὑπακούειν, which in the Hellenistick style then in use is the same with Obedience) is part of that; and that the disrespect to him in any of these duties redounds to the dishonour of God for whose sake he is to be ho=noured. And now I pray consider how you can reconcile this with your desired liberty of excommunicating without his priority or consent. Immediately after he blames them who give their Bp the honour of an empty name, and yet do all things without his priority, and expressly censures them as οὐκ εὐσυνειδήτους, men of no good Consciences, διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροίζεσθαι, where besides the coherence formerly noted, it is plain that even Presbyters also are included because he speaks of Assemblies, which could not be celebrated without some act of Priestly power. And if such Assemblyes be not according to the command nor the rules of good Conscience, how your proceedings without the consent or priority of your Bp can be excusable I do not understand.

p. 17. ib.

In the Epistle ad Trallian. after having enjoyned respect to all the 3 Orders, he concludes χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται, whence you may easily conclude his thoughts concerning such Assemblies which are maintained without one of them, that is of Episcopacy, as they must needs be who take upon them to act independently on their Bp.

p. 20.

So in the Epistle to the Philadelphians, he says expressly that as many as are on Gods part and Jesus Christ's οὗτοι μετ' ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν, by which you may see, what he would have thought of those who should have joyned with any Presbyters exercising an Authority different from, and independent on that of the Bishop. Nay he confidently charges them, not from his own private sense, but inspiration (and those extraordinary χαρίσματα had not as yet failed in his time) χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε, and after teaches that God gives remission of sins to them that are penitent, only on that

p. 30.

condition, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα θεοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, which if it be so, how can the absolu=tions of Presbyters attempted without the consent of their Bp be valid? But what can be more clear against your independency of Parish Ministers in the exercise of Discipline, than that excellent passage in the Epistle to the Smyrnae=

p. 36.

=ans: Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαρι=στία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. And a little after: οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὃ πράσσετε). So again: Καλῶς ἔχει θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι. Ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑπὸ θεοῦ τε=τίμηται). Ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσων, τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει. You see how expressly all persons (Presbyters themselves not excepted) are forbidden to meddle in Ecclesiasticals without Order from the Bp. You see what Ecclesiasticals he means by his enumeration of the particulars, not only Baptism and the feasts of love, but the very Eucharist. You see how clearly he disowns the validity of that Eucharist which is not received either from the Bp. himself, or some person authorized by him; which both may serve to let you see that even Presbyters themselves are included, seeing your self do not allow the power of admitting to Communion to Laicks or Deacons, though authorized, and that the power you seem to challenge of commu=nicating whom you please without the Bp's licence is again censured as invalid, as a dishonour of God, nay as a service of the Devil, which would have been thought harsh and passionate expressions if the age he lived in, before the starting of our modern Controversyes, had not put him beyond any just or probable suspicions of partiality.

31.

I have the rather insisted on the testimony of this B. Martyr, because you seem to have been willing to have condescended to the Ignatian Episcopacy, and were therefore concerned because in my Catalogue of the Ancient writers, I said Ignatius was De=clared against the Presbyterians. I might have descended lower, because you said you would have yielded to the Episcopacy practised in St. Cyprian's time, to shew that this liberty you desire, of admitting to, or excluding from, your flock whom you please was not even in those Ages allowed to bare Presbyters. At present I shall only note a passage or two because I am desirous of hastening. Baptism which has always been thought to require less power than the Lords Supper, was not, in Tertul=

de Baptism. c. 17.

=lian's time, permitted to Deacons nor Priests themselves without the Authority of their Bp. These are his words: Dandi qui=dem [viz. Baptismi] habet jus summus Sacerdos qui est Episcopus: Dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi authoritate, propter Ecclesiae honorem. Quo salvo, salva pax est. Exactly herein agreeing with Ignatius. And the same seems to have been the sense and practice of the Asiatick Churches in the time of Firmilian, who though indeed he mention the

Ep. 75. apud S. Cyprian. p. 182. Ed. Pamel.

majores natu praesidentes (under which word according to the use of that Age I confess Presbyters may be included) as having the power of baptizing, imposition of hands in reconciling Penitents especially, and of ordination, which we do not deny them, yet he seems to intimate their dependence on the Bp. in the administration of that power which properly belonged to him, which is all that we desire. For thus he afterwards expressly asserts the power of remission of sins (either in Baptism or Absolu=

p. 184.

=tion of Penitents as appears from the occasion of the Dispute concerning the validity of both among the Hereticks) to have been given to the Apostles, & Ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, & EPISCOPIS qui eis ordinatione vicaria suc=cesserunt. Where it is to be observed 1. that though no exclusive particle be expressed, yet it must necessarily be understood from the whole design of his Discourse, which is to exclude the Baptism of Hereticks from being remissive of sins, because the power of remitting sins is not granted to them, which would not follow unless all which had that power conferred on them had been adequately enumerated by him; and 2ly that by the Churches here mentioned cannot be understood a Society contradistinct from the Bps. For I believe you cannot produce a precedent of that Age, where the word is taken for the other Clergy; & that there are only these two other senses that I can think of reducible to this purpose: either for the Laity, and that you your self I believe, will hardly think intelligible here, that the power of remitting sins by Baptism or otherwise does agree to them; or for the complex of both the Laity and the body of the Clergy in contradistinction to the Bp. And to this his proof of the power of remitting sins being given to the Apostles being given also to the Church in this contradistinct sense must have been impertinently urged from its being given to the Apostles, seeing that the Church in the Apostles time must have been as contradistinct from the Apostles as the

later

=perience, which is great, in the late and present posture of affairs, cannot but let you understand the much greater moderation of
Presbyterians of your temper and acquaintance now than formerly. For it is natural for men, as well in wars of opinions as of swords,
have wearyed themselves with fighting, to desire peace. And 2ly as this coercion brings good men themselves to this more sedate and
temper which makes them more competent Judges of rational discourses; so it usually obliges them to a more faithfull and accurate
=ry then formerly. For good men can, no more than others, endure afflictions willingly and patiently unless they be animated by the goodness of
the cause; and that they cannot so well satisfy themselves of without an impartial enquiry into its merits. Besides, that good men themselves, and
reasonably enough, are unwilling to suffer unless it be indeed necessary for the preservation of their more momentous interests, and therefore are
willing to admit of any satisfactory favourable construction of their Duty that may dispense with such severe performances, which cannot be admitted
but by a more close enquiry into the merit of the thing and the nature of the obligation. And hence it follows 3ly that they must upon probable, and
yet just and rational accounts be favourably inclined to the Opinions of their Professors, as far as any favour may be just and conscientious. And
this may do much for determining them in all such cases as are not either very evident or very momentous; and such not very many would be found
on a stricter examination. And 4ly affliction does very much quicken good mens Consciences to approve themselves to God when they are destitute
of humane consolations. And this also may exceedingly contribute to a conscientious change, when by this they are freed from those carnal prejudices
which before had blinded or diverted them from a clear discovering and are excited to a greater industry in the enquiry of means, and obliged to a
greater sincerity in following conviction, when they consider how much their greatest interests are concerned in it, and how vain it is to escape his
discovery in case of negligence or dissimulation, who is the immediate Lord of Conscience. Upon all these accounts therefore Governours who are to
be presumed to believe their own opinions, must may justly believe external coercion to be a means of reducing others to them, conscientious as well as such
as are not. But 5ly though you might with more plausibility pretend, that dissimulation would indeed be the ordinary consequent of coercive
means alone, they being indeed alone no rational arguments for working a conscientious change; yet when they are not designed as the principal
arguments moving to such a change, but merely as Dispositions, to prepare and qualify the person for receiving conscientious arguments, the case will
be clearly otherwise. Now this, I believe, you do already know to be the case with us. Besides what coercive means may have been pretended,
the means of information are freely communicated to any that desires them. Our Books are extant, our Learned Men and Parish-Ministers are
freely to be consulted with; and why these may not ordinarily be presumed likely to make a conscientious change, only because people are neces-
=sitated to use them, I do not understand. And 6ly the case is not such as you have propounded it. None were obliged to be Christians rather
than go to Gaol &c. I believe you cannot instance any Law lately in use that obliged People to profess any thing not believed by them. All, I think,
that can be pretended was to restrain persons, not from the publick profession, nor from the private practice of their opinions, but only from
practising them in publick or great Assemblyes, that might create suspicion to the State. Otherwise I know nothing restrictive of those persons you
are concerned for from being commonly known to be such as they were; and, I pray, what necessity is there then of dissimulation? The only Canon of
that kind, that I can think of, is that of communicating once a year at Easter, the exacting whereof whether by infliction of Civil or Ecclesiastical
penaltyes, whether of non-Conformists, or even Conformists themselves, has been, at least, where I have been, so generally neglected, that I
do not know any reason you have to complain of it. For any other coercive means for compelling dissenters to communicate with us, I know none
that have been rigorously executed, to my knowledge, in Ireland. What has been done in England your self know better, and therefore I shall
very willingly leave you to your own information, wherein I hope you will be ingenuous. Yet 7ly suppose that coercive means were not for the
good of the persons concerned, but did indeed make them Hypocritical Christians, as you call them, that is, Dissemblers; this were not sufficient to prove
that they are therefore not to be used, if their punishment and dissimulation itself may prove fit for the advantage of the publick. For I
know that Governours are not to heed private advantages any otherwise than in subordination and consistency with the publick; and that
even in Civil affairs there are some such punishments imposed which are known to be utterly inconsistent with the civil interests of the party
punished (which are properly obnoxious to the care of Governours) for such are all that are capital, especially such of them as are withall rigorous
and painfull. For in publick punishments there are other ends more considerable than private emendation, namely the prevention of fu-
=ture offences from the same persons, and the terrour of others by his example. Nor is this way of proceeding blamed by any just, however
favourable, Judg of such things, when personal emendation has been first attempted, and no criminals are subjected to such censures but such as
have been found, in the use of all other prudential rational means incorrigible. To such it is not thought any more cruelty to be severe
for the good of the Commonwealth, than it is for a Chirurgion to cut of a gangrened member for the preservation of the sounder body.
And such is the design of the Church who is not for using ever her Spiritual coercions (which only belong to her) but only on such persons
29. on whom the rational inducements have proved desperate and successless. But notwithstanding your former contrary intimations, you say, you
" desire no force nor Church-power, but not to take those 1. for Christians; 2ly for your special Christian flock, 1. who are no Christians;
" 2ly who themselves refuse it. But this power you desire here is more then that which alone was allowed by you to Bps of reproving, exhorting,
+. intreating, and declaring persons fitness or unfitness for Communion by their penitence or impenitence. For what if your people believe those
penitent whom you think impenitent, or on the contrary? What if they be not satisfied with your Declarations, or resolved not to observe
them? What if at least the greater part, which is always predominant in popular governments, be not of your opinion? Would you think
your self obliged in such a case to make your peoples opinion or your own the rule of your practice in receiving or rejecting persons from your
Communion? If you follow your people, then you are as capable of being imposed on against your will (for receiving such persons for Christi-
=ans, and for your Christian flock who are no Christians, and who themselves refuse it) by them as you are now by the Bp. and it does
not appear that the greater part of your flock (especially if such as you describe, whereof whole Parishes have been presented by the Church-
=wardens) are likely to stand with you in opposition to your Bp. and if they stand for him against you you can have no reason to obtrude
your own judgment and complain according to this principle? But if notwithstanding their dissent from you, you yet resolve to follow your
own judgment in receiving or rejecting according to your own thoughts of the penitence or impenitence of the person obnoxious to your Disci-
=pline; then you will indeed be so far from desiring no Church power as that you would desire more than you seem willing to grant the Bp
which is only Declarative. And then if you may as a Governour impose on the People, why may not the Bp as your Governour impose on you?
And indeed there can be no such thing as Government without such an imposition as you speak of. For the reason of all Government is the ine-
=quality of mens judgments in their own causes, and the inconvenience of deciding their differences by force which is many times the greatest
on the unjustest side. The design therefore of all Government is to interpose a third person or Society supposed impartial to the litigant partyes
with a power sufficient to compell either of them to submit to her decision. For seeing it is not ordinarily to be expected that differences should be
decided by a persuasion of both partyes of the equity of decisions, but that both partyes will frequently prove tenacious of their opinions; there-
=fore it is necessary that the guilty, whoever he be, who will seldome believe his own condemnation just, be imposed on; and, such an imposi-
=tion being thus thought necessary, common prudence will suggest that it is much more equall and secure for the party imposed on, that he
be imposed on by the common Arbitrator of their differences than by his partially affected Adversary. And accordingly where there is no need
of imposition there is none of Government, and the seat of Government is finally resolved on them who have this power of imposing their
30 own sentiments on others; so that to deny the ministers this power over the people, or the Bps over the Ministers is to make neither the one nor
the other properly Governours. Besides the power of Excommunication and absolution (which you seem to mean in this your complaint that
the independent use of them are not communicated to the Ministers) are so incommunicably proper to the Supreme Governour, who as having
the power of a Society, must also have that of admitting to, and rejecting members from, it; as that it were impossible for him to give
an account of his charge if others may admit and reject at pleasure without dependence on him; so that to complain of being imposed on in this
kind is indeed, in effect, to complain of the Bps superiority over you. And if this reason were of any force, it would proceed as much against
the Presbyterian Government as the Episcopal. For even among them Ministers may as well be overruled and consequently overawed by
the Classes as with us by the Bps so inseparable this power of imposing on Parish-Ministers is found from Government, as that is indeed
30. admitted by all them who own a Government superior to single Parishes. But I pray, quo jure do you challenge this Parochial power of Ex-
=communication and Absolution independent on your Ordinaryes? I shall at present give you leave to say (not because that I think you can
prove it, but because I am unwilling at present to dispute it) that Presbyters were not only counsellors but coordinate Governours with the
Bp. But how can you shew the least likelyhood that the Bp. had not, at least, a negative vote among them? that as he could not do any
thing without theirs, so they were able to conclude any thing without his? much less are you able to prove that every particular Presbyter sin-
=gly taken, ever had within his own Jurisdiction the power of determining so momentous a thing as Ecclesiastical censures. Wherever you find
Presidents over Presbyteryes in the Scriptures, whether Apostles or Evangelists or Angels, you cannot find any instance of any thing carryed by
the major vote against the consent of the President as at least one of the prevailing number. And for the Ignatian Episcopacy and so downwards

to deliver them from their sins and to reduce them to solid real piety, whom yet find less efficaciously moved to their
duty by any other means. For, I pray, consider 1:ly that this dissimulation which you seem to suppose to be the ordinary consequent
of exterior compulsion, cannot indeed have any place but upon these conditions; that 1. the sufferer do believe
his cause to be good, and 2:ly that such belief be grounded on conscientious motives (whether really or apparently
conscientious, I now dispute not, seeing the person must act according to the evidence of his own Conscience, howsoever really
erroneous, after he has used his best endeavours for its information) and 3:ly that this persuasion of his Conscience
be unalterable; or at least 4:ly that such exterior compulsion be neither a means nor a probable occasion to make men
alter their opinions, at least not to make good and conscientious persons to alter, at least not ordinarily; so that it be
presumed that the multitude of good men cannot be altered upon such terms, and therefore that if the multitude do, they
cannot be generally presumed to do it on just and conscientious motives; and yet 5:ly that notwithstanding his being
27. perswaded as formerly, he be by this exterior compulsion wrought on to make an unvoluntary exterior profession. Now
to shew briefly that none of these hold, at least not all of them, which is requisite for your purpose, I must premise 1. that
the design of this kind of discourse against these coercive means, if it be to hinder them, must be to persuade them in
whose power they are, whether it be the Church or the Magistrate, that their practice were sinfull to sinfull to them; that 2:ly
nothing can be imputably sinfull to Governours, but what either does or may in the use of their utmost moral diligence
appear to them to be so. So that it is not your opinion of the sinfullness of such coercion that can prove it sinfull to
them unless they be of the same mind, or neglect the moral means of information, which, if you suppose the case evident
you must presume such as would infallibly bring them to be so. 3:ly therefore what are the real thoughts of Governours,
and whether they have made use of the means of information with integrity and diligence none can for their own satisfaction,
which is principally to be taken notice of in order to the imputableness of sin, judge of so well as themselves. Nor 4:ly
can we be better assured of their herein then by their word unless it be by the evidence of the things. It is not therefore
every proof that may seem satisfactory to our selves that may warrant our presumption of their sense, unless it be
such as is thought considerable by them, and whose evidence is presumed inevitable upon a sincere examination. And 5:ly
it is not sufficient, as to the matter in hand, that it appear that some persons have indeed been made Hypocrites for fear
of this exterior coercion, but it must further be shewn that its natural tendency is to do so, or, at least that it is its
most usual consequent. And 6:ly that it is an occasion of their Hypocrisy by virtue of it self, not of the disposition
of the Subjects. For the sins that are derived from the disposition of the Subject, they that give the immediate occasions
are not responsible for. Otherwise when the wicked turn God's graces into wantonness, and those things which should
have been for their good into the occasions of falling, and the word preached turnes to be the savour of death unto
death to its unworthy hearers, and the B. Sacrament of the Lords Supper to its unworthy receivers; you might conclude
God, who gives those abused favours to be the proper occasion of the abusers sin. And because there are some who
will with less scruple grant of God, that he is the designer of his Creatures sins, than they would grant it concerning
any good man, St Paul had been the culpable occasion of the perjury of those conspirators who had sworn not
to eat till they had killed him, only by making use of just means for his own preservation. And thus you may easily believe
to be the thoughts of Governours concerning those whom they are pleased to prosecute for their opinions: That they do as seriously
believe that the reasons which satisfy themselves are as sufficient to satisfy all others that use their moral diligence
for finding satisfaction, as the sufferers believe it concerning their own reasons that they are sufficient to satisfy
their Governours; and therefore that such dissenting Hypocritical Subjects are as faulty in not using their diligence in
the use of the means, if they find not actual satisfaction, as such Subjects believe the same concerning their Governours.
And 7:ly that this personal Hypocrisy of such dissembling persons is a greater inconvenience to the Publick than the
toleration of their seditious behaviour. For as it is certain that Governours, no more than other good Christians, may design
any sin for any good whatsoever; so it will not be easily disproved either by reason or authority of Casuists, that
they may design that from whence they know a sin will necessarily follow for the avoidal of a greater both inconvenience
and sin (such as is Sedition in respect of Hypocrisy) for though it be unlawfull to choose any evil where it may be avoided,
yet it is not so, when two occur whereof at least one is inevitable, to make choice of the less before the greater. And
now upon these suppositions it were easy to shew, from these conditions of dissimulation, that either there was no necessity that
the sufferers under these coercive means must needs dissemble; or if there were, yet, at least, not such as would make it imputable
28. as sin to Governours; or, if it were a sin to them absolutely, yet not such, under such a streightened election. But I must
avoid prolixity, and therefore at present shall onely briefly make application to the forementioned conditions of dissimulation.
1. Therefore it is not necessary that every sufferer for his opinions must believe his cause to be good. For there
are bad as well as good of all much received opinions, that maintain them not upon account of their truth, but because they
are themselves factiously disposed, and love contradiction, especially to superiors, (a humour such people of the vulgar
are usually too much addicted to) or affect popularity, or singularity, or promise themselves some great advantages by
publick innovations and disturbances, or engage in a party out of kindness to their friends that are concerned in it. Much
less 2:ly is it necessary that every one who does indeed believe his own opinion true must do it upon motives, as much as
apparently conscientious. For education, and custome, and the Authority of a person respected, or a vainglorious ostentation
of his own wit, or the shame of being mistaken or convicted, may at first incline many to defend opinions fortuitously taken
up, and afterwards the love of their own arguments may delude many to believe what they have once asserted. And God knows
whether the vulgar of most opinions be not thus acted, whatever pretences they make of Conscience (for custome may go very
far in making men abhor unusuall innocent or commendable things as profane and irregular, as appeared in the experiment
of Darius Hystaspis in Herodotus, who found the Scythian to pretend as much conscience for eating, as the Grecian for
burying, his dead relations) and we have reason to believe it of too many, whom we find the most zealous maintainers
of opinions controverted and yet the most negligent practitioners of such as are undoubted, which certainly would not be, if
God's sake, or Conscience, or a sense of their own duty, were the reasons inducing them to believe them. Now these deductions
being made, the number of conscientious dissenters would, I doubt, be generally found the smaller number. And it is a general
and just rule of all politick proceedings, not to forbear that which may generally do good though it may prove inconvenient
and prejudicial in some rarer instances; nor would these coercive means oblige those dissenters upon motives
not conscientious, to dissimulation or Hypocrisy. But even for those fewer truly-conscientious dissenters which would remain, it
is not necessary 3:ly that, if they have been of a different opinion, they should persevere in it unalterably. And as their
minds may alter at any time, so as well when they are prosecuted for their opinions as otherwise, in which case their conversion
may be gracious. And possibly the number even of good converts even upon such an occasion would be more, if they
did not some of them, for fear of being censured as time-servers, not allow the contrary opinion the same favour of an equal
hearing when it is countenanced by Authority as otherwise, or at least not express their sentiments so freely and ingenuously;
not heeding that hereby, instead of courage and constancy, they onely choose their conquerours, being more awed by the
persecution of the tongue than of the sword. Nor 4:ly is it true that this coercion is not a probable means of bringing
even good men to a conscientious change of their opinions. For 1. it is of it self likely to allay that tumor and rigor of spirit
to which even good men themselves are frequently betrayed by Zealotry, which does usually alienate them from all sober
thoughts of accommodation, and even of sober and impartial inquiry. And I believe you who have so well studied
the Peace of the Church, do very well understand that in very many things mens Spirits are at a greater distance than
their Principles, in all which for making Peace it is sufficient to make men peaceable. Indeed for a while such
a way of proceeding may rather exasperate than calm them: but by that time that the strangeness of it is over, and the
sudden tumor has evaporated and spent it self, they are at length reduced to a more composed temper. And I believe your own ex-
=perience

-pagation of their Opinions, made them at first less sensible of the loss of Discipline, whilst, upon these accounts, they
those things of themselves which Discipline should have compelled them to as far as Ecclesiastical Censures might compell
i.e. as far they valued the opinion of so many wise and good men, and as far as they feared the loss of the ordinary means of grace, and
dangers they were exposed to when cast out of that Society which could alone entitle them to the Divine Protection, and all the [illegible]
signified in their delivery to Satan. I am necessitated to interpose this explication of the compulsion of Ecclesiastical Discipline [illegible]
see you otherwise apt enough to misunderstand me. ~~But~~ And even for the observation of things indifferent, the very great opinion they
had entertained for some of the first Reformers, and the little leisure for reflection on their own condition, whilst they were so diverted
by their heats against the common Adversary, and the little willingness they had to dissent, at least, to make a breach, for little things from
them whom they loved so dearly for their unanimity in their common and greatest concerns, coagulated the multitude in a willing observation
24. even of indifferent punctilio's. And accordingly we find those Reformers themselves complain of this defect. Our Church of England wishes
that Discipline might be restored in her Commination, a sign that she was sensible of its want and necessity, and Luther commends it among the
Bohemians, and wishes also that it was restored among his own, and the want of positive Constitutions in this kind seems to have been the great-
-est scandal to Erasmus to alienate him from the Protestants, to whom he had been formerly well affected. And Bullinger and Gualther [illegible]
as I remember in their Epistles to Erastus, confess their Helvetian Churches to have no other Discipline than what was exercised by the
Civil Magistrate. But when upon a deferverscency of their first zeal, and a Liberty occasioned by their great successes, against the
common Adversary, men at length got the leisure to enquire with the same freedome into the Doctrines of the Reformers as the
Reformers themselves had into those of the then Extant Ecclesiastical Governours, and to divert that zeal which had been enkindled
and heated in the prosecution of the common cause, against each other in the prosecution of their own private sentiments; and when they grew
more remiss in their care of their lives, and began by degrees to take advantage of their freedome from their former yoke of Ecclesiasti-
-cal Governours, and to relapse into their former dissoluteness, and to be curious and critical in inquiring into the merit of every Ecclesi-
-astical observance, and to make themselves judges of the expediency as well as lawfulness of things confessedly indifferent, and not to content them-
-selves with their own thoughts, but to discountenance their dissenting Brethren, and to divide the Church, and to disrespect their Superiors, who
in later times were not held in that great veneration as their Predecessors; they at length at Geneva and other places that were brought by
the Authority of Calvin, it was found in generall prudence, upon account of its experienced reasonableness and use, as in duty, upon account of its insti-
-tution in the Scriptures, necessary to revive Ecclesiastical Power, that might, for future Ages, prevent and restrain the exorbitances of men
abusing their Liberty, and secure the peace of the Church. And whatever they had before disputed against their Adversaries prejudicial to Ecclesia-
-stical power in general; it is plain that that Authority which that very wise and prudent person thought necessary for the preservation of peace
and piety in the Church is more than persuasive and Declaratory, even coercive of persons otherwise perswaded. I shall not mention those excesses
which I believe you will not approve, their encroachments on the regal Authority in Scotland, and the burning of Servetus and Gentilis at Gene-
-va, and the Book written by Beza to justify that action. It is very plain that the Presbyteries, where ever they have been set up have exercised
a power coercive, whether in defining Heresyes, or censuring prophane persons or refractory disobedient persons. And if Calvin found the necessity of this
coercive power then; I am sure, as our experience since his time is much greater, so, we have found much reason to approve the bulk of what he was
forced; for all the later Sects have proceeded on the concessions of the former. And by the same reason as the first Presbyterians, who broke the peace
of the Church thought themselves excused because they professed themselves unsatisfied with the Churches perswasions to her impositions, so every
later Sect has pretended the same against the Presbyterians; and as long as there is any unanimous observance of the Church that is not particularly
expressed in the Scripture, at least, not clearly, with that evidence which may be presumed sufficient to satisfy every well-meaning person as well
as our selves (which I doubt will be found as long as such a thing as Communion with the Church as a Body Politick is owned, that is, as long as
it is not dissolved into meer Enthusiasm) we shall never be secure of the Communion, not onely of pretended, but really-dissatisfied
pious persons. And till you make a power in the Church coercive of mens practice as well as a belief of fundamentals, a requisite condition to the uni-
-ty, I fear you will never be able to reach, what you are so zealously and commendably attempting, the Cure of our Church Divisions.
25. But that which makes me most of all wonder is that you should pretend that this persuasive, Declarative power is denyed to Parish Mini-
-sters. And the reason you give for it seems to me most Paradoxical: that the Minister can have no access to the guilty by their own wills
"and that there is no Law nor penalty that you know of, to constrain any to come to you, or receive you, to hear or endure you. Here one
would think that you did approve of coercive means as necessary for doing good to those that are unwilling to be perswaded. For if you
did not, why should you blame our Diocesane Discipline for not allowing you that which you would not have allowed? But present-
"-ly after, you take occasion from those coercive means, which you confess are used among us, to inveigh against us, as if our Catholick
"Christian Profession were, onely to choose rather to be Christians and communicate than to ly in Gaols and have all our estates confiscated.
One would think that you were desirous to find objections against us, when thus almost at the same time you blame us for having that
which immediately before you blamed us for wanting. For the difference is not as one would think from the most candid interpretation of
your words, that you would have such guilty persons forced to confer with you, but not to profess themselves Christians and communicate
without your leave; for you afterwards profess simply that you would have no force at all. Besides what force is it that you mean?
Is it that exterior one of Laws and corporal penalties? (this your words seem plainly to imply) This you know does not belong to the Church
but the Civil Magistrates power circa Sacra, who is therefore to be blamed for it, and not the Church, if it be a crime, and somebody must
needs bear the blame. Or are they the Spiritual coercions of the Church? I know none of that kind but Excommunication, which is of no force with
those who do not value the advantage of Communion, and they who do, need not be forced to confer with their Minister. Besides that you
your self know and have confessed, that the power of suspension of unworthy persons from the Sacrament is allowed to the Parish Minister even
in our Church, so that, even in that case, he has his remedy in his own hand as far as it can be proved expedient that he should under
a Monarchick Government. But methinks your description of a Catholick Christian is very harsh, and though for my part I am
resolved to take nothing ill because I verily believe, not onely by this Letter but your other publick writings, that the heat of your stile and
the extraordinary expedition you make use of, not allowing your self time for 2d thoughts, do transport you to such expressions as your own
reflections would not approve (yet) would, to other less favourable judges of your good meaning, rather tend to exasperate than cure those Divi-
-sions for which you are justly so much concerned. And besides your own acknowledgment of many good Catholick Christians on other occasions,
"you cannot be ignorant that many of them have been Christians of that which you call the old Profession, that is, have been Christians,
"and hold communion with the Church though they have gone to prison and death for it, not onely in Q. Maryes days, but even in
your own memory in England and Ireland, when their being so has brought sufferings on them, not secured them from them, so that I
26. do not understand why you should stigmatize them with the name of Catholical. Indeed, if you could shew that it was rather the ex-
-traordinary good influences of God and their own good inclinations, that made them voluntarily good against their worldly interests
notwithstanding their malignant principles which of themselves would have made them otherwise, I confess your commendable inclina-
-tion to speak of things as they are might have excused the rigour of such expressions. But 2. you cannot but know that these exteri-
-or compulsions have not been proper to Catholicks, but common to all that have owned such a thing as Discipline, Presbyterians as well as Epi-
-scopalls, so that there is no reason to appropriate to such Christians as are made so by coercive Discipline the invidious name of Catholical. And
3. you have not, and I believe you cannot, prove that such external force must needs, of it self, make Catholicks dissemblers. 4. because all
that are of themselves good will not need such force, this being onely a secondary reserve for reducing such as are desperate as to that power which
alone you allow the Church, that is, of perswasion, none being this way compelled but they who cannot be perswaded. And certainly for such persons it is
at least, a less evil to profess themselves Christians, though dissemblingly, than not as much as to profess themselves so, both in regard of the
honour which is done Religion even in professing it, and the edification of others who may be moved by their example, and that they are
by this means taken off from the sins of open hostilities against the Faith; and 5. you must not presently condemn all of dissimulation who are
brought to a sense of their duty by fear; otherwise you will condemn all the penal Laws of the Commonwealth as tending to make their subjects
dissemblingly Loyal, and all Gods Providential crosses and menaces of Hell, as tending rather to make men profess themselves Christians rather than
be damned. But too frequent experience cannot but have informed you, who are so very experienced, that the fear of Man as well as of God
has to many proved the beginning of true wisedome; that good Christians have found more occasion to bless God for their Crosses than their Consolations,
that the terrible vengeances of God against sinners, even in this life, under the Old Testament, was a great restraint to that hardhearted people

minals, who only in case of their avoided impenitency in the use of these means, should be further impleaded in
" that former way of proceeding in the Bps Courts. To this you Answer 1. That this is more than an Executive
Power. If it be so, I do not know any that denyes it you, so that you have no reason, that I know of, to complain
on that account. None hinders you from Reproving, Exhorting, Convincing and Instructing whom you please, especially
such as are intrusted to you as members of your Care. But I am sure this is not more than that Executive Power
which I said was communicated to the Inferior Clergy, in opposition to that which I called Decretory reserved to
our Ecclesiastical Monarchs; for I believe you will not call this power of Reproving, Exhorting &c. Decretory. I believe
you meant a power meerly-Executive. But you may remember that that was neither my word nor meaning, nor do I
for my part, think this power mentioned by you to be more than that which was meerly-Executive. My reason you
22. " will sufficiently understand. To the rest you Answer, That you desire no more at all from Bps or any. If so, you
" need not desire it, for none denyes it you. But you say you know no other Episcopal power over the People, but this
" personally to convince men, and declare to the Congregation, upon proof, the fitness or unfitness of men for their
" Communion, by Penitence or Impenitence. If you know no other power than this, you know none at all. For this power
of convincing men will as well agree to the meanest Laick who has reason on his side as to the greatest Bp. Being
either of them may convince if furnished with such reason, but neither can without it. And yet sure you will
not say that the meanest Laick has any power over him whom he may thus convince, at least not consonantly to your
own Principles, who, in opposition to our Lay-Chancellors make Jurisdiction inseparable from Orders. So also if the
power of Excommunication be no more than declaring a person unfit for the Communion of the Congregation as being
Impenitent, and Absolution be a declaration of his fitness for such Communion as a Penitent; then every Prosecutor of a
Criminal, every witness produced against him, every skillfull prudent Canonist, every Laick that is sufficiently informed
of the state of the Law and matter of fact, may as well Excommunicate as the Bp or the Presbytery. For every
such skillfull person may know the fitness or unfitness of such a person for Communion, and knowing it may declare
his knowledge with the reasons of it, and upon such declaration the People may, if they please, do as he would
have them, either communicate with, or separate from, such a person. For indeed no Declaration of it self formally
and precisely understood is obligatory, but as it is a promulgation of that which antecedently has a just obligative force
in actu primo, yet is not in actu secundo obligatory quoad nos till we know it; as though the King and Parliament have
a power of making Laws, and therefore what has passed all their votes, in the first moment when it has done so, is immediately
a Law, yet it is not in actu secundo obligatory on the Subject, so as that its violation by him does incur the
annexed penalty till it be legally promulgated; yet so it is on the contrary that this legal promulgation it self, that is such
a promulgation as is performed by the person Authorized by Law, with all the requisite circumstances, cannot make any
thing really obligatory that has not formerly been decreed by the Legislative power. Unless therefore there be in the Church a
power antecedent to such Declaration, the Declaration can make none, seing every one may declare his own sense as well as
the Governour, and Declaration does only make that obligatory quoad nos which was so in se antecedently. I did not before
charge you with any of these pernicious Doctrines to Church-Authority laid in my Preface, and am sorry that now you
give me so just occasion to do it. It may be I may misunderstand you, and shall be very glad to acknowledge my mistake when
23. you shall call it one. And I beseech you, who have so publickly professed your self a friend to publick peace, and an Enemy
to Church-Divisions, to consider, whether these disparaging Doctrines concerning the power of the Church be not Seminarys
of infinite and eternal Schismes? For if the Church have no other power but perswasive and declarative, then he who either is
not actually perswaded of the equity of her particular impositions, or at least pretends it, may freely remonstrate against
them, and refuse obedience to them, and cannot be restrained from seditious behaviour even by Excommunication, unless at
least, the greater part of Communicants, be satisfied and profess themselves to be so, that it is their duty, not in obedience to
their Superiors, but on account of the particular reasonableness of the thing, to withdraw themselves from his Communion; and
even then it self if he can perswade a few to his party he may, upon these Principles, without any scruple of Conscience, erect
a new Communion for himself. For indeed what can hinder him when Government, which is the Principle of unity in
all Societyes, is thus deprived of all other awe of Conscience to oblige him to obedience, distinct from his particular satisfaction
of the reasonableness of the thing, or of any coercive means for his restraint, be his cause never so bad, and his dissatisfaction
never so pretended; and when the unity of the Catholick Church is thus made to depend on so hazardous and very
contingent a condition as the perswasion of its many thousand members of infinite different capacities
of the reasonableness of every particular indifferent or probable constitution? I know, for prevention of these inconveniences,
you would have Governours cautious in determining any thing but what is clear and necessary. And for my part
I wish it so too, that for matters of belief (it not being in Subjects minds to believe what they please) they would determine
nothing but what were very evident, and even for matters indifferent, that they would neither determine more of them than
were needfull, nor such of them as were not convenient in the circumstances, and suitable to the dispositions of the Age
of their determination, nor be too tenacious in maintaining them when their inconveniences should be found greater than
their advantages, though I confess it were in prudence much safer to make any such change by their own free election
than to seem necessitated to it by mutinous and seditious Remonstrances of their Subjects, such a compliance being
of greater consequentiall prejudice to Government, and consequently to Ecclesiastical Unity, than a maintenance of a
thing indifferent though inconvenient. But withall you know that unanimity even in things indifferent (much more in
matters of faith) is in generall and indefinitely necessary, though not particularly determined in the Scripture; that
this unanimous observance of things of such a nature is not morally possible by the particular conviction of every
Subject of their fitness, that therefore there is no security for their unanimous observance but that of Authority, and
no Authority so proper as that which is Ecclesiastical, that when it is so imposed it is an instance of obedience
to the Authority imposing, that being so, whatever it may be in its nature, it cannot still remain indifferent as to
its use, seing it is not indifferent whether Subjects ought to be obedient to their lawfull Superiors. And therefore methinks
it would become you in healing Church-Divisions to take a care of asserting preserving the prerogatives of Governours
as the Christian Liberty of Subjects, seing extremes on both sides are alike prejudiciall to Ecclesiastical
Unity. Indeed I confess many of our first Reformers not to have been so cautious herein as the interest of the
Church would have required, who feeling themselves oppressed by a Tyrannical Ecclesiastical power, and being extreamly
exasperated by their violent and rigorous proceedings, were almost only solicitous about negatives, never satisfying
themselves with any reasonable retrenchments of such exorbitancyes; only shewing how far Ecclesiastical Power
might not presume, but not how far it might proceed. And they were then the more excusable for not proceeding to
such positive inquiryes because the ends of such Ecclesiastical Power, the preservation of unity both in faith and practice
were then more easily attainable without the interposition of the Exercise of such a Power. For their first zeal against
the common Adversary might oblige them in Prudence to conceal their lesser animosityes, and the danger of weakening
themselves whose united strengths were no more than necessary for their common preservation, which was a mischief so
great and imminent as might make many less, at least comparatively, tolerable, and might keep them from being too dogmatical
in imposing or opposing opinions of inferior concern. And for matters of practice, the zeal of their first beginnings,
and the watchfull eyes of their Adversaryes for observing their lapses, and the great use of good personal lives for the propagation

give not up ymselves to ye worke, but live all ye weeke as other men doe in secular Imployments, 7° & yt take no charge of ye peoples soules as their Overseers, Pastors or Teachers; but only meet and vote in a Presbytery, in case of Censures. // As to ye text of 1 Tim. 5. 17. I easily grant ye distinction there ~~mentioned~~ expressed, yt de facto there were, besides ye Elders yt were honorable for right oversight or rule, some alsoe yt were οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ laborious in the word & doctrine. Whether this laboriousnes were in travailinge out into ye Countryes, teachinge ym & propagatinge ye Gospell there, besides ye teachinge of their owne flocks; or whether it was in beinge the ordinary Publique Preachers by way of Sermons to ye people, while ye rest did ordinarily but teach interlocutorily or by instructinge of smaller numbers or particular psons: Or, as I judge, both these together. ffor it is not essentiall to a Minister of ye word & Sacraments to preach Sermonwise, no nor to be able to doe it in any such sort as now would be accounted tollerable. One man may speake to ye whole Assembly as well as many; & one among many may be fittest for it, when yet he hath need of ye assistance of many to oversee ye people as their Pastors; to teach psonally interlocutorily, & in ye smaller subassemblyes (wch yn were frequent, & is yt wch Paul meanes Acts 20. 20. from house to house at least principally): alsoe to visit ye sick, to admonish offenders, to comfort ye feeble minded, baptize, breake bread, & more publickly teach according to their abilityes, when ye more able speaker, yt labored in ye word & doctrine, was absent. No doubt, but joynt overseers may distribute their worke according to their abilityes. And whereas such Overseers as I describe, are usually called reproachfully dumbe Ministers, by ym yt oppose this exposition; & such as should not be in ye Church; I am at this time by experience constrained to be of another mind. One of my Assistants is now goinge from me. And I can have my choice among many, & many of younge men, yt will Preach to ye Congregation with greater applause yn he: but where to gett one, yt is able & willinge, to deale with psons one by one in advisinge & psonally instructinge ye Ignorant, reprovinge offenders, convincinge gainsayers, guidinge in Discipline, visitinge ye sick, comfortinge ye troubled minds &c I cannot yet heare; & can sooner find 40 of ye former yn one of these. It is no wonder yn, if ye ablest Orators did labor in ye word & doctrine in those times, by publique Sermons & discourses (as Paul was ye cheife speaker when Barnabas was with him); & yet ye rest be necessary in their way, & of ye same office as they; seeinge Sermons are but one sort of teachinge, & not essentiall to a Minister, or absolutely necessary to be done by each Individuall. And now 1° yt it is ye Acts & not ye power yt Paul there mentioneth 1 Tim. 5. 17. 2° & yt he gives not ye least hint of a denyall either of fact or power as to ye administration of Baptisme or ye Lords Supp: 3° yt Ruling well doth imply yt they had such power & used it. For it is not a Magisteriall but a ministeriall Rulinge yt is (confessedly) here spoken of. And ministeriall Rulinge is by teachinge, reprovinge, convincinge &c & by goinge before ye People as their guides in Prayer, Prayse, Sacraments & all Worship. A votinge decision of doubtfull cases is ye smallest pt of this worke (alsoe), Rulinge or conductinge in ye way of Life. You have yt no warrant to limit Pauls (Rulinge) to one smal act of Rule among many greater (& phaps such a one as doth more to ye Rulinge of ye teachinge Pastor, than of ye People; for he doth actually conduct ye people; & they doe but vote & determine how he shall doe it as to some points of practise). When Church Guidance is knowne accordinge to Scripture to containe ten times more; by what warrant doe you here limitt it to this; & expound Pauls προεστῶτες, of such as have no power of conduct or Church Rule in other things? And it is against ye nature of Church Ruling yt ordinarily one man or sort of men should Judge, & another act accordinge to their Judgment: but ye agent must act accordinge to his owne Judgment; though 1° in doubtfull cases he must take good advice 2° & in order to unity he must yeild to major votes in indifferent things. God hath not appointed one sort of officers to Baptize, & another sort to Judge whom they must Baptize. Nor is it ever read yt Pastors consulted with Elders for direction herein, much less yt they asked power of their votes for Baptizinge. And though we doe not allway baptize into a particular Church, but into ye universall only; yet oft, & most oft, by consequence we doe. And its a more notable exercise of ye power to Baptize without these Elders, yn to administer ye Lords Supp without them: Nor did ever God appoint one sort of Elders

to administer ye Supp, & another sort to determine to whom they should give it: Nor would I
obey ym if two or ten such Elders should vote me to give it to those yt I thinke I am for-
bidden by God to give it to. But of this too much, for ye season, though too little for ye subject. ||

Prop. 5. If such Elders were of Divine appointment, yet it is confessed yt they are not essen-
tiall to a particular politicall Church: or if any will use ye vaine distinction, betweene
a politicall Church, & an Organized worshipping Church (as if ye latter were separable from
ye former), they will much less say yt such Elders are essentiall to such a worshipping Church. ||
~~Therefore~~ without such Elders yor Church hath its essentiall pts (as politicall or organized
for worship): so it hath a Ruling pt & a Ruled pt: so you are ye Ruling pt
without such Elders: so you may & must Rule: so you may & must Judge who shall
have ye Sacraments: you doe allready Baptize without Elders, wch is ye greater; why
yn may you not deliver ye Lords Supp without ym, which is ye lesser. ||

Prop. 6. You canot compell any of yor members to take upon ym ye office of Ruling
Elders; nor Censure ym if they will not: 1o Because you canot expect yt all
should ~~be~~ satisfyed of ye Right or Lawfullness of ye office 2o nor of their owne
fittness for it, 3o nor of their opportunity in regard of their worldly affaires,
4o nor yt they should easily venture to take ye charge of Soules, when they know
they must follow a calling for their livelyhood, 5o specially when they thinke
it must be for life, 6o nor yt they should all be satisfyed of ye convenience of
their owne service therein, as to ye Edificn of ye people &c of sundrie & other Reasons. ||

Prop. 7. If ye Brethren will not hold Associations or Classicall meetings where according to their
Rule you should receive advice for yor determination; or if they will not there de-
termine yor Case, they must blame ymselves & ptly excuse you, if you doe not as they expect.

Prop. 8. Yet seeing Christ enjoyneth us to hold together in Unity & make use of each others ad-
vice, you ought not so to be satisfyed; but to desire such a meeting of ye neerest
ministers as you can gett; & crave their Judgment with their Reasons annexed; profes-
sing yor Resolution to doe nothing singular or offensive, without necessity: And
if they satisfye you there's an end of yor doubts. ||

Prop. 9. If they doe not satisfye you (or will not determine it) consider seriously wth
yor selfe & with ym whether yor removall, or yor administring ye Lords Supp
without Elders, is like to be more injurious to ye Church & Cause of Christ: And if you
certainly discover yt ye effects of yor administration (or ye unavoidable consequents)
are like to be much worse yn ye effects or consequents of yor removall, yn remove:
for you may not rest in such a neglect of Gods Worship. But if you discerne
ye contrary, yn addresse yor selfe to prepare for ye Administration of yt Ordinance to yor Church.

Prop. 10. Before you doe it let yor Congregation understand, yt you disunite not from yor
Brethren, but in yt point doe differ in yor practise through necessity. ||

Prop. 11. But yor great businesse will be to know to whom to administer it: and my opinion is
yt you have no warrant as things now stand to take yor whole Parish for yor Ch:
(though you must limitt yor charge ordinarily to ye bounds of ye Parish; yet may you
not take every Parishioner for a Church member. ||

My Reasons in breefe are 1o Its now certainly knowne yt multitudes in most Parishes
doe not know ye fundamentalls; but tell us yt ye Son & Holy Ghost are not truly God,
or not equall with ye father, or not eternall &c, yt Xt is not God, or not man, but
a Spirit &c, yt God hath received no satisfaction for sin, yt they trust only in Gods mer-
cy & their Repenting & Prayers &c yea many are utterly Ignorant of Christ.
2o Consent is of necessity to membership. And yt multitudes consent not, is evident:
1o In yt they know not what a Church or Church member is; & Ignorantis non est consensus.
2o many stiffly refuse ye duty wch they should consent to; as to be instructed by us person-
ally as their Pastors: to come neere us, or speake with us; much more to be ruled ac-
cording to Gods word. They yn yt Refuse yor ministery quoad definitionem et
genus, do indeed refuse to be of yor charge. || 3o many in or Parishes are members
of other Churches; as Papists, Anabaptists, Separatists &c & some of no Church: even many
yt will usually heare us. 4o There is nothing in ye inhabiting ye bounds of yor
Parish to prove consent to Church membership; now ye Law hath left ym free.
nor will ordinary hearing you prove it: For 1o some of other Parishes may so
heare you; & yor Parishioners of other Churches or of none may doe it. 2o And mem-
bers ymselves may be so oft absent, yt you will not be able to determine, how
oft hearing will prove or disprove membership. ||

Prop. 12. But if you will take all ye Parish for yor Church, you must exercise ye rest of
Christs Discipline & not only keepe ye unworthy from ye Sacrament: nay you

must not suffer ym to keepe away yemselves. you must proceed with all ye p
neglecters of such Ordinances, & scandalous sinners, till you have either brou
ym to Repentance, or rejected ym. Which if you doe with all in yor Paris
you will have ye hottest peice of worke yt ever I yet knew man put his h
to in this kind: & by experience will finde far more, yn words can shew yo
If you say what course yn should I take to discerne my charge? I answ
refer you for yt to yor more prudent Brethren for advice. Our way her
is knowne to ye world; to call ye people to a publique profession of the
Consent. And if first you could possibly goe through all yor Parish in ye d
of psonall Instruction & Catechizing, wch wee performe it would exceeding
helpe you by acquainting you with their state. // Sr though I desire yo
to take more weighty Counsells, yet accept of this, wch is faithfully given

Yor Brother Rich. Bax

Novemb. 12. natali Authoris 1656.

Mr Bryan's Case at Shrewsbury
at the Abby Church; Resolved

40.

Reverend and worthy Sr

I know not how to expresse sufficiently ye thanks I owe you as for yor great love and kindnesse to mee (wch I was [illegible] you) in giving in yor thoughts to ye cases I yn propounded to you, so especially for yor great paines in writing ym downe wth such enlargement, and causing ym to be sent unto mee. I have read ym divers times over wth great delight, and give you heartily to understand yt I have receaved more satisfaction from ym, yn what I imagined, so yt I have cause to blesse God for inclining yor heart to such a thing. I have not yet showed yor proposi=tions to any of my brethren, but I purpose godwilling to consult more wth ym concerning ye Question yn yet I have done, not doubting but yor answer to ye Q: will satisfy ym. One thing I must confesse I doe not so well understand, viz yt Bapt: is a greater ordinance yn ye Lords supper, this I readily grant yt great things are spoken in Script: concerning Bapt:— but I doe not find it any where preferred before it as being ye clearer sacrament, nor as I doe humbly conceive is yt requisite for ye entitling a person to Bapt: wch is requisite in a person to be admitted to ye Lords supper

but no more of this, nor any thing els at present fro him who subscribes him selfe yor very much obliged & unworthy brother, & fellow labourer in ye Lords worke

John Bryan.

ffeby. [illegible]. 11. 56.

I hope ere long to wait upon you, & yn I shall crave leave to p'pound my scruples, & desire yor judgmt.

r ym to keepe away ymſelves: you muſt proceed with all ye g
ſuch Ordinaryes, & ſcandalous ſinners, till you have either refor
lance, or reiected ym. Which if you doe with all in yor Par
e yt hotteſt peice of worke yt ever I yet knew man put hi
d: & by experience will ſound ſar more, yn words can ſhew y
hat courſe yn ſhould I take to diſcerne my charge? I anſw
or yt to yor more prudent Brethren for advice

m's Caſe at
ls Abby Chur
40.

For ye Reverend his very worthy
friend — Mr. Baxter Minr
of ye Gospel; and Pastor of
ye Church of Kederminster

Humbly these present

Dear Brother

I am, very sensible of your speciall love, that have more care of me than I have of myselfe: Coll: Birch brought me a message from Sr M: V: to the same purpose, as you speake: & I told him that I am uncapable of returning him a particular answeare, till I know the particular words that I am charged with, & their faultinesse: which I allso must say to you. God forbid that I should be so injurious to my owne conscience, as not most publickly to recant any passage, which I shall be convinced is injurious to another in any of my writings. But for the words you mention I never did directly or indirectly affirme in any booke that Sr M: V. had a hand in the Kings death, or that he was in Italy (though the latter I was told by Mr Philip Nie) That Liberty for Popery should be woven into our fundamentall constitutions, is a thing that I shall oppose to the utmost of my weake abilities, who ever be for it: & I will be reconciled to no mans palpable errours. The vindication is such a bundle of grosse untruthes, yt I looke on it as not concerning me. Dear Brother, I am not so destitute of selfe love as to refuse any lawfull meanes for my peace, nor I hope so destitute of grace as to deny ~~any~~ reparation of any wronge that ever I did any man, so farre as I am capable: But if God call me to a more open testimony against the contrivances of these times (by which I may be disobliged from some obligations to silence yt are upon me) I will confident that the benefit of it will be greater to the Church, than my peace could have produced. Oh is there any hope that a life so often rescued from the pits & tumbling now upon the snuffes, might be so happily concluded, as to be a sacrifice to —— for a sinking church & state, & that the death that is even at the doores might be thus improved. it would be a sufficient recompence for my sufferings, if it were but that Sr M: Vs doctrine of liberty might the entrance be read by the commentary of his persecution. I am confident suffering in that cause will prove to me as comfortable as preaching, & I doubt not but it will tend to a publike good, if God so order it. I will

your thankfull Brother

Ri: Baxter

Conceale Mr Nyes name

I interpret not this as if I were ambitious of contending or suffering
but as expressing w^{t} I thinke will be y^{e} worst if God shall
call me to suffer in this cause. //

To Mr Ambrose Upton Concerning
Sir H. Vane.

41.

LETTERS.
fol.258. of Baxter Letters in volume sh

Whereas the errors of men in these times concerning the Kingdome of Xt, the holy scriptures, the rule of faith & manners, the nature & succession visibly of the true Catholike Religion & Ch:, the judgment of controversies, & the office of the Magistrate, have made it necessary yt we declare to the world the Profession of these nations herein; We do hereby professe & declare, that as we are all engaged in the baptismall covenant to the only true God, Father, Son & Holy ghost, infinitely powerfull, wise & good, so we do reverently & cheerfully acknowledge his universall propriety, soveraignty & bounty, professing ourselves as Christian Magistrates to be but the servants of [illegible] him that by the right of creation & redemption is our absolute Lord & King: And that in the frame of nature & the holy scriptures, is contained all his universall lawes, which are necessary or obligatory to all Christians: they being the sufficient revelation of his will concerning Catholike faith & duty, reward & punishment: And that no creature hath authority to repeale, disanull, contradict or dispense with these lawes of God: & that their obligation is supreame, & that of humane lawes but subordinate to theirs: And yet that no person upon a misunderstanding of these lawes, may make his errours a pretence for disobedience we declare that as it belongeth only to ye Magistrate to inflict corporall penalties & mulcts upon subjects for the violation of these lawes, so it belongeth only to the Magistrate to judg who is to be punished & who not: And as it belongeth directly to the office of the guides & pastours of ye Ch: to receive persons by baptisme into it, & administer the Lords supper & other Ch: ordinances of worship & communion, so doth it belong to them directly to exercise the spirituall power of ye keies of the kingdome of Christ, & to judge who is to be admitted to, retained in, or excluded from the communion of those Churches where they exercise their office: though it also belongeth unto the Magistrate to see that the said pastours faithfully performe their trust, & to encourage the faithfull, punish ye unfaithfull & restraine the hurtfull. And we do moreover professe & declare that all just lawes of man whatsoever in the Ch: or common wealth are but for the promoting the execution & ends of ye said lawes of God, contained in nature & the holy scripture & applying them to particular cases, & determining of such circumstances as in their generall nature are needfull, & being variable according unto the variety of persons, times, places, & accidents belong not to ye universall law to determine of. And disclaiming the pretensions of the Pope & his adherents, yt take their unwritten traditions to be a part of the universall rule & law of God, of equall authority or coordinate with the holy scriptures: We do professe & declare that this revelation & law of God, contained in nature & the holy scriptures, is the full sufficient Catholike rule of divine faith, & obedience, & the only divine test of ye true Christian Catholike Religion, & consequently of the true Christian Catholike Church: Of which Ch: we professe ourselves a part; which Ch: hath had a succession visibly from the daies of Xt & his apostles until now; & these lawes & this Religion have bin received & professed by an uninterrupted succession through the Christian world: though ye name of Protestants & Reformed, which we had by our protesting against & casting out the papall usurpations, additions & corruptions, be of later date: for as the disease is later then the primitive health, so the cure must needs be later then the disease.// Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present parliament that according to this foregoing profession & declaration, all persons within ~~[illegible]~~ & all preachers of the Gospell & pastours of ye Churches subscribe to ye holy scriptures & divine authority, truth & sufficiency thereof, as ye Catholike rule of divine faith & obedience, before they be allowed by approbation or toleration to preach or exercise the pastorall office within these dominions. And that if any be proved to have spoken ye contrary in derogation to the holy scriptures, & have not by open & [illegible] recantation satisfactorily manifested the reformation of his mind, he be prohibited to exercise the said office & Ministry. And that all Teachers & pastours shall reverently reade these holy scriptures in the Assemblies, as they are translated into our owne languages, & shall make it ye[ir] employment plainly to expound them, & faithfully apply them publikely & privately, as they have strength & opportunity, instructing ye people in the knowledge of ym & earnestly pressing ym to serious, diligent, holy obedience. And that no persons shall presume to reproach, scorne, or any way oppose ye same holy scriptures, or the reading or diligent practice of them by a godly, strict & conscionable life. And be it enacted by ye authority aforesaid that no preachers or pastours shall preach, defend or publish any points of doctrine, as Articles of Catholike faith or revelation, or as ye lawes of God obliging the Ch:, but what are contained in the law of nature or holy scriptures. And that in synods or otherwise they make nothing necessary, but what the holy scriptures or the nature of the things make necessary: nor presume to impose any other doctrines or lawes upon their brethren or on ye Ch: but what are contained in or may be proved by the law of nature or holy scriptures: Allwaies provided, that the pastours of ye Churches may by common [illegible] declare their agreements in any doctrines or duties contained in the foresaid word of God: & may determine of the circumstances of discipline & worship which being universally necessary only in their generall nature, are left to humane determination in their speciall nature: as ye times of assemblings, ye places, ye utensils of externall worship, ye order of reading scripture, ye versions, ye season of other acts of ye offices & the like: Concerning which concord they may make canons or agreements, & in such cases ye people owe them submission & obedience. Lastly be it enacted that no pastours of the Ch: or meerly Ecclesiasticall officers whatsoever, shall have any power to inflict mulcts, or corporall penalties, but be restrained from inflicting any penalties, besides ye censures of ye Church, & ye exercise of these censures, which consist in the right managing of ye word of God towards the consciences of sinners, & denying them the forfeited benefits of their owne offices //

X

Worthy Sr

I durst not refuse to answer your desire, nor call an honest labour vaine which
attaineth such an end: though I must say you make me wonder to what pur-
pose you desire it. Had it bin at the sittinge of that Parliament of wch you
were Speaker, though I should have marvailed at your condescention, yet I
should have hoped for some fruit of your intentions. But who shall now
make such lawes as those? While I am preparinge for sufferings upon the
account of this very doctrine, & looking with griefe on ye protestant
cause through the Xtian world, as bleeding at the wound yt is given it
by its friends in England, it somewhat stirrs me to observe yt wise men
have yet so much hope as your motion intimateth. I must needs say
were it possible to get such an act as this to passe, it would be of extra-
ry great use: 1o. It would answer all the Papists Cavills [where was
your Religion & Ch: before Luther? what Ch: hath successively believed your
39 articles or confession? who is your Judg of Controversys? &c.] &c. 2o. It
would prevent vexation & division about ye text of ye Religion among
ourselves. 3o. It would prevent impositions & exactions by ye Prelates wth
abundance of such commodities. Indeed a bare owninge of the Scripture
you may have from those that now are like to rule us. (As it's done
already in the Acts yt owne ye 39 Articles) but I suppose you will never
expect from them any such concession of the scripture sufficiency, least
it exclude their Disciplines & ceremonies. To meddle with ye Controversies
of ye Mosaicall lawes here, I thinke not fit. I cannot stand to trou-
ble with a reason of severall expressions here, but in generall only say yt
much hath on a word in this busynesse. Sr though I must confesse to
you yt my owne ends in this, are but to answer your will, & to show
you ye doctrine that I am preparinge to suffer for, yet as it dasheth my
mind to observe your hopes, so I have yet so much faith as causeth
me to pray for direction & successe to ye endeavours of such skilfull
men as you. Sr pardon ye failings of

Your very willinge but unskilfull Servant
(in such matters at such a season)

Ri: Baxter.

Aprill the 4
1660

To His Worpll his much honored friend
Thomas Bampfeild Esq Recorder of the
City of Exceter in Devonshire
these present

My Lord

Though both comon modesty, & my retired disposition doe forbid me to insinuate, or intrude uppon my superiors, & to my selfe it would have seemed an unmanerly vanity for me a stranger uncalled to have interrupted yr Lordshps serious affaires with one of my lines; yet being convinced by yr Lordshps favorable mention of me that you have leasure to take notice of soe low an object; & being very sensible of your christian care for my incouragemt in your lines expressed and much more of your singular affection to this poore place (whose welfare is mine) I could not but iudge my selfe deeply obliged to returne yr Lordshp my unfained thankes, which I doe in behalfe of them & my selfe heereby humbly present. and because the infirmity of some men hath represented me as opposite to the present Govermt, & I lately understand it is soe publiq that it cannot but come to yr Lordshps eares; I shall further adventure to confesse my politicall faith to yr Lordshp that I may stand right as I am in yr esteeme; being certaine that my owne profession will represent me more truly then the slanders of whisperers that have none to contradict them.

As I have brought my body to the pit brinke by 4 yeares service to the Parlat in warres; soe was I never a friend to tyranny nor had any repyning thoughts at Gods part in the changes of our Govermt. whatever I thought of the meanes, ~~[illegible]~~ may be [illegible] a will, or a conscience, inviting me to doe any thing against ~~them~~ illegally I may disobey in suspending my action (where I am might [illegible] religious scruples) but ~~in~~ not actively as things stand I soe far mislike ministers medling with state matters that ~~in~~ the thing which I suffer for in my reputation is my not medling with them. For I fearfully confesse to your Lordshp that I dare not bottom my soules peace on the needles poynt of a curious distinction, nor wade where I can see neither banke, nor bottom; nor goe on soe narrow a bridge where a sea of blood (and sin) is under, especially being unacquainted with the mysteries of ~~[illegible]~~ state which doe support it. Nor dare I [illegible] the most sacred solemne ordinances (by hypocriticall vows or thanks) to obstruct my accesse to the god of my helpe in the day of my necessity. yet if any feare god lesse, or man more, soe be they; I meddle not with them. Though all history convince me that the Bellua multorum capitum is the greatest Tyrant in the world, yet doe I not dislike their choice of rulers, nor deny the authority of those they choose: soe farre am I from having a ~~[illegible]~~ word against ~~[illegible]~~ Govermt: but I confesse that the fearfull growth of abominations, the divisions in the church, the reproch of our holy profession, & the sad separation of able godly ministers from their deare flockes doth compell from my soule those groanes which I had rather god then man should witnesse. were Christs interest advanced, & the gospell furthered, & a iudicious able ministry setled, & those hands gently tyed that cannot forbeare striking till our ulcers are healed, then had I most that my soule desires. According to this plaine undissembling character, yr Lordshp may without error iudge of

Kidr: Apr: 7o 1651.

yr Lordshps servant
Ri: Baxter

Uppon accusations yt I was agt ye Governmt bec I preacht agt their daies of fasting & thanksgiving for victories in Scotland

When I was accused for preaching agt Cromwell
& the Com: wealth Parlt, My Letter to
the Judge

Febr. 28th. 1659

Reverend Sr

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I suppose you have before this time heard of the late insurrection yt was amongst us in Cheshire & some adjacent parts agt the Parliamt then sitting. As it brought the Nation into a kind of a trepidation, & occasioned the loss of some blood, so it hath caused some [illegible], & disputings amongst us concerning its lawfullness. Most about us applauded it as a noble & happy design, but others yt desired all its tendency did much dislike it. The Declarations of the risers put forth indeed were something plausible. The maine thing ~~they~~ they pretended to ayme at was to restore & maintaine the priviledges of Parliamt the liberty & freedome of the people; & to unload & ease them of their taxations & burdens &c but though this was pretended there was reason enough given to think something els was intended (by most if not all of them) namely the advancing of the titular King to his fathers throne, for though it was not mentioned in their Declarations, yet it was ordinarily & plainly expressed amongst them yt their design was to help the wronged King to his right. & though some few pious, conscientious men appeared in it, yet the body of yt army engaged in it consisted of the most dissolute profane persons of 3 or 4 Counties, even such as have been enemies of a strict & holy life & if they had ever gott power into their hands would soon have manifested how little they desired or cared for Parliamts. Now Sr on the one hand you well know 1. That the Parliamt then sitting was but a small pt of the Parliamt, the Majority being secluded & kept out. 2. that it was their own ordinance Aug. 20. 1647. yt all votes, ordinances, & proceedings during the members absence in the army though not above 40 should be Null & voyd, though the house consisted of almost 3 times as many as it did at ye late insurrection. 3. that the Nation by the electing of severall Parliamts since this was first dissolved evidenced their consent it should be layd aside. 4. Some say yt when they were at first dissolved by the Protector might not [illegible] but they did it voluntarily themselves, wch being considered it appears that they need not to say they were only interrupted, & likewise yt they wanted Jus regendi wch you yor selfe say is the formal object of obedience. 5. the greatest pt of the Nation then stood either for the restoring of the secluded members or els for a free Parliamt. 6. and the army yt supported the Parliamt (a pt of which came to suppress the rising) even swarmed with schismaticks, & sectaryes by reason of wch the ministry lay under exceeding great contempt, & both the ordinances of Christ & the laws of the Nation began to be thrown aside as needless, & useless things, & yt we were ruled after an arbitrary irregular manner. And on the other hand you know 1. yt Geo. Booth &c had no office of authority. 2. yt but a very small pt of the Nation with only 3 or 4 of the secluded Members had an hand in it. 3. yt to oppose the Parliamt after such an hostile manner was likely to involve the Nation in troubles & make it the seate of warre, & so exceedingly hazard its happiness. 4 to have had the Parliamt thrown out by such a power would ~~[illegible]~~ have prostituted the cause so long contended for to the wills of them yt would soon have layd it under their feet, & so tyranny, hierarchy, profaness (if not popery) would soon have risen to as great an height as ever, & then all yt cost & blood yt hath been spilt in the Nation would have been in vaine. They gave it out whiles they were amongst us yt if they were but successfull agt the Parliamt they would have about (as they called it) wth ye Presbyterians before they had done; the old grudg is not yet layd aside. 5. Though (as I insinuated before) things were not carryed on as they should have been, yet under the Parliamt we enjoyed the maine & principal ends of governmt, & so farre as they afforded us protection & defence we should have yeilded subjection & obedience rather than expose the Nation to such danger by an insurrection. 6. Some persons of eminent esteeme in the Church as Bucer, Calvin, Pareus (men higher by ye head & shoulders than their brethren) tell us it is our duty to be subject to a meere possessory power, & yt we do not need to enquire concerning governmts Quo jure potestatem obtinuerint — satis nobis esse debet quod praesunt &c wch being considered I do for the present think it had been more prudence & discretion to have been subject to the Parliamt than to adventure upon such an opposition. Hon. Sr I pray be pleased in a few lines to deliver yor opinion concerning this matter. I thought it good to mention these reasons on both sides yt you might see what I had taken notice of & so yor answr might be the shorter & yor paines the less. I confess being altogether a stranger to you, you may justly take me to be very bold, but I hope such is yor desire to do good yt you will be pleased to consider of it. Thus desiring God to lengthen yor dayes, bless yor ministry & other labors, & put an end to these dangerous convulsion fitts yt the Nation hath lately been troubled wth I rest

Yor unworthy fellow servant in
the work of the Lord Jesus
John Wilson Minisr
of the Gospell att Backford
neare Chester.

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Sr I wrote to you a pretty while agoe to the same purpose but the letter before it was delivered to the Post was very strangely lost. I therefore longing much to know yor thoughts about this matter I have ventured to write & thought it convenient to give you notice of ye other letter lest it should be sent away wthout my knowledge or consent by any yt have found it.

fol.262. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Theise are
ffor the reverende & my much hon^{d} ffriende
M^{r} Richard Baxter Minist^{r} of the
Gospell att Kederminster

Worcestershere

Post payd

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M^{r} Willson

~~I was even now reading learned Zanchyes proofe, yt Beleevers before Xt did by their ffaith Receive Xts flesh, or humane nature (as promised & future) as well as ye Divine; & his heavye censure of ye contrary doctrine, as vile & unsufferable: wch occasioned me to adde this Quære: Whether~~ ~~That~~ ~~Believing was a Physicall Reception, wn the Object had no reall being or did not exist; or rather a meere Morall Reception (by accepting, chooseing, consenting) as a people receive the Kings Heires for their future governors before they are borne; or as we Receive a man for our King who dwells far out of our sight; or as Princes wives do use to take ym both for their Husbands & Soveraigne Lords even in their owne native Country, before they come to sight of the man; the match being both driven on & made & ye Marriage or Contract performed & imperfectly solemnized at yt distance by an Embassadour or Delegate. Just so do we Receive Xt (whose humane nature is far off, & his Divine out of our sight) to be our Saviour, Soveraigne (by Redemption) & Husband, even here in our native Country; the match being moved to us by his Embassadors, & imperfectly solemnized uppon our Cordiall Consent & giving up our selves to him by our Covenant; (but it shall be perfectly solemnized at ye great Marriage of ye Lambe.) This is my ffaith of the Nature of true Justifying ffaith: & of ye manner of its Receiving Xt.~~

5

To my much honoured & highly esteemed friend Mr ________

Deare Sr Bec: you are so desirous to know ye successe of my journey & wt passed betweene my dearly beloved & honoured friend Mr Burgess & myself: though I will not tell you much of our Conference by bec: transient speeches may be such on both sides as a man uppon deliberation will not stand to yet this much briefly I shall acquaint you with. When through all ye raine I was come thither I met with a letter fro Mr Burgess to Mr Willes signifying yt he would not come as supposing yt I would not come on so foule a day. I stayed yr all night & sent for him to come ye next day; when he came he told me his resolution not to dispute any point but to know each others mind yt as to my satisfaction he could say no more yn wt our Divines agt Bellarmine do ordinarily [illegible] yt were raised. My chiefe desire was to have his arguments agt some other points [illegible] & go to attempt [illegible] book wherein he professed vehemently to dissent, bec: also I had seen & answered allready wt he [illegible] about Justification by Works; & bec: others writings in yt will not [illegible] me when in the [illegible] saith they say as much as he can. But he told me he would not meddle with any other, bec: this of Justificn is ye grt point wch we are most tender of, & bec: he had not so far considered of ye rest, & bec: in ye rest some other Divines are come up to me. I told him yt my definition of faith was ye very foundation of my opinion in ye point of Justificn, & yt to me of greatest moment, which if he yielded yt ffaith as Justifying was a Receiving of Xt as Lord & King & not to Justifie [illegible] Saviour only, yn I desired no more. His answer is yt Jesus Christus is ye object of Justifying ffaith, or Xt as Mediator, but not to be distinctly considered as King, Priest & Prophet, but only in generall as Mediator or whole Xt. Wch is a wonderfull doctrine to me, yt we must Receive Xt in a grosse generall way without a distinct consideration or respect to wt in yt Generall is contained: wn ye very Being of ye Generall is all in ye particulars, & out of ym it is but a meere name, a notion, a nothing. Wt is our Mediator considered neither in his Priestly, Propheticall, or Kingly office, nor as Head or Husband to ye Ch: Can a man have faith or be saved without this knowledge of Xts being both a Saviour & Lord, or must he know Xt so, & yet not Receive him as such. And yn if Xt must be Received in ye grosse only, & not distinctly in regard of his offices, yn he must not distinctly be received as a Saviour nor as our Righteousness, nor as a Justifyer, wch is agt their doctrine. Must yor servant take you for his Master in ye grosse only, & not as one to command & rule him, to maintaine him in yor family, nor know or consider wt a Master is? If I should dye for it I could not choose but dissent from such Canons as these. He denyeth not my Judgmt of ye nature of Justifying faith to be ye same with Dr Prestons in his works: but he still insisteth on it yt they are but Popular Sermons & Speeches: though he were a Divine of so choice Notions, & preached his Sermons to so Learned auditors, & publish[ed] these things in his very Definitions, & yt so many times over as nothing in his books is so oft inculcated, & his acquaintance assure me yt this his Definition of faith he privately maintained & much used, yet he must go for a Popular Preacher: & so are we there[illegible]. He still denyeth yt I agree with ye Assembly in their Definition of faith though I am ready to subscribe to it, & though they speake in ye same termes as I, yet he saith, not in ye same sense: ffor he saith yt by [Accepting & Receiving] they meane not any Reception by ye Will seeing ye Will is never said to Receive its Object by any Philosopher: so it is not Consent or Election yt they meane, but only Recumbency or Resting on Xt. For wch I quoted yt ye Will Receives Morally (as a people Receive a man to be their King though absent, or as a man [illegible] woman to his wife) though not Physically & passively. Especially he could yt I agree not with ye Assembly thus: bec: I contradict my selfe in my sense of ye Definition, but [illegible] My selfe-contradiction he proved thus: In yt I make both [illegible]

Affiance to be Acts or parts of Justifying faith, wch is a Contradiction: for Affiance is a Going out of ye Soule to Xt & so Justifyeth; but Consent, & Election (& Accepting as I take it) a Fetching in of Xt to ye Soule; & so both canot concurre in Justification.~ // ~~[illegible]~~ for I can receive such doctrine, & be ~~convinced~~ by such argumts I must first be of their Judgmt who would have us renounce our Reason in matters of faith: & must first know this to be matter of faith. 1o I told him yt his Metaphoricall termes of ye Soules Going out, & Taking in were meere ambiguityes wch no man can understand but ye Speaker. He answ. yt so Accepting & Consenting were: &c. yt we had no other [illegible], & so concluded yt we may not explaine these by ye short Philosophicall termes. wch if it be but yn we must Believe words & not Sense or words not understood nor to be understood, & yt ye Xtian Religion lyes in termes of Art or second Notions without ye first: & yn not a Papist only, but a Parrot may make a good Confession: It is a grosse Religion yt teacheth such a Believing in grosse. 2o He confessed yt it is by no Physicall [Fetching in, or Going out of ye Soule]. And wt is it yn? The Object is without us in both Acceptance & Affiance: & our Acts make no alteration upon it. 3o But if this did make any difference, I should value Acceptance or Consent never the less for fetching in Xt into ye Soule. 4o Is it not strange yt in pretending my contradiction he discerneth not his owne palpable contradiction, & how he cutts ye throat of his owne Cause.~ For ye heart of his cause is in this, yt he makes faith to be no Reall Action, but a meere Passion & Passive Reception; & yet he makes it lye in Affiance, & this Affiance to be [a Going out of ye Soule to Xt]. Doth not a Taking in of Xt suit better with his Passive Reception yn this Going out to him.~ Is this Going a meere Passive Reception.~ wch is this but ludere aequivocis or plaine contradiction.~ 5o And why may not his Going out & Taking in both concurre to make up this Justifying faith.~ If a people Consent yt such a man shall be their King, & allso place their Affiance in him for protection, do these contradict.~ or if a Gally slave have deliverance offered him, by a Redeemer, if he Accept this deliverance, & ye man for his Redeemer & master & withall do Rest uppon him for deliverance, may not both these consist as ye Condition of his deliverance.~ My doctrine is yt these severall Acts are but ye quasi materia of Justifying faith & faiths Aptitude to ye office of Justifying: but ye formall Reason is yt it is ye Condition of ye Covt. And yt no doubt God may make as various Acts as these to be ye entire Condition. // Next Mr Burgesse thought me wonderfull illogicall for saying yt Fiducia was not as Consent & Election an immediate Elicit Act of ye Will, but rather an Imperate: at wch admiringly, he asked wt faculty did ye will [illegible].~ I confesse my Logick is short of his: But I make little doubt for all yt, but Fiducia is a compound of many Acts & a Negation of some. To have Affiance on Xt ~~[illegible]~~ to Rest on him comprehendeth Believing him Hoping in him Expecting ye fulfilling his word for me, Electing or choosing him as ye Only sufficient meanes of my deliverance, [illegible] my Soule uppon him in this Beliefe, Choice & Expectation; & especially a Casting off all further unquietnes of mind, & all Casting about for any other helpe, & a Cessation from seeking after any other Deliverer, with a kind of Complacency & Content of ye mind in ye apprehension of its safety in him. These last are ye nature of ye Soules [Resting] & all comprized in Fiducia. And how many Acts are here? for all these a Going out & never a Taking in.~ or are all these Elicit Acts of ye Will? I am content to be still Allegoricall. And are all these meere Passions.~ & all one Passive Instrumt: Aquinas tells me yt Illud quod homo desiderat et aestimat se posse adipisci, credit se adepturum, et ex tali fide in Cognitiva praecedente motus sequens in Appetitu fiducia nominatur. 12ae q. 40 a. 2. 2m. And yt Fiducia is but Spes roborata ex aliqua firma opinione. Et nomen fiduciae hoc principaliter significare videtur, quod aliquis spem concipiat ex hoc quod credit verbis alicujus auxilium promittentis. Et quia fiducia importat quoddam robur spei proveniens ex aliqua consideratione quae facit vehementem opinionem de bono assequendo, ideo fiducia ad magnanimitatem pertinet.— Et ideo fiducia non potest proprie loquendo nominare aliquam virtutem, sed potest nominare conditionem virtutis. Et propter hoc numeratur inter partes fortitudinis, non quasi virtus adjuncta, nisi secundum quod accipitur pro magnanimitate a Tullio, sed sicut pars integralis, 22ae q. 129. a. 6. c. & 3m. // But here Spes being in ye Irascible of ye Sensitive, is no Elicit, but an Imperate Act of ye Will: & much lesse Magnanimity. // But Mr Burgesse saith yt Aquinas knew not ye nature of Justifying faith. I answ. But Aqui: knew ye nature of ye Will & its Acts, & wch were Elicit & wch Imperate, better yn he. And Grace doth not make a new Soule or new faculties, or new kind of Acts, but rectifyes & makes use of ye old. And 3o we must know by wt Act ye Soule moveth to its objects before we can know by wt Act it receiveth Xt. Though I easily allow Mr B. to be a sounder Divine yn Aquin: yet never [illegible] to be a better Philosopher: Et ubi desinit Philosophus, ibi incipit Theologus in these [illegible] if he yet reject Aqui: let him read Doct. Downame [illegible] of ye nature of Affiance, who will tell him how neer kin it is to Hope. He asked me whether I thought Aqui: had sufficiently enumerated ye Acts of ye Will & whether there were no more. I answ. yt I thought ye prime Elicit Acts were only Velle, Nolle & Suspendere (if yt be a 3d) & yt in ye rest ye difference lay rather in ye object or ye Intellects apprehension or representation yn in ye Will. And Eligere is but Velle comparativum viz hoc et non illud: Consentire is but to Will uppon anothers motion, & Acceptare is to Will respecting ye Object as offered: & so as ye Object may be many wayes diversifyed or considered, so we may feigne as many Acts of ye Will. // He yeildeth as readily as I could desire yt Love is but properly Velle as it is in ye Rationall Appetite: & so yt to Love Xt & to Will him is all one: & yet he cannot endure to heare of this Act of Love both [illegible] in Justification. // In a word our discourse was driven to this Issue, viz to discover ye very bottome & hinge of all our difference, wch touching faith lyeth in these two points. 1o About ye physicall Passive Instrumentality of faith: wch is ye maine difference, affirming still yt it is but a grammaticall Action, yt is, quoad nomen; & yt it hath ye name of an Action, but really is none. I confesse my Reason doth yet abhorre such assertions as monsters in Nature, morality & Divinity. I asked him wt he meant when he said ye Act of faith was Passive.~ He answ. yt faith wch was a Grammaticall Action. It seemes yn [illegible] it is Passive. The 2d hinge of all our difference we discovered to lye in ye Sense of ye word [Condition] & ye distinction of Conditions. For when he pitcht on ye point of Justification I undertook to manifest yt I give no more to workes yn he, but only lesse to faith, & lesse to man, as not daring to make it an Instrumentall Efficient Cause of our Justification, [illegible] I told him yt in our Justification as begun I deny ye very praesence

istence of any Works of Obedience beside ffaith & Repentance: And herein wee
are agreed. Then to our Justification as Continued & Consummate at Judgment
I denyed yt Works were any Cause, but only Conditions, non amittendæ, Continuandæ
et Consummandæ Justificationis: (& this only I speake, of yt Obedience to Xt ye Redeemer
wch in ye Covenant of ffaith we engage to performe & not of any Legall Meriteing
Meritorious Working.) And yt he in his book confesseth ym Conditions as well as I.
To this he answered, yt in a large sense this was sound & might be yielded, &
yt he found Bishop Davenant say ye same: (And his name standes in my es-
timation as equall to many a Synod.) but yet yt he & I differed in ye sense of
ye word Condition. So yt in termes we are agreed. I desired he would show ye
difference by some Distinction of Conditions (& gave him Chamiers distinction
of Antecedent & Consequent, wch is flatly for me): He told me he had distinguished
allready in his writings to me: viz, Conditions in Justificato & in actu Justi-
ficationis. I replyed yt [in] was here a meere Equivocation. ffor in ye first
member [in] signifyeth an Inhesion: in ye second it could not so signifye.
Also I distinguished of ye word [Condition] into Naturall & morall or Legall: In
ye former sense ye Soule & each facultye & Physicall qualification is called
a Condition: & this being considered only in genere entis is quite alien to
our business, we have nothing to do with it. But ye second is it yt we are
in discourse about, viz Conditions morall, in sensu forensi vel judiciario.
Now 2o I desired him to show me how any such Legall morall Condition
could be in Justificato, & not also concurre ad actum Justificationis: &
so to explaine ye meaning of his distinction, yt seing we agreed in termes
we might fully understand our difference in sense. Whereto he replyed,
yt ye sense of ye distinction must be beaten out further, he had not
fully yet considered it. And I thought, yt sure ym ye world should not
so long agoe have bin acquainted with his vehement dissent, before he
could manifest wherein ye difference betweene us lay. At last I thought
yt seing ye very bottome of all our differences was reduced to so narrow
a roome, & by him acknowledged to lye in yt forsaid physicall passive
Instrumentality of ye Gramaticall Act of faith, & in ye yet-undiscernable
or unexplained sense of ye word [Condition] I hoped I held no damnable
Heresye: And yt certainly if these be points of flat necessity to salvation ym
all my acquaintance must be ~~damned~~: for I know not a man yt understandes
wt ye said Physicall passive Instrumentality of a Gramaticall Action is:
Nor do I believe any Saint or Angell in Heaven understandeth it, any other
wise ym they understand an entity or non ens. I am sure it is not in ye Apostles
Creed, nor is ever like to come into mine: & as soone shall I believe Transubstan-
tiation as this. Lastly I earnestly desired to know of him, whether he had promis-
ed to write a Confutation of my Aphorismes, seing I was so informed fro London
& Cambridge. He answered, yt he had bin writ to to yt end as if it lay uppon him but
he did not know whether he had promised or not. wch I thought strange, & yet
he told me againe he knew not: but at last said yt if he did it was but in a
transient speech, & ~~yet~~ at last confessed yt in yt transient speech he did promise it.
I desired to know whether he resolved to performe it. To wch I could extract no
other answer but this: yt he had not yet set pen to paper, yt I might yet over-
live him, & he might not live to do it; yt he would not have me solicitous
for my honor after death: & in sense yt in writing about Imputation he intend-
ed to bring in all yt was said by any he mett with agt those points he should
handle, but whether agt me expressly he could not tell. To wch I replyed yt he had
little cause to thinke me solicitous of mine honor, having given him other reasons,
& especially, when I was dead I should be never ye better for his Confutation, & ye
Church should want ye right of my recantation wch uppon conviction of error
I was ready to make. This is ye substance of our discourse, (except altercation
about wordes on ye by, not worth ye rehearsing, & in wch by rehearsall a man may
easily be wronged) which I professe in ye word of a minister yt I have faithfully reported.

I durst not in modesty & Confidence have let you see these pages, but yt Mr B hath promised to Confute me, & will not retracte yt Promise, & yet will deferre ye execution till I am like to be in my grave; & hath also let London Cambridge & many Countreys know his vehement dissent & purpose of Confutation. And in this Case I believe no man of any comon ingenuity will expect yt I should conceale these pages & passages betwixt us, wch may tend to ye information of men yt love ye truth, & p'haps containe some things wch in their ordinary writers is not much insisted on. I said little to him in discourse when we came to any point handled in my writings as referring him thither: wch I then delivered him. Only mr Willes & mr Hargrave were p'sent. To conclude ye only satisfaction I had was in ye sight & p'sence of him my dearly beloved friend, whom I love & honor for his piety, ability & humility as much as most men living: & but for the complacency of this friendly entercourse, I had lost my journey.

Farewell.

Sir I am
yors unfeignedly

Septemb 12o 1650.

Ri: Baxter

Being p'sent at this formentioned Conference, & now accidentally p'sent at ye subscribing of this letter, I do hereby attest the faithfullnes of this Relation. Richard Serjeant

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Postscript

I was verily in doubt before I spake with Mr Burgess yt I had lost all my labor wch I have bestowed in this Paper agt ye Passiveness of Faith, especially in its Instrumentality; supposing yt he would have said his meaning was otherwise yn ye wordes seemed to import, or yt it was his oversight. But now he stands in it in expresse termes, & freely acknowledgeth in ye hearing of those p'sent, yt it is ye very chiefe hindge & foundation of our difference [whether Faith be not a physicall passive Instrument of or Justification & a meere Gramaticall Action, or ye name of an Action, it selfe being really no Action but a meere Passion, Credere being formally Pati.] wch he professeth to maintaine; I say this being not only his professed judgmt but confessed foundation of or difference, I am past doubt now yt I spoake to his sense & to ye maine point, & so have not lost my labor. But was there ever any thing asserted by learned Divines more illogicall & irrationall? Is not ye great Article of Justifying Faith reduced to a meere Chymera? & to a contradiction so palpable, yt I had thought by naturall Logicke without Art any ordinary studious man might have discerned it. And is it not wonderfull yt when Mr B. himselfe affirmeth yt justifying faith lyeth in both facultyes, & in many Acts, Notitia, Assensus & Fiducia, especially in this last Affiance, yt yet he can think it a meere Passion? What is Knowledge & Assent meere Passions? And is his Affiance a meere suffering? What kind of Affiance is this, yt wch is but a Gramaticall Action, & indeed a Passion? Did ever Philosopher know an Assent or Affiance till now wch were no reall Acts of ye soule? Or is it in such a case as this, yt for ye maintaining of such opinion as this, yt some tell us of a contrariety betweene Faith & Reason? It is well for this Opinion yt it was not borne in ye Fathers times when they were so quick in charging men with Heresy; for els doubtless it had bin like to have bin branded as a Heresye of no inferior quality, & to have received yt Odium upon it wch would have done more to ye Cure of it with many Divines yn all ye Scripture & Reason in ye world. Well might ye Papists tell us yt our doctrine of Justification is destructive to obedience if this were our doctrine. Nay wt one of all ye Antinomian vanityes doth more directly cutt ye throat of Religion than this opinion of a Passive Faith? It seemes [illegible] to be of no use yn [illegible] God comandeth to Believe in ye Lord Jesus with all or hearts, yt he comandeth us nothing. If we should come into one of these mens Congregations, & heare ym preach according to this opinion, wt a lamentable (~~[illegible]~~) preaching would it be? If we [illegible]

heare ym zealously pswading men to Believe in Xt, & telling ym of ye great Evill & unreasonable-
nes of unbeliefe, & yt if they will not Believe it is their owne fault, & yt Xt will judge
& damne ym for it to eternall fire, & urging ym hereuppon with abundance of Motives to Beli[eve]
from ye equity & Reasonablenes, from ye necessity, from ye excellencyes of ye object &c. I say
if we should heare ym preaching all this, & wn they had done to tell ye people yt all this
while they do not pswade ym to do any thing in ye world, but only to suffer. Would not men
wonder at ye contradiction, & think ye preacher were ——— & say to him, If it bee only
to suffer yt you pswade us, why preach you to us? it is ye agent yt should be pswaded & not
a meere patient. And would not men abhorre yt Law yt should so frequently & earnestly com-
mand ym to Believe, & Promise ym Pardon & Salvation if they will Believe, & Threaten ym
with Hell fire yt will not Believe, wn this Believing is nothing but suffering. & wn men
cannot suffer except ye Agent do act, & they cannot choose but suffer if he do act. For
to lay ye only blame uppon ye naturall indisposition of ye matter (as we say in physicks)
is to extenuate sin ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible], & to bring itt into a narrow roome, & to make damnation
for unbeliefe to be nothing but damnation for Originall indisposition: nay to make this ye
Reason of mens not Believing & soe of their perishing, were to accuse ye Lord (who is ye Agent)
of impotency or some insufficiency, as if he could ~~not~~ not pforme his Act on indisposed
matter which hath nothing herein to do at all: & to make this ye reason why some only
Believe & some not would be (at least) to Pelagianize: as if God gave & denyed his Grace
according to ye creatures disposition or indisposition, meerly passive. I mett not long
agoe with a Pelagian Anabaptist, who in our dispute, did confidently argue yt to Believe
in Xt was a very easye thing, & so easye yt there was no need of any speciall Grace
for yt purpose: indeed he acknowledged yt Sanctification was a worke of speciall Grace
wch required a supernaturall operation, but this is promised (with pardon & Salvation) to all yt
Believe, wch any man might do by ye ordinary power of Naturall Reason. And indeed if
this Opinion of a Passive Faith be true yn it is easye indeed to some; For it is a doing no-
thing. And to suffer from ye Agency of another, requires (me thinks) no inherent Grace in
ye sufferer. And I marvaile according to this Opinion, to wt purpose are Habitts? Hitherto our
Divines have asserted either a Habit of Faith, or somewt equivalent: (Except Socinians
& some more of ye Arminians who think yt either there is no Habit or none before ye first Act
& so none Infused but Acquired: but yn they doubt not whether yt Faith be an Act) But Habitts
are for ye facilitating & ascertaining of ye Act: & qd wt need there any Habit where
there is no Act? So we need an Intellectuall or Morall Habit to make us fitt to suffer?
And wt a palpable debasing of Faith is this, yt wn all other Graces are Active & are a Spirituall
Life exalting & actuating & ennobling the Soule, only Justifying faith must be meerly
pati, & so not be so much as Actus humanus much lesse Spiritualis vel supernaturalis
& must have no existence at all in genere moris but only in Genere entis. For I have
proved before yt a meere pati hath no (morall) Goodnes in it at all, & so God is pleased
with yt wch hath no Good in it (but naturall & so hath ye Divell far more yn a Passion)
& consequently unbeliefe must have no Morall Evill in it & so God condemneth men for doing nothing
or for not doing nothing, for no harme or for not having yt wch is no Good! Will I be of this
Patient opinion for feare of differing from some others? Far be it from me! I know indeed
yt ye Martyrs are crowned, & it is said, If ye suffer for ye name of Xt happy are ye: & so suffering
is a Good, & we have need of gracious Habits to helpe us to suffer. But this is an improper speech
suffering being here but ye tryall, & not ye Grace or Virtue. It is not ye meere ~~ppe~~ suffering, as of
ye flames or ye like yt hath any morall Good in it, but it is ye voluntarynes of ye Soule in
this suffering, & ye Patience & ye Faith & Love thereby manifested: For if a man were bound
& cast into ye fire ag his will which he would committ any sin to escape it though it were for
Xts sake, there is no Goodnes in this suffering: But wn men are so firme to Xt & so
late in obedience yt they will rather burne yn sin, ye Good lyes all in ye Internall & ex-
ternall Grace of Obedience & not in ye suffering. Do but judge / those Scriptures yt urge to
Believing or describe Faith, & see whether you can make good believe yt by Believing
they meane no Act but a suffering? If you can, sure your understanding is deplorable
wn it is said Joh.1.11.12 yt [He came to his owne, & his owne Received him not]
not suffer? [but as many as Received him to ym he gave power to become ye sons of God, even to ym yt
Believe in his name] Is this a meere suffering? Joh.5.40. [Ye will not come to me yt ye may have life]
Is ye meaning, ye will not suffer? Mark.1.15. [Repent ye & Believe ye Gospell] Is yt suffer? Joh.5.
44. [How can ye Believe wch receive honour one of another] Is yt How can ye suffer? No nor is [Receiving] there a
passion, though Mr B. wondered yt I should say there was any such thing as an Active Receiving. Luk.8.13.
we might find such a thing in our Ethicks, wt ever we do in our Physicks. Jo.11.27.48. Act.8.37. & 16.31. & 13.39.
Joh.6.29.30. This is ye Worke of God, yt ye Believe & wt signe shewest thou yt we may Believe? Is yt
suffering? Jo.14.1. Ye Believe in God, believe also in me: Here Beliefe is spoken of both in ye same sence, yt we may
see, wt Mr B saith yt it is only ye Justifying Act of Faith wch is Passive. And wn Abraham in hope Believed
against hope, & it was counted to him for Righteousnes to Believe God, Rom.4.18. is yt

[illegible] yt he suffered [illegible] by a physicall Passive Reception. Ro. 10. 9. If thou Believe in thy [illegible]
[illegible] yt God raised him from ye dead thou shalt be saved. Is that suffering? & 10. 14. How shall they Believe on
him whom they have not heard. Can they be Passive as well without hearing as with it? 1 Joh. 5. 13. These
things have I written yt ye may Believe on ye name of ye son of God. Do written arguments conduce
any thing to make us Passive? Joh. 8. 24. If ye Believe not yt I am he ye shall dye in yor sins. Is yt they
suffer not? 2 Cor. 4. 4. The God of this world hath blinded their minds yt they Believed not. Cannot a
blind mind be Passive? Look over ye Catalogue of Believers in Heb. 11. & judge whether they did only pati &
non agere. Did Abel offer an acceptable sacrifice by suffering? or Noah build ye Ark? or Abraham go out of his
Country? & offer his son? or Moses refuse ye treasures of Egypt? or Rahab hide ye spies by a meer Passion? And
wt is meant by a strong & not weak faith Rom. 4. 19. 20.? Is it a strong Passiveness? And Rom. 3. 25. He is a propitiation
through faith in his blood: Is yt through suffering? doth his blood agere on us & we pati from it? How is saving
faith called ye Guift of God Eph. 2. 8. since a meer Pati distinct from ye Action & Agent or Principle requires no
supernaturall Guift. 2 Thes. 1. 11. ye Work of faith with power] But wt should I stand to heape up multitudes
of places, wn there is not a word in Scripture favouring so strange a conceit as a meerly Passive faith
for conveniencie indeed yt doctrine hath: It gives us gt advantage agt those yt deny Infant Baptisme;
for if faith be only pati, yn why may not an Infant Believe as easily & ordinarily as a man at
age? But yet if I had no better grounds yn this I would deny Infant baptisme; & for all its
Luthers opinion I would even say with Cassander Consult. Art. 8. Quapropter longissime
ab universali Ecclesiae intellectu, imo vero a communi sensu recesserunt qui Infanti-
bus dum baptizantur proprium fidei motum tribuunt cum Ecclesia illis propria fide desti-
tutis communem Ecclesiae fidem &c. quapropter hic error omnino refellendus est, ut qui
primus (si Cassander non fallitur) Anabaptistarum errori occasionem dederit. Cum enim
Lutherus asserit satius esse non baptizari Infantes, si verum sit eos non credere,
atque concluderet ita baptizari parvulos, ideo vere illos credere: Illi contra hunc in
modum ratiocinati sunt: atqui manifestum est eos non credere, non sunt igitur
baptizandi. // And for ye great noise yt is made agt my doctrine of Justification
by works (as they mouth it) either they mislike ye phrase or ye sense, or both:
If ye phrase, it is St James's: if ye sense I have showed before yt they cannot tell
ye difference [illegible]. And I still most confidently averre yt as they give more to man
(making faith an Efficient Instrumentall cause of Justificon) so they give as much
to works as I (acknowledging sincere obedience to Xt to be Conditions of our Justi[illegible]
as continued & Consummate. And (as Mr B. confessed) Dr Davenant maintaineth at large
ye very same Propositions wch I am distasted for, viz. about ye Condition[illegible] of
works, as you may find fully De Justit. Habit. et Actuali pag. 380. 401. 402. 403. [illegible]
And still I say yt in yt sence as Paul takes works, I disclaime ym & professe to judge it a
damnable sin to seeke after ym or to imagine yt we have ym, either before Justification
or after: For James takes Works for Good Actions discovering faith & Love to Xt: But Paul
takes ym for Mercenary works or Merits, & so almost allwaies calls ym [Works of ye Law]
And expoundes himself once for all as plaine as ye mouth of man can speak, Rom. 4. 4
To him yt Worketh ye Reward is not imputed of Grace, but of Debt. This cannot be true of
Works in James his sense, or any works commanded now by ye Gospell. And if so plaine a
text need any exposition, I will give you Judicious Davenants & therewith conclude.
Verborum autem praedictorum hic est sensus: [Ei qui operatur] hoc est, qui operatur secundum
pactum Legale, legem totam implendo [merces non imputatur secundum gratiam] id est,
vita aeterna tribuitur, non secundum gratiam Evangelicam vel pactum Novi foederis
quod dicit, Crede et vives; [sed secundum debitum] id est, secundum illud pactum Dei
Qui fecerit ea vivet in ipsis: quam promissionem Deus debet praestare, extra omnem con-
foederationem Gratiae Evangelicae, siquis ita posset ipsam Conditionem praestare. Hic
itaque locus non iuvat adversarium, quia nemo sic operatur, aut potest operari: &c. Dr
Davenant de Justitia Actuali Cap. ult. pag. 637. // Iterum vale Amice charissime

Scriptum est inter languores & dolores corporis, et animi: inter suspiria et lachry-
mas propter laceratum et pene deploratum Ecclesiae statum, propter florentes con-
tentiones, rixas et odia inter Christianos, ad impiorum obdurationem, et scandalum
et dedecus pietatis et Evangelij, Septemb. 13o 1650. A tui Amicissimo

R. B.

Reverend Brother

Since my last writing to you I have had such importunate sollicitations from the good people of Newington notwithstanding 2 denyals given them that I have beene forced to take the businesse into my 2d consideration. the result of my thoughts is this. the Oxford people have promised to take some paines & see whether they cannot in a monthes time settle a maintenance upon mee which if they can doe tho' it be farre lesse then that of Newing: I have engaged to stay with them if they cannot then they have given mee liberty to goe as god shall direct mee. the lord give such an issue as may bee for the churches good & his owne glory. our delegates have beene pleased to make choice of mee to answer the doctors in Vesperiis an employment which I am no way fit for, but yet, through persuasion of friends. & least the act should faile I have intentions to accept it. & the questions which I have pitched upon are these An ministri ecclesiae anglicanae habeant validam ordinationem? Aff: an sit penes hominem electum impedire quo minus tandem convertatur Neg an peccator justificetur antequā habeat fidem Neg I pray you take some opportunity as soone as you can to send mee your thoughts about them. I know in maintaining of them I am like to offend some body ~~or~~ but that I doe not much matter. if any one acknowledge not the lawfullnesse of our ministry as I value not his favour so I feare not his frownes. will you be pleased to direct mee to any books that will be worth my reading in the forenamed controversies. ~~& [illegible]~~ & if you can spare so much time to let mee have your iudgment. about the validity of ordination tho' received from the church of Rome. & about the best way of reconciling the liberty of the will with the efficacy of divine grace. your former readinesse to afford mee your direction emboldens mee to put you to this further trouble.

my prayers are that you may goe on prosperously in the worke you have undertaken for the reformation of Kidderminster. & that you may grow in favour with god as I perceive you doe with good men. I am

yr much engaged Brother
Hen: Hickman

May 22th
1654

my kind respects to Mr Sarsbury concerning whom I should be loath to heare that he doth not close with his brethren of the ministry but attempt that other third way. for which so little can be said from [illegible] or church practise

Fol.266. of Baxter Letters in volume shown
LETTERS.

To the Reverend & his
very much esteemed friend
Mr Richard Baxter at
Kidderminster

Leave this letter with Mr Joseph
Baker minister at Worcester who
is desired to send it as above

LETTERS.
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Deare Brother

About yor abode at Oxford, I shall presume to say no more, because you have so much better advice at hand. Only yt I am scarce satisfyed, if you cast the businesse upon matter of maintenance & yt in ye eye of so many observers. If you are like to doe God as much service at London, yn there's no more to be said: but if not, serve him, though yor pay be short: It may be as much as Pauls: Its easy I conceive for yor friends to procure an Augmentation at Oxford (unless there be a purposed opposition of those in power); at least, if they have time. // You have chosen a troublesome Quest. about Ordination: 1o I would rather have said [Ecclesiarum in Anglia reformatarum] than [Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ] to prevent ye advantage of the opponent & mine owne trouble (though I also will have its share). For it will be the great doubt [what it is yt you call the Church of England] and [wch is it?] will be ye next. The word [Church] properly or in ye most comon use signifyeth a Society or Politick body consisting of a Ruling & a ruled pt. And if thus you call it [one Church] yt is in England, it must be from one visible or suma potestas, wch must be either 1o A Patriarch or Archbyshop 2o Or a generall Assembly 3o Or ye Prince. For ye two first I confess I am not of ye opinion yt either of ym is ye suma potestas in wch those Churches are united, nor yt there is any such Ecclesiastick soveraigne. For ye 3d as he is ye head but secundum quid, ~~meerly from a comon accident~~ in respect of his owne peculiar way of Governmt so it is but secundum quid, if not meerly from a comon accident, yt ye Churches are called [One] from his soveraignty. // But 2o ye word [Church] is sometime taken for a meere comunity, or many pticular Politicall bodyes united (not in one visible Head, but) by meere Association or Combination for mutuall assistance. And thus indeed, Ecclesia Anglicana, is One, at least, when such a Comunion shall be found amongst us: And ministeriall Associations & a generall Assembly are ye best meanes for such a comunion. Bp Usher himselfe did 2 me in this, professing yt Synods are for Comunion of Churches, & not a propr power for Governing Churches & pticular Pastors under ym. 3o Also from ye meere politicall yt ye Churches under one civill Soveraigne have for such a combination, they may be called One: but these are both less properly. // 3, And then you will be put to tell [wch is ye Church of England] Is it yt politically united in one for Bps (viz ye Prelaticall pt only)? Or is it yt united under one generall Assembly (viz ye Presbyterian only)? Or is there any such? Or is it those only yt hold comunion by Assemblyes? Or all under ye civill Head? Are ye Congregationall pt of it wholy Excluded? &c. // 2o For [Ordination] it is not ye easiest Question, what it is: whether an Act of Jurisdiction, or of wt nature? If of Jurisdiction, yn Presbyters canot ordaine, unless they have Jurisdiction over ye psons & Churches to wch they ordaine wch will be hard to prove. At least, to tell in wch ye Presbyters yt have this power! What if 6 Presbyters meet & ordaine one to this Church, & 6 other meet & ordaine another & forbid him; wch shall stand? // And here you take a great taske in yt you must both maintaine ye need of Ordination against one sort, & ye validity of ors against another, & will hardly keepe off the Controversy about Episcopacy itselfe. Yor great worke is to answere ye comon Question, where or when for 1000 yeares after Christ, did ever meere Presbyters alone ordaine any? Name ye man yt was so ordained? To wch Bp Usher told me, he answered K. Charles out of Hier. Epist. to Evagrius, yt saith from Marke to Heraclas ye Presbyters of Alexandria tooke one from amongst ymselves & made him Byshop; As if an Army should make a generall: They did ye greater, so they may do ye lesser. But some deny yt it is ye greater, & so deny ye Consequence, For say they, Priesthood simply is greater yn ye Episcopall degree as superadded to Priesthood. As to ye Question, about ye validity of or Ordination as from Rome, it supposeth a necessity of uninterrupted succession, wch I shall not grant. Yet I am satisfyed yt in ye Church of Rome ye Ministry is so far valid, as yt their just administrations are not Null. In Baptisme we confess it: why not in Ordination? But if you plead this, yor opponent will carry you into ye Controversy of [ye Antichrist] & do you wrong. The most pticular of my thoughts on ye whole are in these Propositions.

God hath determined allready 1. yt there shall be pastors over his Churches, 2o & wt

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their office is & how farr extended 3° & hath given ym lawes to goe by, 4° and
described ye p'sons, tellinge us wt is necessary to ye esse, wt to ye bene esse. All
this in Scripture. 5° By providence he qualifyeth some p'sons specially for
it, 6° And disposeth of opportunityes & of ye peoples minds to make a right
choice or consent. This much God doth himselfe. So yt its none of this yt
Ordination hath to doe. 2° Ordination yn hath nothinge to doe (nor Election
with it) but to determine of ye p'son qualifyed accordinge to Gods prescript.
3° Ordinarily there are three p'tyes in 3 severall respects yt are to determine
of ye p'sons fitt. 1° the Magistrate must determine whom he judgeth fitt to
be allowed or encouraged by him (but this is not who shall be a mi-
nister.) 2° The Congregation is to determine whom they thinke meet to
receive & obey as their Pastor. 3° The Presbyters of ye same or other
Churches must determine, who is meet to be a Pastor & their Pastor in that
Church to wch they ordaine him. In wch Judgment one qualification beinge
ye peoples inclination to, or good opinion of ye p'son, yt it may be probable
they will p'fitt by him, therefore ordinarily yt is to be first discerned.
4° Both ye Consent of ye people & ye Ordination of ye Presbyters, are but
Conditio sine qua non & not proper efficients of ye power, for yt is immediatly
conferred by God. As a woman chooseth who shall be her husband, & the
minister marryeth ym, & yet neither efficiently confer ye Authority of ye man
over his wife: but God doth yt by his Law; they doe but dispose ye materiam
& bringe it to ye stampe & God doth imprint ye forme upon it. Or as ye Burgesses
choose a Bayliffe, but yet it is ye Soveraigne by Charter, yt giveth Authority
to him & not they. || 5° Therefore Ordination is not an act of strict Juris-
diction, but an act of Order appointed by ye Supreame head of ye Church
to avoid ye disorder & ill consequents yt else would follow. E.g. Suppose
(as in other Countreyes) every towne were to have their owne Physitian,
The Soveraigne ordaines 1° yt no Physitian be forct on any, therefore they
shall consent or refuse, 2° None shall be allowed of, but whom other
Physitians approve, or appoint, 3° And none have liberty to practice, but by
ye allowance of ye Magistrate of ye Citty or Circuit. Here now ye reason
of ye peoples Liberty is, because ex natura rei, ye end canot without it be
attained. 2° The reason of ye Physitians interest is, because ordinarily
none are so fitt to judge who is duely qualifyed, as men of ye same pro-
fession; & mens lives are so pretious yt they are not to be ventured upon
ignorant mens hands, no not though ye patients through Ignorance
did desire it. So yt this is an act of Authority, but not proper Government
or superiority in ye Physitians. So if ye Law required yt no Schoolmaster
should be chosen & allowed, but by ye approbation of other Schoolmasters &c.
6° I take Approbation or a Determination of ye fitnes of ye p'son,
to be ye Life of Ordination, though a certaine solemne Appointment and
Instalmt may concurre or follow. || 7° I take Ordination itselfe, not to
be absolutely necessary to ye beinge of ye ministry, but ordinarily necessa-
ry to ye orderly & right enterance. In many cases of Necessity it may be
without. When Order must give place to its end, & when ye order itselfe
is not questionable, & there neither needs any judge of ye p'sons fitnes,
nor is there a judge to be had without greater evills yn ye omission of Ordi-
nation. Many cases I could putt. || 8° I take those men yt came justly in
without Ordination, or were ordained in a culpable manner to have pow-
er to Ordaine others. As ye Kings of Judah putt in many high Preists ym-
selves: & wt Ordination some of ym had is questionable. So its certaine
yt at last ye right enterance was quite p'verted, & ye Preisthood bought
for mony of ye Civill Rulers, & turned out of ye true stock, & p'haps made
annuall, or at least not for Life as it ought. As if a Prince enter
wrongfully, yet when he is in ye throne & ye people owne him by subjection,
his acts are valid to us (though sinfull to him) & obedience is due. So here. ||
9° We may well tell ye Episcopall men yt we have Bishops yt ordaine in yt
ye president chosen pro tempore is a Bp pro tempore (chosen as ye Alexandrian
Bp was without a Bp); & in yt we have many true Bps in ye Primitive sence
yt is, Congregationall Bps, & such as have Presbyters & Deacons over whom
they preside in ye same Church. || 10° For ye foresaid Argumt (Presbyters
alone never ordained) I answer further. 1° they canot prove this. History
is not so p'fect as to give us a full account of this. 2° The hands of ye Pres-
bytery on Tim. was of Presbyters qua tales, therefore if Paul were one he
was as a Presbyter. 3° The Waldenses (who saith Ragnerius) looke ym sel

Apostolicall for continuance, had ordination or pastors without Byshops. 4° Constant preachinge & baptizinge is allowed of by ye adversaryes without ordination: but these are as prop to ye Minister as ye Lords supp. Origen preached before he was ordained, yea was a constant preacher. Frumentius & Edesius converted a County. The Jesuites in Japon & other places themselves allow it: they encouraged Paulus, Laurentius and other unordained Japonians to be ordinary preachers, & to baptize, in case of ye absence of ye Preists. 5° The consequence is bad: for a non facto ad injustum non valet sequela. 6° Ad hominem, it will be harder for them to prove yt such a sort of Diocesane Byshops as or English Prelates were, did ever ordaine for 150 yeeres after Christ at least. The separatists Arguments will be 1° we are not rightly ordained, because not true Churches, but this they canot prove. 2° because from Rome & nemo dat quod non habet: but first I deny yt any but God doth dare potestatem they doe but open ye doore & God putteth us in: therefore we receive no power from Rome or men. Secondly I deny yt Romanists ordaine us mediately, though they ordained ye Ancestors of or Ordainers: for when such (E. g. The Byshops in King Edward ye 5ths dayes) renounced Popery, they renounced all dependance on Rome, & an uninterrupted succession of Authorized Ordainers, ~~wch~~ is not of necessity. Thirdly If they had ordained us, it were no more invalid yn their baptisme & ye Church to which they belonge. (Antichrist sitteth in ye temple of God &c) But to what purpose do I write these things to you &c. What books would you have yt maketh fuller to this yn Mr Thomas Balls & ye Londoners vindication. // To yor 2d Question.

1° The naturall power or faculty is in all. 2° ~~This~~ naturall faculty is a self determininge principle, yet supposeth an object & organs or fantasy duely disposed, an intellect duly guidinge, & ye absence of disinclininge habitts (if not ye presence of right dispositions to its action.) 3° When it acteth not, or not rightly it is not because it canot for want of ye said faculty; but it is for want of some of those requisites: & if for want of object or organs, as in ye distracted, it is a naturall impossibility, inculpable in itselfe. but if it act not, because it is ill habituated or disposed, it is a morall disability, vitious, & more properly called an habituall unwillingnes yn a disability. So yt it is most prop to say, he can will, but he willeth not, because he is ill disposed. Naturall free will all have: morall freedome from ill dispositions none have, [illegible] further yn they have grace; these things are agreed on. A necessity of grace is not for want of naturall liberty, but of a morall or right disposition. If ye intellect misguide, ye will is originally culpable in that. Jansenius goeth ye right way thus far, yt, Predetermination naturall ad causam primam is not necessary to all actions naturall or free, but predetermination gratious, or grace yt cometh with a prevailinge intent is necessary to holy actions, through want of morall free will, or because of vitious dispositions &c. Yet Grace closeth with ye will, as health with ye body, perfectinge & not destroyinge its power, & therefore taketh not away ye power to ye contrary act, but ye disposition: not ye naturall power or freedome, but ye morall power (or impotency rather) to evill, by a morall freedome. But much more should be said to this yn I suppose you will expect from me, especially now. All ye matter lieth in ye definition of naturall freedome. To conclude, I thinke yt in ye whole controversy betweene us & ye Lutherans &c it will prove true yt ye doctrine of decreeinge damnation upon foreseen sin & not decreeinge sin it selfe, is true on one side: but yt of decreeinge on foreseene faith & not first decreeinge faith itselfe is false on ye other hand: and yt the doctrine de Scientiâ mediâ with Scotus negative decree quoad actum is true de malo, but false as to ye Elect, & de bono: but ye reason of this you will not now expect. I have cast together (in great weaknes & weariness by a short journy) these ravelled, disorderd conceptions, but it is more to answere yor desire, yn any use ~~they~~ I imagine they can be of to you. Sr accept his willingnes to serve you who is

Yors unfeignedly
Ri: Baxter.

May 28. 1657.

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To Mr Henry Hickman fellow of
Magdalen Colledge in Oxford

46.

LETTERS.
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Most deere and Truly honourable Sr 118

I will not accuse yo for tempting me to be proud by the favour of so
worthy a person as yr selfe, expressed in yr visitt and the gift of your many
excelent bookes: for it is nor dishonor to good; yt omne malum est ex bono, nor
to god himselfe that none giveth so many ocasions of sin, whilst none is
is so farr from being the cause: but I will rather looke back to one of my
ould lessons, that our greatest benifits must be resened in the most tinemu
watchfull posture. the recreations which I have oft taken in your expe-
=rimentall philosophie, & other such writings, are not like those which som men
seeke in cards and stage plays and other murtherers of pretious time, whose
fruite is nominally som true comodity, and really in hand som unwholsom sensual
delight, and finally the sting of sorrow, when irrevocable time is gone: but thay have
him a profitable plesure which prepares not for repentance. but yr plea
for scripture stile, and yr seraphick love, and ye noble designe of yr arabick
publication of grotius, and now yr pious meditations and reflexions do call
to me for greater reverence in the reading of ym, and make mee put of
my hatt, as if I were in ye church; & have not in vaine excited mee to the
expectation of som higher benefitt; as thay stand neerer to my ultimate end.
I read yr theologie as ye life of yr philosophie, and yr philosophie as ~~the~~ animated
and dignified by your theologie; yea indeede as its first parte. for god himself
beginneth the holy scriptures with the doctrine of physicks: and he that will wri
handle ye covenant and lawes of god, must describe first the covenanters
god and man, the constitutive pts of ye universal kingdome: he that will iustly
frame a pansophie (as comenius calls it) must begin with ontologie, of which
god and man are the partes which we are most concerned to knowe, and
having first gone through ye doctrine of entities, must com down to that of con-
=ception and expression & action. and he that knoweth that this is the difference
betwene our knowlidg of god in this life, & ye next, yt here he is knowne in
a glasse, and there by intuition, will neither with ye illiterate despise ye glasse
nor with the atheist & prophane overlooke or deny ye face which it representeth.
such as thes last I have hard yo complaine of, & find by yr remedies that yo are not
unacquainted with ye lamentable increase of this disease. I was naturally as mu
inclined as others, to play with ye gilded leaves & outside of my booke, & handsomly
de paint ye letters before I understood ye sense: to take up my time in ye serch of cre-
=aturs, & words and circumstances, & to mortifie al these by seperating them from god:
And it was not soone inough yt I reduced al my learning to the doctrines, de fine
=ultimo et de medijs practically! & that I studyed & estimated al ye meanes according
to their place & value, in their tendencie to ye End. but when god removed my dwelling
into a church yard and set me to study bones & dust, & by a prospect into another
world, awakend my soule from ye learning of a child, & shewed mee yt my studys must
not be play, but affective, practicall serious worke, I then began to be conducted by
Necessity, and to search after truth but as a meanes to goodnes, & to ~~know~~ perceive ye
difference betwixt a pleasent easie dreame, & a waking working knowledge. he that
hath well learnt in ye Alphabet of his physicks, wherein a man doth differ from a brut
hath layd such a foundation for a holy life as al ye reason in ye world is never able
to overthrowe. for by knowing his faculties & capacities, he will quickly knowe their
end and use; & his relations to his creator, his efficient, [illegible] & final cause: That
his nature was formed ~~to~~ to b[illegible]n to knowe & love & serve his maker
as truly as ye lower creaturs [illegible] formed for our service! that to love god above
all, & to serve him with al [illegible] & gifts, is as unquestionable ye duty
of man, as it is ye use of [illegible] to carry us, or of a knife to cutt, & much
more, because ye aptitude & obligation were more essentiall to us: And he will
as easily knowe yt al this duty is not to be performed in vaine, & yt ye rectitude
perfection & use of nature, was never intended by our Creator to be our misery;
& therefore yt holynes is ye way to happines. & as I never met with ye infidel yt durst
say, yt he is certaine yt there is noe future life, of reward & punishment; so it is more
ease for unprejudiced reason to discerne, yt ye probability or possibility of an endles
joy or misery here after obligeth us to provide for it, what ever it cost us in ye world
and nature itselfe by ye very revelation of yt probability or possibility, hath
made it every wise mans duty, to make it ye cheife care & busynes of his life
to obtaine yt happines & escape yt misery, & to contemne al ye hope
of this world ~~that~~ which stand against it. & consequently yt he liveth
[illegible] nature, whoe liveth not a holy life

And then he must conclude ~~that~~ either really there is such a life of happines which we are naturally thus bound to seeke, & such a danger which we must labor to avoyd, or els yt god hath deceived man in ye very frame of his nature, & made both his noblest faculties, & ye chiefe dutys of his life to be delusory, frustrate & our torment, & yt he loseth & suffereth most whoe is honest to his god and consience; which ye knowledg of god will easilie confute. he reproacheth his creator whoe saith yt he gave man higher faculties then ye brutes, to knowe & love & serve his god, & this yt he might be so much more miserable then ye brutes, by his foresights labours & frustrations. besides what I have oft said, yt ye world neither ever was or can be governed according to ye nature of man, without ye feares & hopes of a life to come! were it not for these, there would be noe lawe or vertue, but carnall intrest, craft & strength: And he were a foole that could not with probable safty murder or undoe him yt standeth in his way. It is well for ye world yt beastly infidels do oft want wit to do mischiefe, as well as to knowe ye truth: & better yet that Atheisme seldome doth totally preclude their prospect into another world & conquer all those feres & hopes; & yet better yt Atheists have seldom ye governm of ye rest: & yt those yt have witt & power enough to do mischiefe, have usually ye wit to see why they should not do it. I spoke from my heart when I told ye world yt every man is a saint, a brute or a Devill as he is either holy sensuall or malignant //. I thanke you therefore for all yr Bookes; but most for those yt have most of god: for as to ye subject, yt ~~is best~~ which stands next to heven is best: for there are my hopes, and that way lie all my busynesse & concernments. wt a poppet play is ye life of sensuality, worldlyness & pride. And how lowe a game is it wth empors & comandors play, who seek no higher things, in comparison of a humble christian, who by ye conduct of ye word & spirit of god, is seeking ye inmortall pleasurs: if these be not my happynes I shall consent to have no other, much more if thay be. Let me have more then this malignant distracted world affordeth, or let mee have nothing. let me be happy longer than 70 years, or let me never be happy. how I am esteemed, or called, or used here, for so short a time, I desire ~~not~~ to make it but little of my care, nor much to regard whether this short a dreame be sad or pleasant: he loseth nothing yt loseth but this shaddow: & in ye end he will confesse, he gott nothing whoe hath got no more. if ye possibility of endles joy or misery prevaile not with me agt all yt ye world can offer, I will be iuge agt my selfe, & freely confesse yt by sinning against reson I forfit all pretensions to felicity, & if there be a hell it is my due. //

The matter of yr Booke having occasioned all these words, I must thanke yo for also as to ye manner, & that upon a double account. 1o yt you call men to the manly worke of meditation, to waken ye sleepy reson of ye world & bring it into excersise: most of ye world would becom much wiser (& consequently better & consequently happyer) if thay could be brought to be more considerate if thay were but shutt up in ye Jesuits dungeon one hower in a day, to thinke seriously of god, & of their Happynes & duty. & were forced to give an accompt of their thoughts, to som sober person! for ye matters of god & salvation are so great & have such evidence, yt if thay would but think oft & seriously of ym, sure thay would think rightly of ym at ye last; at least so farre as to sett ym in ye way, & to call of their hearts from all yt which now diverteth & deceiveth ym. would thay but sometimes lay by sensuality, and think seriously what all ye ~~matters~~ pleasures of this world, will prove at last, thay would read in ye darke ye spanish proverb, ye world is a carrion, & they are dogs that love it. But men are such hypocrits & Atheists, yt while their cloathes, & words & all yt is seene of men, are cumposed as beseemeth men awake; their thoughts which are seene to god alone, are wilfully left so discomposed & distracted, as if thay were dreames or bedlam ravings. And if ~~our~~ days thoughts were written downe, & read over before sober company, thay would meet with more such censurers then me. Sensuality having hired reson for its service, in all ye ungodly, doth set ym in ye pursuite of a mistaken interest, & involveth ym in such a multiplicity of distracting busynesses, with turbulent passions, and deceiving lusts, yt somtimes I have questioned whether a wise man in his sleepe ~~take~~ be not more likely to use his thoughts aright then such men as these whilst thay are awake: // 2o And yr speciall way of ocasionall meditation, I take to be exceeding usefull; your examples are ye translating of ye severall creatures into a language understood; so yt it will teach men when thay see ye words (ye things) to se with all the significatio

(ye use) as those that knowe not only the materials of an Apothecaries shop, but
allso the medicinall use of ye simples & compositions. I knowe yt sett methodicall
meditations, are most excelent for those yt are able to manage ym: but
shorter ocasionall meditations are every mans hourly imployment: the
weakest heads, yt canot hold their thoughts to method, may manage these
short reflections to their benifit, & without any danger of over strayning
their imaginations. As ye most learned must not disdaine this way of
cogitation, so women and weake psons may well make it their frequent
~~worke~~ profitable worke. A little & often is ye diet of ye infirme. & those
are ye best writings wch are fited to ye most, & ye most necessitous. if ye
attempt you have here made to drawe on yr selfe, or som other well
furnished person, to write such a comentary uppon all ye most ordinary
occurrences of each day, what an excelent helpe will it be to ym that
neede such an interpreter, yt thay may walke in their gardens & ~~medows~~
medows as physicions and not as meere husbandmen, & may here every creature
prays its maker, & ye mute to speake ye heavenly dialect: all thy workes
shall prays thee o Lord & thy saints shall blesse thee: psalm 145: 10 ||
It is growne a controversie whether a contemplative or an active life
be ye more excelent, and whether it be more advantagious to holynes,
to shutt up our ~~[illegible]~~ senses agt ye creature, & retire to an abstracted com-
=union with god; or to make so much more use of creaturs, as we would attaine
to more of ye knowlidg of ye creator; because it is but in a glasse yt here
he can be knowne. doubtlesse in our inocency this was ye booke yt man
was made to learne & reade. & it is so farr from ye intention of ye redeemer
to cloud ye glory of ye creator, or to deminish our highest respects to him;
as yt it is indeed his office, to redeeme & save & to restore ye creatures, to their
makers favour, love & service, & so to their primitive use & end: In inocency
God appeared to man, sufficiently amiable in his workes; but to a guilty, cursed con-
=demned siner, bound over to everlasting punishment it became impossible
to love ye god that doth condemne & punish him: but we love him as our
redeemer, as we may love him againe as our creator: & thus christ is
ye way to ye father; & faith is ye way to love, and ye gospell is farr from
abrogating Natures law; & on ye lords day we commemorate ye wonders of
redemption, in order to our iust admiring ye creation; & ye seventh days
worke is not abolished, but inclusively to be pformed on ye first; so that
indeed so farr as we are yet corrupt & weake, it is safest to retire as
farre from ye creature as well we can: for experiance assureth us yt ye
obiects of sence, though thay may & must be used to our helpes, are such
powerfull diverters & deseivers of ye mind, & cloggs in our highest contem-
=plations yt ordinarily thay are ye most terrene & sensuall men, ~~yt~~ who are
most busied in terrene & sensuall things. But so farre as we are restored
santified psons, we are above ye snare, & may see & love god in his creatures
& serve him by them, & make them all ye ladder of our contemplation
& utensils in our fathers worke. And thus ye world is not worse to us, than a
good horse and a faire way, & a good inne & cumpany & wether to a traveller,
or as a ship in which we must saile to ye harbor of endlesse reste.
And thus indeed we have nothing to knowe but god, & ye significant santi-
=fied creaturs; nor nothing to doe but to see & love him in himselfe & his
workes, & serve him by ym. But a man must knowe himselfe that will
knowe his duty; & if all men then ye weake especially have neede to
watch aswell as pray, leade us not into temptations. & ye new booke wch
christ hath given us to knowe god by, is much more legible (now) & lesse
dangerous, then ye old blotted booke of ye creation. the darknes of wch &
ye perills in using it are growne so great, that it hath tempted some
learned men to think, yt as gospell remedies will not pfectly clense us from
sin till death, so till then thay will not bring us up to be fitt for the
highest forme which we fell from, even to knowe & love ye creator
purely in his creatures, & yt then we shall be returned to this imployment
when all things are restored Actes 3.21 & ye creature it selfe shall
be delivered from ye bondage of coruption into ye gloryous liberty
of ye sons of god Rom 8.21. & ye kingdom shall be delivered up to
ye father, yt god may be all in all, 1 cor 15.24.28 But we are not yet
ripe to knowe ye state or use of ye new heaven & new earth where-
=in dwelleth righteousnes 2 peter 3.13. it is enough to knowe yt it
will be to ye glory of ye blessed Creator, who is now dishonoured
by his depraved workes; & that we shall be with christ & see
his glory, & see & love & prays our maker John 17.24 & 12

corrin: 7. 8 mathew 5. 8 &c for my parte I will be none of those that take
my at simple duty & bare possobility, do set ye hardest lessons to the
yongest, & drawe men to venture too bouldly into ye world, under pretence
of seeing or of serving god: I will not bid a child leape into ~~the~~ a river
because a strong man that can swime well can get through it nor
will I set an infant ~~uppon~~ upon a lusty horse, becaus he may expedite
another mans jurney; nor sett beefe & sturgeon before ye sick,
because a sound mans stomacke can disgest them; nor yet will
I so retire from ye creatures, as to shutt my bookes & reject ye glasse
in which ye image of god apeareth; or to hide my talents for fear
of ye austerity of my lord. but for ye direct illumination and sancti-
fication & comfort of my owne soule, I will desire to improve
opertunityes of contemplation (asending from creaturs to ye most
abstracted apprehensions yt I can reach): And for ye serving of my
lord & ye good of others, I will be glad of ye opertunitys of profitable
action, beleaving yt I shall lose nothing by it in ye end but yt doing
good is ye surest way to receive good: And when god restraineth
mee from one of these (as now he doth from ye labor) I shall bee
glad that I may be imployed in the other: "The sum is
though a contemplative life may be more predominant with
som & an active with others yet there are non but ye wholy
impotent whoe are not obligded to use them boath: ||
But its true contemplation which fitteth boath for action
& fruition: while I intended but to thanke you for your
excelent booke this superfluity of words hath made that
eruption for which I must crave yr pardon remaining
honrable & worthy sr yr very much
obliged & esteeming servant

To the Honorble Mr Robert Boyle

My most honoured and — // I doe wonder you say, I hold Prayer a Meane, by changing God. I never said soe, nor ever thought soe; although some doe not hold soe. Yor words to my [illegible] understanding sound, as though You held Prayer to bee a Duty onely, or a Receptive disposition onely, not an Effectuall meane; But now seeing you sey it is to bee a Meane, and to move God, as well as us, my feare is gone. Noe other change doe I think of in God, then what you have happily, though very briefely, expressed. Nor is ye word, change, mine, but yors; nor had I at all used it, had I not found it in that dangerous Negative, Prayer is not to move or change God; with this Exclusive added to it, but us. And, I verily think, You had better have left-out ye word, change, or else have applyed it to us, and not at all to God. (though, I perceive, You meant noe more by it, then by, move.)
seeing I could not conceive it other then necessary, to write this in Answeare to yor last; to the end You may not bee at ye charge of paying ye Post for an Empty letter, I make bold to give you my Strictures upon ye latter part of yor letter. Apr: ye 8th because it may, I think, deserve yor Review; but altogether in hope, yt I may againe profit by yor Returne, as I have done by this last.

(§. 1.) But yor printed book tells mee, yt wee differ in yt point whether there bee any true Necessity. For if Prayers not understood (and consequently in an unknowne tongue) may bee used, because God understandeth them, then a Gospell not understood may save them, because God understandeth it; And then Heathens may bee saved by the Gospell, without or teaching them to understand it.

This paragraph, I conceive, may need yor Recognition, upon these Considerations.

(1.) All the words of that poore Creature, yt have given you any occasion of these Jealousies, are these here; viz. Because they assure them— and knowes ye full importance of it, though wee doe not; and has promised to heare us according to it, not according to or narrow & unworthy understanding of it, but according to his owne All-seeing mind & meaning in it. and still — and understood by God the Composer, and Hearer of it, though not by us perhaps ye offerers. In devout asking of all the Blessings and of ye whole matter of this prayer, not according to their owne weak & low understanding of it, but according to Gods wisdome in it, and his most gracious and fatherly intentions towards mankind by it; I say, in devout, heartily and considerate putting-up this ~~they did assure themselves~~ prayer unto God, they did assure themselves, for friends, for enemies, &c. They prayed most worthily and acceptably.

Now, Sir, after due weighing and comparing of these words with yor Inference from them, That poore Creature tells you by mee, It cannot possibly apprehend, How it may bee charged with ye affirming or soe much as intimating, That the People have noe true Necessity of Preaching or of any other way or meane for getting true understanding in ye things of God; Because It speakes of poore Christians not understanding ye full importance of ye Lords prayer; not, of their understanding nothing at all of it; and Because it speakes of their unworthy & narrow, & againe, of their low & weak understanding of it; not, of their utter ignorance of it; and this still in relation to and in comparison with Gods All-seeing mind & meaning of it. for in comparison to these, All the knowledge of man is farre lesse then none at all.

(2.) Next wee are much stumbled at yt consequence, [illegible] if Prayers not fully understood may bee used, then Prayers in an unknowne tongue may bee used to: Because great difference is there, betweene Prayers understood, as farre as ye words understood doe represent the meaning of them to ye devotion of those yt pray; and betweene Prayers in words not at all understood.

(3.) wee are yet much more scandalized at yt consequence, That by these words of yt poore creature, A Gospell not-understood may save men, & yt Heathens may bee saved by the Gospell, without or teaching them to understand it. For wee answeare 1. wee cannot possibly discerne any connexion betweene the premisses & ye Inference. 2. That wee are fully perswaded, that noe Baptized person, beeing come to age, is saved without some competent understanding of ye Creed, ten commandements & lords Prayer. 3. That if any Heathens come within or reach, and without offence agt any setled law, wee may teach them; Wee doe sinne grievously agt their salvation & or owne to, if wee doe not teach them. Soe farre are wee from thinking, They may bee saved by ye Gospell, without or teaching them to understand it, if time and power wee have to teach them, and they have time & opportunity to learne & receive understanding.
4. Wee are more then halfe in ye mind, That neither you [illegible] a full understanding of yt Prayer, nor ever shall have it [illegible] wee need neither [illegible] because [illegible] Prayer is false, [illegible]

must have bee content without murmuring them and still pray to God, as wee doe, namely, After wee have blessed God for that his most mercifull gift, or, to us and to his whole church, That Hee would give unto us and to ye whole church, all the Benefits, blessings and Graces of it, not according to or weak & low understanding of it, nor according to or Cold remembrances of it, but according to his deep wisdome in it, and his most gracious and mercifull Intentions towards us by it, Praying & saying, as ye wisdome of the father, ye 2d: Jesus himselfe, hath not onely taught but also commanded us to Pray, & in Praying to say, Or father, wch —

Fifthly, whereas many of late dayes have declaimed soe much agt ye Ignorance of Professors, and spoken soe much for the knowledge and understanding of the faith, Wee make bold to mind them of these things. 1. That the wisest men of or church have ever thought, That the [illegible] especially yt part of it, The Catechisme, are soe perfect a summe of all yt is necessary to faith and practise, That, whoever [illegible] ding to those, must needs goe to Heaven; These well understood, and well remembered, beeing enough & ynough to ordinary [illegible] of Information and Reformation. 2. That there is noe Protestant, wee are verily perswaded, soe extreme ignorant & impudent [illegible] this, that is, To say that Living up to the way of the Church of England, saved they cannot bee. Soe that it is in deede [illegible] lately in the greatest generality; & Paines doubtless would bee best bestowed In perswading all people to understand and Reverence that Book, rather then to find faults with it, and to pick holes in it; least that in time, before this poore Church, which ye Lord Keepers admirable Motion & Exhortation hath moved to both Houses of Parliament; The best Church-Body, yt now is upon ye face of the earth, like to bee quite dispirited by too much pur-ging and tampering: Just as the best Health is, saith Hee, often de-stroyed by too much Care of it. An anxious scrupulous care, A care— p: 18. which —— nor spirits behind (for having lent the [illegible] book, I have it not by mee at this time for transcribing.) 3. I Heartily professe unto you, I doe not see yt people of England have at this time any soe great need of Sermons (as they have of discipline & Government and Ca-techizing and Confirmation, the things that many yeares agoe, you insisted on, in a savoury book, which I had & have, I think, but at this time cannot find. The title is, I remember, was, Confirmation and Re-stauration, The right way to Reformation.

(§. 2.) And therefore they should bee prayers understood & longer then you allow; because they are to bee the exercise of our desires: And earnest and constant desires are our Receptive Aptitude.] Answ. 1. This seemes strange, yt those prayers, which Jesus Christ himselfe counts long enough, should by us bee counted not long enough. Wee not in whole families, where neither time nor Gifts for longer; and when in noe lesse then two places of that little paper (namely p: 7. & p: 19.) every one in the family is charged to enlarge by Himselfe, as Hee can, & as oft as Hee can. Secondly, It has bene generally thought & taught, That strong desires are most pleasing to God, bee they never soe short, and expressed in never soe few words, soe they bee as you very fitly utter ye matter, Earnest and constant desires. And whereof I thought here to have given you a not-unconsiderable instance in a poore christian yet living; but for hast doe passe it over. 3. If poore families twice every 24. houres can & will find time from their necessary labours for putting-forth constant & Earnest desires according to yt modell, some very honourable as well as Godly, Learned & judicious persons doe think they doe that, which Hee yt heareth prayers doth greatly delight in. 4 Though ear-nest and constant desires bee our Receptive Aptitude, yet not they only, nor are They, That only. for first, Faith & Not regarding Iniquity in the heart come to bee also necessary Aptitudes; and secondly, They are doubtless meanes also — But this you have granted, and there-fore I say noe more. 5. As S. Paul, ~~and~~ or rather our Lord himselfe by Paul, passes not whether any member of ye body bee either in the highest or lowest place of it, but that & whether it bee the body, that is, a true member of it: [Chrysost: Homil: 30. in 1. Cor: p: 438. Edit: Savil.] Soe also soe in our worship, Hee yt heareth prayers, minds not soe much How long or How short our Prayers bee, but that Prayers they bee, that is, true Breathings & pantings after Him & his Grace and towards Heaven, those steady & fervent, or, as you say, Earnest & Constant. 6. whereas Earnest and constant desires are our Receptive Aptitude; Or, Those things, which render us not-unfit Recipients of the things prayed for; How much better were it, To encourage people in their families to use such short and easy waies of worship, as by their slenderness & businesses they can attaine unto, and to bee much in stirring them up to put-forth assiduous and ardent faintings under them, and to this end to direct them to bee very leasurely and considerate in the saying of them; than by words & deeds to insinuate unto them, That unworthy of them and of the thoughts they live in They are; and yt devout & Religious by them, they cannot bee, or very hardly can bee, to ye good acceptance of Him, yt heareth Prayers.

(§. 3.) And to speak-over a few Sentences hastily, not-understood, will expresse (and increase) Contempt as much as desire.] Answ. 1. That paper says, that the votaries it speaks of, doe not hastily, but very leasurely and considerately, as well as All, and All together, and upon their knees and all aloud, say-over that fourfold true both devotion and Religion. 2. If simple people doe in this manner say over those foure things, Wee know not how soe much as to feare, If they doe contemne and slight Him, to whom they make their Ad-dresses.

(§. 4.) When you say, yt our Preaching is not like theirs, I an-swere, Mine is as neere as I can cause it.] Answ. Noe doubt but it is. But because you are not soe inspired and extraordi-narily gifted and instructed and assisted and prompted & under-ruled, ~~and are not~~ as they were. Therefore doe what you can, The water of life, yt runs through soe corrupted a Pipe, will have some tincture of it and [illegible] in this respect among some other, not worthy to bee named with the Preachings of

the Apostles, as not for Infallibility & Necessity, soe neither for Power, fruit & Efficacy. And hence chiefly that Grave admonition from wise men, That ministers should often admonish their people, To have Preaching in great veneration, but Especially the Lord and unminded Preachings of the Apostles themselves, that is, The Chapters of ye New Testament read in the Congregation, as a Part of wor-ship, because in that place of ye Acts, Moses preacht in ye synagogues, was, wee know, Moses read there every sabbath-day.

(§. 5.) When I know that thousands know not what christ is, nor what his offices; but are ignorant of the Essentialls of christianity Answ. Wee all know this; And therefore Wee bee [illegible], It is in season and out of season; At home and abroad; in publicke & in private houses & in ye church, Night & day, at all times & upon all occasions, Wee doe not with [illegible], if neede bee and wee can, Warne all that can and may, by ye Lawes and Ordinances of this Realme, under and In which, God's good Providence hath set us. Yet doe to That doe not [illegible] expect, That simple people should give such Account of Christ and his Offices and of the Essentialls of christianity as is wholly above their Education and Course of Life; And therefore not to bee expected, much lesse to bee required of them. would this tend, but shaming, astonishing and discouraging their minds, rather then furnishing, allaring & drawing them

LETTERS.
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is to bee both thought in minde, and done in manners!

(§. 6.) And ye Apostle taught those to know them practically, who knew them but Notionally.]

This, this, Sr, seemes a salt and savoury word indeed; a most happy conclusion of yor third letter; as that, Rulers must bee obeyed in all lawfull things belonging to their office; was the beginning of yor second. And off the love of God and Christ, I beseech you to labour to settle upon yor owne Heart, and the hearts of all yt you wish best unto, as the former I, God willing, shall bee much in pressing upon my selfe and all ministers, yt I can come neare to; As beeing ye shortest and surest Rule, yt I know off from any Humane Pen, for ye Holy & Happy discharge of or office.

And now Sr, having tired my selfe, as well as you; for conclusion I entreat you to beleive, yt soe farre am I from beeing unwilling to know my mistakes, when mistaken I am, yt I doe use to count it a most precious Providence, when ever God helps mee to any meek discoverer of them. Etc.

Deare Sr, Yors daily —
Wm. Waite.

From Pusey.
May ye 18th
75.

ffor the Reverend Mr E Barton at his House
in South-Hampton Buildings; this /

2

49

For

The Reverend mr Baxter
at his house in High-
gate

pd 2d

with care

273

me. Pray sr, let me heare speedily from you, that I may know whether I am to return to London, which I had rather, or close with my Lady Sadler heare who hath two sons to be instructed, the elder above Schoole Learning, the younger to be entred in his Gramer: the termes and other Circumstances I have not yet enquired into; nor shall not engage too farre till I heare from you, which I desire may be on Saturday night. Hichin Coach comes by you on Saturday morning. I crave my humble service to mrs Ba and mr Vern. and your constant prayers for

Sir

Yor most Dutifull & Obedient
Kinsman & Servt

W. B.

Honoured Sr

I will not trouble you now so much as I did in my last, since I have (tho: contrary to my expectation) so much displeas'd you. That you mayst not be in bad humour long; I referre you to Mr Alsop, who is now ~~returnd~~ to London from Hitchin: Him I know you will regard. Mrs Thelridge I am pretty sure can never be so disingenuous and ill natur'd as to quarrell with me, that have from first to last plotted her interest so much. I know none that thinks very much amisse of me but your selfe: it should be a signe that either none knows me but you, or that you are most a stranger to me. However I believe you will have much adoe ~~by~~ all your discouraging intimations to make me thinke quite so meanly of my selfe as you seeme to do, especially in your prognosticks. I was very serious in what I writ, tho: you have not taken much notice of it. Had I a designe for ye Priesthood, I thinke I could find a much shorter ~~cutt~~ to it than by ye Physicians Colledge. I need not tell you, that so well know it, how unsuccessfull my reading of Practitioners must needs prove, without constant conversing with distempers and Medicaments; which made me so much wish for ye Convenience of an Apothecaries house; resolving with all eagernesse to persue the study while I lived, whatever came of it, which you misconstru'd for a reserve. I say again if you can give me any Encouragemt that way I shall thankfully and speedily embrace it. My middle man, yt displeas'd you, is like to be first man a quarter sooner than I thought. Of him Mr Alsop will informe you. Mr Whateley I am excedingly oblig'd to, and am much concern'd that he hath heard of my disappointment; fully I could discerne that he is discontented with me. Pray Sr, let me heare speedily from you, that I may know whether London which I had rather, or close with me.

27 feb 1691

Worthy Sir,

After I received my papers from you and had made some alteration in that part about the first Covenant, therein taking my aim by the paper I had from you; a friend of mine (who was privy to what I was doing) desired he might show them to Dr. Tillotson. To which I consented, desiring him to conceal the author's name. But it was about a quarter of a year before the Dr. returned them. At which time he told my friend he liked them very well indeed, but that he thought I had overspoke things touching Abraham and other Jewes faith and foresight of things concerning the Messias come to come, though as he said I had not said more herein than what is usually said by others. Excepting things of this nature, he exprest a great liking to the draught. Whereupon I reviewed my papers again and upon reconsideration, have made many alterations, especially in the 3 first sections. Something about the types [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ in the 3d section, and about the Lawes being a schoolmaster Sec. 2. I have altered ~~altered~~ considerably. And have added severall additions and explanations almost all over the [illegible] and in severall other parts of the M.S. have interwoven yor additions. It is now done much more to my own satisfaction than it was before, having in many things better cleared the grounds upon which I proceeded. While the M.S. was in the Drs hands, I drew up some additionall notes, stating the difference between saving & ineffectuall faith, and giving some account of ~~the~~ reason of the difference, and answering to some exceptions against the doctrine of justification by faith & obedience conjunct Which I have now with my other papers sent you. If it be yor opinion still that those you saw before should be made publick, and in case you should be of the same opinion concerning these other papers, I shall submit them to yor wisdome, desiring [illegible] the copy to be printed or to return it me again. I think upon severall accounts it would not be convenient for me to appear in it. Dr. Worthington a little before he died [illegible] and [illegible] having had some hint of what I was about by an intimate acquaintance of mine, offered to get ~~the~~ Mr Royston to print the copy. As for the addition you have made at the end of my [illegible] it is thought if you think meet anything of that nature should be added, it would be better ~~done~~ to be done by an epistle, to which if you should affix yor name, it would further the sale of the book, by which it might become of more common use. But not knowing how such a thing may stand with yor [illegible] I shall not press you in the case beyond yor own inclinations. Only I think there would be no great difference to those that are acquainted with yor stile, between putting yor name as it is in an epistle and ~~[illegible]~~ conjoining yor additions. The widow Pearsall desired me to acquaint you [illegible] yor servant. Dr Jackson whom she took for her speciall friend hath dealt severely with her about 100li which her husband owed him. She offered to pay him 25li in hand & 25li at Easter and to give him good security to pay the other 50li in January, and yet he threatens [illegible] suit unless she would pay him 50li [illegible] that she hopes she shall [illegible]

This begging yor pardon for making thus bold with yor patience [illegible] humbly [illegible] to you [illegible] remayne still [illegible] obli[illegible] either to the school authorities or to the candidate. If a candidate presents himself for at least one of the subjects for which he entered, no part of the fee shall be returned for any subjects for which he fails to present himself.

4. Nevertheless, should a candida
exigencies of nationa

To his worthy & much
honoured friend
Mr Baxter

In

Totteridg

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94 Mr. John Eliot to Mr. B.

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128 I. Monk to Mr. B. 1671
129 Mr. B. to a Judge on account of his being convicted unheard on account of his Paraphrase.
130 Mr. Thomas Bampfield to Mr. B. 1670

Dearest Sr,

1

I cannot imagine what punishment you have design
nflict upon me for my late intolerable incivility, haveing received two letters from
and as yet given you no answer to neither of them. Though you should resolve
overlook this unmannerlyness of mine (to give it the most favourable expression),
Ile promise you I can hardly forgive it [illegible] myselfe, nor shall I think my selfe
any wise to deserve a pardon, till I can have shewed you by some way or other
that it was rather my unlucky fate, than disrespect that made me faulty.
this I think I cannot doe better than by giveing you an account of our Act,
which will now shortly be kept, and (to use the Gazette-phrase) not without the
usuall Solemnities practised upon the occasion. I cannot accord with you in
that which you say, that our Act is allmost as considerable to us as the affaires
at Sea, though I dare swear that the boarding of the Drs by the Terrae filius is
as gratefull every jot to the ~~[illegible]~~ Freshmen, as the drowning of a Dutch Ad
miral would be to a small Frigat. The Officers of the Act are as yet kept se
cret, and will hardly be known till Act Saturday. The Kings Players are ex
pected here, so that there is like to be entertainment enough for all the Lady
There is not one jot of newes stirring, we depending alltogether upon London for th
only the Vice-chancellor is lately recovered of a dangerous feaver, my Broth
who is passionately yours) is now within two steps of a fellowship, which
he hopes to arrive at within this twelve-monthes. Now I think on't, I ca
you that here are two meetings in this Town, one of the Presbyterians and
of Independents and Anabaptists (the latter being both joyned into one Con
the Teacher to the former is Dr Langley formerly head of Pembr
who began here the first time last Sunday, and held forth two hour
as to eate roast-meat after, and he needed not to spare his breath
upon the Spirit, on which subject they say he preacht in the
neare two years, and they say he was all the while so maintaining
time to this, no body could tell whence they drew their
after his going. The teacher to the other Assembly is a
name Tilmarsh, who is cryed up much above Langley
and doubtless would spoile the credit of any other
did not his Assistant, a Miller of

would say) the Bell, were not that a profane thing. The Junior-Schollers
have been something rude to these Parlour Preachers, as you know they
usually are, but the Vic-Chancellor is putting out a Programma against
any Disorders that may happen by the Schollars, to whom it would make
you laugh to see the Mouth that speakes from the Joynt-Stool
pronounce his Anathemas Maranathas, in the very expresse termes.
This is all that you must expect of newes from this Place; I shou
begg of you a word or two in answer to this between this and the Act,
that I might be certain of my letters safe arrival to yr hands by the
way (for I intend to write to you an exact and perhaps large accou
of all passages), did I not think I should be too rude in begging
so soon a new favour from you, having made so ill a return to your
last by my long silence; But I still flatter my selfe with the dispo
of yr nature as to forgivenesse, which makes me assure my selfe tha
when you are abroad in the fields, neare some rivers, hearing the Chatte
of birds, and among such like ravishing pleasures, you will now and then
(though it were onely for a foyle to [illegible] those yr delights) employ a
thought or two upon the memory of

Dearest Sr,

Yr most really affectionate friend
and yr tres quatre cinque six
humble Servant,

James

I often meet with Mr [illegible] and Mr
Mounfort, ~~and~~ who present their
humble service to you, as does
yr Namesake in speciall.

Just now I hear that the famous
Penne is comming hither to preach
to the Quakers, and raise to light
again their long extinguished snuffe.

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51.

4

Ther,

For My very Honoured Friend M^r Ed-
ward Norton, [redacted] R^t Worth^ll the
Earle of Scarsdale's [redacted] [redacted] at Sutton
near Chesterfield in Darby-Shire
psent.

To be left with M^r Nevil Simmons
at the Princes Armes in S^t Pauls-
Church-yard, to be sent to the above-
mentioned-Person. / Post pd to London 2^d

Hond Sir

2 London the 9th ...

Being created, placed, & continued in th[is] ...
serve him that did all this & more for me: an[d]
prepare for the Other World (wch I am hasting ...
my neglects hitherto. and Gods appearances of ...
still amongst us: calling loudly to me to haste[n]
redeeme wt I lost and gaine what I want, ...
much in a little time: And the experience I ...
had of yor skill & goodness: makes me ...
to begg your aide. It is in short in this —
What course would you advise a Willing (...
infirme, dark & confused) soul to. who ...
much & doe equally, or more in a little Time ...
to the Choisest Good — and maine Interest of ...
Soul — How he should be & doe in his stu...
as to Matter & Method: as to his Choice ...
Converse with books & persons. & how in Com...
wth himselfe. So that he may thrive in Grace ...
knowledge, and be soonest fitted to serve ...
profitably his family, and to entertaine & solace
himselfe. I add but this His body is not str...
and his Trade necessarily takes up much of his ...
Thus Sr in as few Words as I could, as I have ...
desire, if you are inclined & at leasure to give m...
thoughts & advice. I shall thank God & you for ...
I so much want it; that I care not how soon I ha...
it I begg yor praiers, that God would guide me ...
all Truth: and bring & keepe me in the love ...
Obedience of it You have mine, and the prayers of many others ...
Owe you much — and dayly rejoice & thank God that yo...
Continues you amongst his people. and pray that yo...
strength may be continued and you yet spared to
doe further service, & to see the Day wherein
you shall have a further opportunity to serve
him & his Church than now you have. I'le add no
more at present but that I am most affectionately yors —

O: Sedgwick

may [illegible] Series to Mr Baxter 5

this my hope all thing
Cann in [illegible]
[illegible]

×

fol. 6 . of Baxter Letters in volume sh

6

7

To the Revd his ever honrd
frend Mr Richard Baxter
at his house
In
Acton

Sr

The great ends wch you propose are they wch all the
Meanes of Gods appointment in nature & Scripture
are ordained to attaine: And though we would faine
spare our labor, & get much in a little time & by
little paines, it will not (ordinarily) be. But how to escape
their unhappynes who by much time & labor get but
little, is meet for our enquiry: And also how to make
the best we can of our little time. To wch end I
will now but give these few directions. //
1o Let the knowledge & improvemt of ye plaine & common
Catechiticall veritys, be yor very Religion, & ye matter
of yor meditation & conferences, in wch I would have you
place yor desired excellency & seeke yor comfort.
Do not needlessly ingage yor thoughts or tongue in ye controversys
wch you see breed little piety, but much uncharitablenes in ye world
2o Three things you must study for ye improvemt of these truths
1o The grounds & evidence of them: in those books yt well prove ye
Christian Religion: 2o The Method of ym in some one body or Schem
of Divinity: 3o The practise of them, by Directorys & other holy
practises & especially by use or practise it selfe. // 3o It is
not too many either of books or of good company that is most
profitable, but a few of ye best well used. // 4o Study Christ
& God & Heaven, as rightly described in their true & lovely
state: & they will be continually yor worke & recreation,
food & feast; & let yor life be nothing but Faith, kindling
Love & Love kindled by Faith, on these vitall perfect end-
lesse objects. // 5o Yet refuse not any other subordinate
veritys, but value them, only as they fall in, in their proper
place, in order to promote this holy life. // 6o Make use of
some truly able Pastor who in doctrine conjoyneth
cleare explication to regular & heavenly affections
in the application. And whose judgment is fit to
resolve all yor (ordinary) doubts, & helpe you out in
particular cases when you are at any losse.

7° Doe all that you do in the world as Gods service, for his ends & in obedience to him: & do it diligently. Study to do good especially to those about you. And account yor daily labor (religious & civill &c) to be yor best kind of study & way of increase in all grace. Be found in duty, and you are alwaies on ye gaining hand. // 8° Keepe off from temptations to all sensuality, pride & worldlynes, & every fleshpleasing way.

If it were to a student who intended the Ministry, a great deale more must have been said; but to you I know not what what more is necessary than these few common well-knowne rules. If you aske me, what books you would have me read to the three aforesaid uses, I answer 1° It seemeth too much arrogance for me to preferre one mans before all other. I shall onely say yt for the 2d use, I would wish you to read over Ursines Catechisme & Ames his Marrow of Divinity, & his Cases of Conscience (which are all translated in to English) more than once at least. Pardon ye brevity of this advice on so great a case, to

Yor faithfull friend
Ri: Baxter

Aug. 7.
1667.

Deare Mr Baxter

I doe umble thanke you that you would be pleased
for to giue your selfe the throble to goe to my Adversar
& speake to him for me Sr ile assure you I doe verile
beliue that God hath bestowed all this afliction upon
me because I was as wild a Roch to throble you which
ile ashure you ~~I neuer [illegible]~~ I neuer did a thing
in my life that did throble me as much as that ~~sel~~
selfe same thing did & I pray god forgiue me & thrulie
I doe not thing that anie that went that way to work
that euer God would favour him with his mercie
& thrulie without a greate deale of Mercie from
god I doe not thinke that Euer I shall thriue or prosper
the same & I hope you will be pleased to pray for me god
knowes my hart I haue not one pennie heare if I were
Robbed to pay my feese Sr I writ him a lettel
& my wife will show it you Soe in hast from
your afliceted poore frinde

Tho: Keating

8

To Mr Richard
Baxter Deliver
wth Care

I thanke you for your kind letter, & censure of my litle treatise
have composed another, but much larger, & in a different language, con
ning a religion opposite to Christianity, yet (wch is one of the gr
depths of Satan.) pretending to be a confirmatn of it. I meane
the Mahometane religion, wch hath prevailed in so great a part
of the world, the first publisher whereof doth often professe that
he was sent with the same message, & to preach the same doctrine
wch Christ before had deliverd. From whence I thinke, it undeni
ably followes, that by the iudgmt of their own prophet they
ought to imbrace Christian religion, & in disputatn with them
I conceive this ought to be chiefly urged, & insisted on.
I know their ordinary exception, & evasion is that the Scrip
are corrupted (wch Mahomet often obiects to the Jewes, &
Christians) & changed, not in matters of small moment, but in
fundamtals, as touching Christs praediction & expresse mention
of Mahomet, as an Apostle, or messenger to be sent from God; besides
diverse other passages relating to the person, & office of Christ,
wherein they affirme our Scriptures, & records to be falsified,
an error very easy to be refuted, though they will not easily be
convinced. A treatise of their Credenda & Agenda (in
part of wch they are diametrally opposite to Christianity)
I have composed out of their own writings; the translatns
now extant, & relations of the Greeks & Latines concerning
Mahomets original, & a great part of his doctrine, being very
erroneous, wch hath occasioned diverse mistakes in Vives,
Grotius, & many others. Having heertofore showne some
part of the worke, with other observatns, to the Rev. Bp
Usher, he often advised me to publish them, but I have
not yet an opportunity. This inclosed note I have sent
you for a litle tast, & specially because among other
argumts of Gods providence, & reasons to persuade the

---

would have signified [illegible] to you [illegible]; but you know [illegible]

[illegible] of Ch[illegible] wch you [illegible]
considerable. the testimony & confession of the [illegible]

What plainer or cleerer evidence could be desired from the [illegible] so great an enemy, as this wch I haue transcribed. To me it is very great satisfaction, & confirmatn to see Gods truth, & wisdom iustified not only by her own children, but even by strangers, the greatest opposers of it. Which causeth me to thinke of the expression often used in the Script: — inimici tui [יכחשו־לך] mentientur tibi, as many render it; mendaciter se deduet tibi as Junius, our Transl. sometimes — thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee. The truth wch they acknowledge shall discover them to be liars, as it is certain that Mahomet the more truth he utters in this, the more he is found a liar in the rest.

Who knoweth whither they that acknowledge our Saviours miraculous nativity, wonderfull workes, & mission from heauen to preach the Gospell (so frequently attested in the Alcoran) may not at length (if Christians would seriously indeuour to improve such an advantage) be induced to receiue the whole truth of wch such a part is already beleeued by them?

I shall be glad to heare of your health, & to receiue an answer from you, if it may not hinder yor better imploymts.

God preserve you for the further benefit of his Church.

I remaine

Dunsby. Aug. 5. 1656.

Your loving Brother & servant
Thomas Greaves.

when you write be pleased to direct yor
lres as formerly, to be left at the
Gun in Ivy-lane.

LETTERS
fol. 10. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

to take the right measure of them: Only for my selfe I will
confesse that the light which is in me hath not been able to stand
against the conviction brought in not only from the words but
the works alsoe which are here reported; specially the sincerity of the
*witnesse being noe wayes doubtfull to me, hardly indeed to the
Enemyes, for ought I have yet heard or observed. It must be
confessed that England hath been of late more fruitfull of
monsters then most of her neighbour churches, and perhaps brought
forth truer hyenas then ever Africa did: but may it not be incident
to them who have been too much abused to grow at length too suspi=
cious, and for fear of being surprized by their enemyes to shut
the door against their friends? I know not what things they
may be which you may have observed as parallel to these; but
if proceeding from noe other cause then these you mention,
I am still very apt to thinke, that being duly compared with
these you will find them like the magicians rods before Aaron's.
In conclusion Sir, it is hoped however that none shall be thought
too magisteriall with you who doe but offer you the Apostles coun=
sell 1 Thes: 5. 21. prove all things, hold fast that which is good.
which seemes alsoe to refer to that which goes before: Quench not
the Spirit; despise not prophesyings. For our parts, though we
have much cause to blesse God for your former labours, and in this
Booke alsoe concurre with you as to your main designe, if it being there=
upon ~~people~~ sufferers, perhaps on both hands, as you are: yet in this
~~particular~~ we can not ioyn with your censure, but rather thinke
it our duty to doe what we doe. For, that nature under a dis=
temper, or reason depressed with melancholy should soe far exceed
it selfe in its due perfection, as by your supposition we thinke
it must; seemes to us a greater difficulty, then that the promise
of God should seeme to fayl when it doth not; or that there may
be more cases then we understand wherein he may deferre his
anger, or (if we may use the phrase of the Scripture Numb: 14.34)
breake his promise, or (as it is in our margin) alter his purpose.
Soe that upon the whole, nothing seemes to us more safe, more christi=
an, or even more rationall in this case, then to acquiesce in what
we find Esd: 411. ver: 17. 18. Ego aeternus aeterna memoria mea
impressum habeo quicquid os meum nunquam loquutum est
haec autem omnia non semper veniunt secundum cogitationes
vestras, et apparentiam externam, id profunditas consilii mei fa=
cit. To conclude, Sir, my name that I write I may assure you
would have signified little to you if it had been subscribed. Some
others might have been mentioned; but you know they are things
not persons that are to be weighed. We have a master will set
us all right one day. Let us beg for our selves and each for

*Sir I will tell you the truth, it is now some time that I have looked upon you two as the two Peacemakers of this Age, observing the great
designe of you both to be the same which methinks is alsoe one maine designe in these Revelations, namely to restore to our poor distracted churches the
Staffe of Bands: Comenius hath secluded himselfe from the world, intent wholly upon the elaborating of two Pieces, the one his Pansophia
the other called Christianismus reconciliabilis: you will adde a prayer I doubt not that by the will of God the old mans life may be yet
lengthened out unto the perfecting of them. Which for my part I am the rather encouraged to hope upon that which you may find in the 5th chap: of
Christina's History. But upon this consideration I confesse I was the more troubled to find you two disagreeing betwixt your selves
about that alsoe which I hoped might prove more serviceable to your designe then both your endeavours. However the God of peace
shall doubtlesse in due time bruise that Antichrist of divisions under the feet of his Church.
That as much as may be we may attain it here. It is the
prayer of Your fellow Servant

Honoured Sir Octob 18. 1670.

However at first view you may judge of this Present,
the candid intention of your unknowne Friend that
it will I hope gain either acceptance or at least excuse
The occasion is plainly this: you are the first English
to my knowledge hath condemned these two Books in
If herein you have done right to your master, and a
of it; I have noe more to say: but if as you judge
selfe a fallible prophet, I beseech you take it again
your serious consideration: particularly I would comm
to your more serious perusall the History of Christina
chiefly the 10 chap:
Truly Sir, there are more then one of us that somwhat w
at your confidence in that 28 chap: of your case of Divi
and are apt to promise our selves that upon second thou
at least we shall not be found impertinently troublesom t
The thing being, if a cheate, one of the greatest in this
and deserving much more then two or three periods to
the world; If not, you have smitten your master in the
and can not be angry at them that hold out the candle.
For surely noe enquiry will be thought too much, where
question. We pretend not to convince you by argument
rather desire to offer as it were an appeal from you t
selfe, being better informed. We could name to you a Pers
lately eminent in his generation for learning and piety,
with the same opinion with you concerning these things,
being perswaded with to read thorowly this epitome became
of another mind concerning them. And the truth is tha
much encouraged us herein is a strong opinion that you h
yet made such a perusall of either of these books, as w
fain perswade you to make. It seemes unusuall with you
we find it usuall with many,) to leape over such block
we are confident upon such a perusall will be here fo
the way of your reason; if you shall thinke to ascribe
things (as we perceive you now doe) to historicall ~~fit~~ pass
melancholy. That there are likewise very great difficultys
other side for my part I will not deny: but (as I remem
you have taught me, that where reason is or may be
vinced that the Authority is divine, there nothing is mo
sonable then that reason should vayl, and therefore th
bent it selfe to admire what it comprehends not
I am unwilling soe much as to touch upon any particul
The God of light and truth grant you to take the righ

Sir I have a neighbour sometimes a hearer of yours now a Quaker, who gives this for a ground of so much confirmation to him in his way, namely that he hath clearly found you a false Prophet: for you sayd long since that the Quakers were a sect which without doubt should soon vanish and come nothing, or words to that purpose: whereas they have encreased and doe encrease more: more, especially since they are found the only men in a manner that dare suffer. I judge that my neighbours conclusion may prove false yet, however the premises may seeme to have truth in them But how much this makes for my purpose must be left to you to judge.

BAXTER
LETTERS

fol. 11. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Mr Boise

I received your Booke and Letter by mr Wolley, for wch I return
you double thanks, viz, as your gift to me, and much more for its
publick usefullnesse. As you have ye great advantage of a good cause,
& sound moderate principles (if partiality cause me not to mistake)
so you have so nervously & yet temperately managed it, yt if
ye contrary minded would but read it, I should expect no small
successe: But ye chiefe use of all such writings is but to confirme
ye sound, who least need them: for ye rest will not read them, or
take them but as fuell for ye fire of their erroneous passion.
A good cause will much defend it selfe, but when it is well ma-
naged it triumpheth: when a bad cause will shame ye most ar-
tificiall defender. But its most dangerous fortresse is ye abused name
of Christ, Scripture and Truth, when managed by men of piety
and mistaken zeale, who have got with weake well=meaning
people ye highest reputation or major vote. O how hard is it
for such to Repent, how much soever they wrong Christ and
his church! I am glad also to find by ye Epistle yt you joine with
so sound and worthy a man, who I conjecture doth not dif-
fer from you. I have noted but one word wch I could wish you
had left out or altered, and yt is pag. 4. [Such a Nationall
Church is not of Divine Institution.] I have oft incautelously
said my selfe yt Kings give ye Church in its Ecclesiastick strict
notion but an extrinsick accidentall forme. But in my Scheme
of ye sense of ye word church before my Answer to Dr Stillingfleet, I have
said yt ye name church may be aptly enough applyed to a Royall church
as well as to a sacerdotall. I alwayes had such thoughts, but since my
reading mr Beverleys small book called ye Whole Duty of Nations & my
harder study of ye Apocalypse I am grown confident yt ye nationall
church forme, is next ye Catholick ye chiefe in ye Intention of Christ in
his Institution, if not ye first next a family church in his Call, Com-
mand, offer and Invitation, tho not ye first in Existence. & yt our over-
looking this is a great cause of our errours & divisions. & ye old Re-
formers in ye dayes of K. H. 8. Edw. 6. & Q. Eliz. were sounder in this than
ye Nonconformists mostly; & yt Popery is mainly built on ye denying or
obscuring it & confining church power to ye sacerdotall. I have said
much of it to Dr Lewis Moulin agt Erastianism, but more is now to be said
in our present case. The Common distinction of Civill and Ecclesiastick
furthereth ye deceit; as seeming expressly to exclude ye Civill from
being Ecclesiastick. Let us I. speake De re, II. De nomine.
I. De re it is certain, 1o That all power in heaven & Earth is given to Christ
as Mediatour: and therefore ye power of ye sword. 2o All Kings on Earth as
Kings are his Subjects & officers by obligation, to execute so much of his
[illegible] lawes as he maketh known to them, though most of them

[illegible] for want of consent & obedience 3° All Christian Kings as such are
Christs obliged and authorized officers both de jure & in exercitio by con-
sent. 4 As a society of Christians differs from a society of meere men
or Infidels, so doth a Christian King (or Senate) from an Infidel
one: As men they are of Naturall Institution but given up to
Christ as de jure et quoad obligationem; but as Christian Kings &
Christian Congregations, or men, they are both authorized & obliged by
Christs supernaturall Revelation (or Institution). 5° God instituted a
holy Magistracy before Abrahams time, in Abrahams time, in Moses
and ye Judges, in Saul, David, Solomon &c & never repealed it. tho he
repealed ye Lawes of ye Mosaicall Jewish Administration, he altered not ye
form of constitution. 6° To deny yt Christs Kingly office extendeth to ye power
& use of ye sword, but only to ye Word, Keyes & Sacraments, or yt he hath
officers only for ye later & not for ye former, is to deny an essentiall
part of Christs office & Kingdome, & so of Christianity, and therefore is
a heresie, who ever be guilty of it. 7° A multitude of Prophesyes
in ye Psalms, Isaiah, Jer. Ezek. Dan. &c, describe Christ as a sword bea-
ring King. 8° Priests & Prophets as such are not Kings in Scripture
sense. 9° Christs Kingdome is as Melchisedecks & Davids & Solomons
his Types: therefore magistraticall. 10° Christ was proclaimed by Ho-
sannahs and profest himselfe ye King of ye Jewes, & not only their Prophet
& Priest. 11. Christ offered ye Jewes to have continued their nationall forme
of Government under him their King; & to gather all their children
(or people) under his wings as a hen doth her chickens, Mat. 23.37. and
chose twelve Apostles and 72 disciples as related to ye 12 Tribes & ye
Sanedrin, to signify his offer. And he continued this offer by his Apo-
stles till they were destroyed. 12° They were destroyed for refusing him
to reign over them, as King, & not only for refusing his Teaching and
Sacrifice. They were cut off for unbeliefe, & not by his antecedent abolition
of their nationall Churchship. And ye Gentiles are graffed into ye same stock
& so were they again. 13° When Judas was dead ye number of 12 was to be
restored out of ye disciples, to keepe up ye relation to ye Israelites natio-
nall policie. 14° Kings are obliged to be sacred persons in exercise con-
tinually to read ye Law of God & to meditate in it day & night. Moses
understood it better than Aaron: they are as sacred persons as Priests,
tho not Priests: they are Gods anointed, both as Types and officers
of Christ. they are bound to punish false deceiving Prophets and
Priests, & therefore to know when they offend. 15° Our old writers, Je-
wel, Bilson, Bp Buckeridge, Bp Abbot, Andrews Tort. Torti &c have
fully proved yt Kings now have as much power about religion as
Asa, Hezekiah, Josiah, Nehemiah Zorobabel &c had of old. 16° Christ
most expressly maketh ye discipling of nations to be his Apostles great
commission, in ye exercise of wch he would be with them to ye end of ye
world. 17° The promise was yt ye Kingdome taken from Israel should be gi-
ven to a nation yt would bring forth ye fruits of it. 18° Christ is called
King of Kings and Lord of Lords. 19° Almost ye whole book of ye Revel. de-
scribeth him as punishing & conquering ye Pagan, captivating Ido-
latrous Babylon by his sword & setting up his Governmt by a Christi-
an Empire. 19. Heaven & Earth rejoice over Babylon because of this
sword=revenge by Christ. 20° Their Triumph is yt ye kingdomes of ye
world are become (formally) ye kingdomes of ye Lord & his Christ as

reigning by Christian officers. 21° The description of ye new Jerusalem & of ye finall judgment fully proveth yt Christs Kingdome as Instituted & consummate containeth his sword governmt, of wch Angels & men are officiall substitutes. 22° All ye millenaryes maintaine this Royall Kingdome, except they be grosse selfcontradicters. 23° He yt denyeth yt it is ye Duty of Kings & Subjects to be Christians is Antichristian. And if Kings & subjects be christians, they are Christian Kingdomes. Much more may be said de re. xx. De nomine: A christian Kingdome may be fitly called a Nationall church, or a Kingdome church. For 1° The use of ye word Ecclesia is known to signify societyes much lower than a Kingdome: And Christianity especially in ye highest human policy maketh it a holy society; Christians being called a holy nation &c. 2° The Text Act. 6. calleth it The church in ye Wildernesse. 3° The Catholick Church is so called [illegible] ye Body, church and Kingdome (peculiar) of Christ as related to him ye universall King. Therefore a particular Kingdome may be called a church in relation to particular ministeriall christian Kings as well as to particular pastors. 4° Kings are called pastors by ye prophets as Ruling ye flock. 5° Bishops are called pastors partly as being chosen Arbitrators instead of magistrates till Christ reigned by Christian Magistrates. 6° If ye name Church were not fit for a Christian Kingdome, yet is nothing de re, but a controversy de nomine, where each man may use his liberty. 11 Consectaryes. 1° They yt deny all this de re, must hold yt none but Turks or other Infidels or Heathens should be Kings, and yt such a state is likest to christs Institution. 2° They pray falsly Thy Kingdome come. 3° They are deadly enemyes to ye Kingdome of Christ. 4° It is ye life of Popery to unhallow Kings & magistrates, & call them but Civill & confine their office to outward bodily things, as being but for ye body and ye Clergy for ye soul, one for earth (save as ye Clergyes Executioners) and ye other for heaven, making Kings incomparably baser than Priests to those that believe them. And when they dare not say yt ye world must have one (human) universall King they claime Papall or Aristocraticall Governmt of Priests. 5° If Episcopall, Presbyterians or Independents or Anabaptists deny this Royall Administration of Christ, & confine his Kingly Governmt only to Priests, they serve Popery and are so far Antichristian. 6° Yet ye use of ye Keys is a necessary part of ye Administration of Christs Kingly office wch no King may depose or alter, nor usurpe ye Priestly office. 7° But as Heathen Kings may rule Priests according to ye Law of nature, so must Christian Kings rule them by ye sword according also to Christs Gospell Lawes. 8° The safest distinction of publick Governmt is not into Civill & Ecclesiastick, but into Governmt by ye sword & Word, or by force & by doctrine, as Bilson fully sheweth. 9° They mistake ye case yt think yt we meane 1° That all are members of a Nationall church yt are members of ye Kingdome, or as such. 2° Or yt any may be compelled to be Christians, or to communicate with ye church. 3° Or yt a Christian Kingdome existed assoon as it was instituted: or yt each nation must have a sacerdotall constitutive head of particular churches. But a Nationall or royall politicall church is a Christian supreme sword bearing power governing Christian particular sacerdotall ordered churches, with other unfixed Christians, as ye free men or Burgesses of yt Kingdome as Christian: tho others may have common libertyes in ye land. These nationall churches are more compleate than particular congregations & rule them as far as belongeth to the sword

[illegible] of every Christian King [illegible] Priestly officers as [illegible]
them Secular Rulers only, do unawares grant yt in sense wch they deny in words,
while they confesse yt God as Creator authorizes them as his ministers & yt for ye
power Kingdome of Christ, to whom they are to be nursing fathers; & yt they are bound to ye
spirituall ends. And is it for Christ and yet not from Christ? Or is a Divine
originall from God ye Creator any Diminution to ye Sanctity or Power? Or doth it
follow yt because Heathen or Infidel Princes disable themselves to do what
they ought to do, yt therefore neither they nor Christian Princes are
bound to do it? Will they say ye same of Christian parents, Teachers, Hus-
bands &c compared to Infidels? The office may be holy when an unholy
person hath possession of it. Is not ye ministeriall exercise of a power
under God ye Ruler of ye world, and under Christ as his administrator
Generall (who is head over all things to his church, and dyed, rose and
revived yt he might be Lord of all) as truly, neerly and nobly holy
as ye Teaching & Priestly office? Is ye Soveraignty of God & ye Lord Jesus
Christ lesse holy or excellent than Christs Propheticall and Priestly office? The
truth is, there is no universall Governmt of ye world placed in any mortall man
as being notoriously uncapable: nor any above nationall or Royall power in
every Kingdome or State. And all other Rulers in each nation are subject to ye
sword of ye Soveraign (tho secundu quid he be subject to ye Priestly or doctrinall
power, as he is in Infancy or Youth to his Tutor). And therefore God requireth
Kings to study his Law as well as Priests. Nothing could have set up an Universall
Pope or Councill of Priests, but taking down ye sacred Soveraignty of Princes, as over
all persons in their dominions & appropriating ye Religious part about ye church
& soul to ye Priests: and nothing can take down Popery but restoring Princes
to ye sacred power of bearing ye sword as ye officers of God & of Jesus Christ in ye
ministeriall exercise of Christs Kingly power by ye sword. And while ye Clergy of all
Sects make themselves ye only officers of Christs Kingly power they keep up
ye foundation of popery, & dangerously derogate from ye Royalty of Christ
& of all true Christian Kings & other supreme Rulers by ye sword. And
it is a cursed policy of those Clergy usurpers, who encourage & indulge
magistrates & Nobles in a life of sensuality, worldlynesse & ignorance
yt when they they have made them seeme unfit for judging of Scrip-
ture or any holy governing work, they may then take ye advan-
tage to depose them from it & usurpe it to themselves, & make
magistrates only poore secular Animals, little regarded by any but
worldlings yt set more by ye body than ye soul, and as Lictors to
Inquisitors and tyrannizing Priests. Though Erastus, Selden, Dr
L. Moulin have gone two far agt Clergy power, while they plead-
ed for ye sanctity of Royall power, far be it from any Christian
to reproach King Jesus, King of Kings, & deny his Royalty,
or his Royall officers, by ye name of Erastians, and so deny an
essentiall part of Christianity. But how much Satanicall and
Papall work is done, by erroneous extreme opposers, we see
and yet understand not. Hosanna to him yt cometh in ye name
of ye Lord, in ye Kingdome typified by Melchizedeck and
David.

56.

Revd Sr

Yor great kindness in Answearing my first Letter, and (if I may know you by yor writings) yor great Charity and in Christian disposition to do what good you can, makes me believe, you will not think it over troublesome that I once more trouble you with a third Letter; I believe I may call it a Letter of thanks for yor brotherly intercession to ye Almighty for me, for surely (unless I am very much deceived) and I hope ye God of Prayer will not suffer me to be deceived in a matter of this Nature) I find ye dawnings of a day of Mercy and ffavour to me: Tho I ascribe All (I hope I do thankfully) to ye infinite Mercy of ye ffather of Compassion in and thro Jesus yt of his abundant Goodness, he has begun to be gracious unto Me ye most undeserving of his Creatures; Yet I cannot but believe yt ye instrumentall Cause has been yor Requests (in my behalf) before ye Throne of Grace. However it has been, I beg yt God (who has begun to be mercifull) may affect my heart with such a sence of Gratitude, yt his Goodness may be continued unto me; ffor which I once more beg yor Prayers That You would be pleased to Implore ye Mercy of Heaven upon me, That God in Mercy may make me Prosperous in ye way yt I go, and may give me such a success as may conclude in ye Glory of his OWN great Name. I have one request more (which I will deliver in as ffew words as possible viz) In regard ye great work of Mans Conversion is that which with ye greatest intention and seriousness should affect our thoughts, and in regard ye beginings (if I may so speak) of ye great business, is so very much controverted by Divines Some taking ye rationall Method of Arminius, Others the more Mysterious decretal Way, which is generally attributed to Calvin, and both sides maintaining ye Controverted Tenents yt therefore neither they nor Christian Princes

King Jesus, [illegible] of [illegible]

with scriptural Allegacons. This difference (I beleive) has not only puzled me, but thousands more; And tho perhaps it might have been a happy kind of Ignorance, if ye Church of Xt had never been disturbed with either Opinion, and likewise altho it may be highly satisfactory for every good Man to find in himself ye Effects of ye great and heavenly Operation and since he feels ye power of it, never to enquire how it was wrought. Yet since man is ζωον ζητικὸν an enquiring Creature, and covets to know ye Methods of effecting, as well as ye Thing effected therefore I cannot choose but wish to be better satisfied in ye general way yt ye Blessed Spirit takes in yt work according to ye most rational & scriptural Account. And I cannot but the more desire after such an informacon in regard I read some Divines yt talk of ye middle Way of Amiraldus and Others, but am not so happy as to meet with any Author yt tells me what yt Middle is. I therefore request (if it may not administer to much trouble) that you would be pleased to bestow one more on a poore young Man, to direct me what Books I might procure, yt might in yor Judgment best inform me (I was very unhappy where I was before, that I knew no Good Man whom I might apply my self to for informacon and here being a Stranger my Case is worse.) If you will be pleased to grant my Request direct yor Letter to me at Poole in Dorsetshire, where it will be kindly and thankfully received by Sr him yt most earnestly begs you to continue yor constant Prayers for

Yor gratefull unknown Servant

J Russell

Poole. Nov: 30th 87.

Secular powers only, do unawares grant yt in side wch they deny
the conscience yt God as Creator authorizes them as his ministers & yt for
Kingdome of Christ, to whom they are to be nursing fathers, & yt
spirituall ends. And is it for Christ and yet not from Christ? Or is a Div
originall from God yt Creator any Diminution to yr Sanctity or Power? Or d
follow yt because Heathen or Infidel Princes disable themselves to do w
they ought to do, yt therefore neither they nor Christian Prince
bound to
bands &
person
under Go
Generall
receivd
as yt
Christ
truth
as being
every
sword of
power
Kings to
Pope or
all pers
& soul
to yt sacr
ministri
Sects m
yt found
& of all
it is a
magistr
yt whe
ture or
taye
magis
world
Inquis
. Mo

To
the Reverend Mr Baxter at
his house in Charterhouse
Yard These
in London
Penny post paid

for yt same
to reproach King Jesus, King
or his Royall officers, by yt name of Erastians,
essentiall part of Christianity. But how much Satanicall
Papall work is done, by erroneous extreme opposers
and yet understand not. Hosanna to him yt cometh in
of yt Lord, in yr Kingdome typified by Melchizedeck
David.

Deare & worthy Sir.

I remember well the last was yours. & therefore this doth but pay an old debt. yet I must therein also acknowledge a 9 new one I received from Mr [illegible] as upon your gift & by your direction your most worthy treatise. entituled The saints everlastinge rest. which I doe very highly prize for its owne worth. & somewhat the more for that I doe write upon it ex dono authoris. in it you teach the people of god. to live (as one saith) methodically, the majesty of truth & the great vaine of faith & lovingly. Sets the greater value & price upon it & such treatises. as a light set up to men in a stormy night. The lord give you to live & die as you write. & happy are you in so well a composed temper now that there is such reelinge too & fro, almost every where, I have at times been often poreinge into yor thesis. which you pleased to honour me withall. & therein doe finde that your new searchinge inquiry into truth above the vulgar way. makes you lesse understood & misconceived of by men that will take no paines to study yᵉ same or are already prepossest & so unwillinge to be dispossest of their formerly espoused opinions. for my owne part I owe loved your way of free inquiry into or review of former tenets, but there is a scrupulous umbrage taken at this. you make faith to justify (as they say) as it is a condition of the covenant. you make other gospell graces & duties conditions also. so you level faith (of which so much is spoken & to which so much is given) to yᵉ rank of other graces & that seemes not to agree so well to scripture & to draw too neare socinianisme. This is said. & for my part Ile tell you my apprehension. God at first did not create a world of men every man on his owne bottom. but he made one man as a common stocke from whome all other should derive. & in such case where many others are to derive from one there might bee some certaine or fixed modus derivandi & that was naturally generation, not but that perfect obedience was required of ~~every~~ man in order to life. but every mans personall obedience or disobedience was not modus derivandi.

God went by the same way in restoringe lost man. hee doth not give every particular man a single righteousness of his owne. but hee puts all againe into a second man. as into another common stocke from whome all that are saved must derive righteousness. & therefore there must bee some modus derivandi from this stocke & that is faith onely. which whether it bee an instrument &c or a condition of yᵉ Covenant ~~[illegible]~~ rather, is not much to yᵉ matter so it be the modus derivandi from the common stocke & then I should not deny that other gospell graces etc. may be conditions (or rather with all these) in order to eternall life & salvation, as requisite unto the acquisition thereof. & many of them to the fruition or in the fruition of but that they are not the modes of derivation from this common stock magazine. Christ Jesus & therefore for such is said of Christ & faith because the one hath all in him as an Adam unto whom two things are necessary as to an Adam. videlicet. that he be representative. that he be communicative. representinge the persons. that are in him. & communicating of righteousness through or from him. unto the same persons ~~[illegible]~~ & the other is the way of derivation from him.

I would gladly know what became of that agitation of which you wrote to me before time. & what you doe in it. as also doe certify you that the business of the engagement took up our thoughts very much a great while. untill after much discussinge pro & con the brethren did all in diversa, & for some were left in the briars. where they yet stick fast & there expected every day to be cast out of place. in the number of whom, desiringe your prayers & the continuance of your love, rests

London July 1st.
1650

Sir
your truly lovinge friend
& brother
Ra: Symos

For his much beloved frende. mr
Richard Baxter minyster of the
gospell at Kedarminster theise
be.

Deare Sir.

10 I had begun to scribble somewhat a moneth agoe upon the reception of yor booke from mr Tilon (for which upon better experience I can now thanke you over & over) but I did it as you may perceive raptim & suddenly. & so threw by my paper untill this very occasion of mr Baldwins returne home. & then rather than say nothinge. snatcht up my cast paper againe & thrust it into this. conceavinge it better to let you see some things of what I would have said. then to neglect my service & thankfulnes to you. yet I must tell you that you can but picke up my meaninge thereby. & not clearly understand my sence as I would have stated it, if time & a little serious consideratio had permitted,. Goe on I pray you with recognition of your theses. which yor brethren here (as I perceive) doe understand that you are about. & are in great expectatio of your clearinge up such things as have seemed unsatisfactory. A man of great note once in my hearinge said of you. that you wrote very magisterially. & haughtily. & I asked him wherein. & he instanced in your sleightinge mr walker & Roburgh. & advanceinge mr Jo. Goodwin so farre above them, whom you have seene since in effigie. & I believe hee appeares to you, in Schola Fayth, et Jacob, corypheus

one thinge comes into my minde to advertise you of. you use the word Condition, & have a great fancy to it. but it is a very blinde: if not carefully used. & so large in sence especially in the vulgar dialect. that it generically containes almost any thinge. under it. & therefore you that deny faith to be cause. or instrument. & say it is a condition. must distinguish well. for causa est causa sine qua non est & such is Conditio. also in the sence you use it or seeme to use it, & yt A condition may be made upon a cause of the thinge promised is no question & therefore mr Ball & others that call faith cause & instrument, of justification. doe also often call it a condition. Condition is too generall & indistinct. and brings faith & works into the same levell as animal doth homo et brutum.

Another thinge yt comes into my minde. is, yt as I remember you relish not mr Pembles exposition of works James. 2: which I would have you consider againe upon this grounde. That St James speakes de prima iustificatione. as is plaine by his alleaginge the place of scripture about Abrahams. iustification

... Do condition ut quis det, ut quis fiat, ut quid obligat, ~~[illegible]~~

~~obligat~~, ut ne quis det, ne fiat, ne obligat Et in hand is only, ut fiat, et ne fiat.

For his worthy friend &
Brother Mr Ri: Baxter
minister of gods word
at Kedarminster in
Worstershire

x where the Apostle asserteth as manifest yt a man is justified by works. from that which is said of Abraham's being justified by faith at first. viz. a lively or effectuall faith. ver 24 et 23. & if you seriously consider ye whole chapter & the whole scope & stile of ye Apostle therein. not scrupulously interpreted will hardly ~~find~~ be satisfied as to the substance of it; but it is no tyme for us to ramble up & down thus impolitely yet for I take you for a friend, or els I should putt on my better clothes when I came to visit you. The Lord blesse you & keep you in his way. pray for us. pray instantly. Moses was weary of holding up his hands & you know what then:

London.

July. 3d
1651.

Sir I am

Yor very friend & loving
brother R. Some.

43. [illegible]
43. [illegible]

18

Honord Sr.

I acknowledge with heartiest thankes yor high expressions of love to me in the increase of my library not so much in bulke as weight by your donation of such worthy peices as god enables yor weary body & unwearied spirit to bringe forth. Mr Tilson did upon April 7th. present mee with a booke of yours about Infants church-membership & baptisme. which as yet I have not read, but very kindly accept. assuringe my selfe that it is like you & the rest of yours. I heard also that you are about a review of yor theses and some further clearinge of some of them, which I am very glad to heare of. because yor conceptions are some of them, new. and not so clearly exprest as they might bee, as I remember. for I have not the booke by mee here in London. ~~&~~ therefore cannot point out the particular passages. Onely this in the generall I may say. that the notion, about workes as secondary conditions unto justification or conditions ~~of~~ of a secondary justification, & the abdication of faith's instrumentality. have need of some farther clearinge. both in the verity of the things. & also in the expression for I would not have it said. that you make cloudes. or that the issue of all when it is sifted, is but a logomachy. That there is an order of workes of holines & righteousnes unto salvation or unto the Venite Benedicti &c. & that a conditionality and (ordinarily) a necessity of them may bee affirmed. Is not denyed by orthodox divines (as you may see in Davenant's lectures) but yet haply it may bee said that plura requiruntur ad salutem quam ad justificationem, & so it is asserted also by divines & I suppose by scripture with pregnancy enough. If this bee ~~not~~ all yor meaninge. then what need you say. they are conditions of Justification. thereby makinge salvation to bee a justification, contrary to the common use of the word, when the thinge it selfe (I meane salvation) followes upon electio. callinge. adoption. actuall sanctificato. as well as justificato. whether as causes or antecedents. or whether ordine or alio jure I dispute not, but onely. I say they should salvation bee called justificato in this question & debate, But then if you meane that workes are conditions of justificato. in the continuance of it, I confes I stood up in the Assembly & argued for Justificato to bee as Dr Downam saith. a continued act. But I had no thoughts then yt it was continued by workes. but by the same faith whereby it began at first, & it did not enter into my head that it should begin by one & continue by another. for what new workes of sanctificato ~~can~~ cannot give beinge to it & so. as I thought not continuance neither did I deny but that justificato at first might be instantaneous for there must be some punctum temporis. when we may say that it is, & before was not, as Illuminatio aeris may bee an instantaneous act, & yet truly called actus continuus, & as for that justification spoken of in James. I hold it to be coram deo, against many, & I hold it to be meant de prima justificatione (as some distinguish) & so to give no hint of a justificato in primam et secundam. & indeed of justificato.

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ut quid debet, ut quid fiat, ut quid obligat, ~~[illegible]~~

ut ne quid debet, ne fiat, ne obligat. the [illegible] hand is only, ut fiat, et ne fiat

be actus continuus then I understand not, but that it is bricu
as the mathematician saith of a line, it is not punctum et puncta
but fluxus unius et ejusdem puncti. But what shall wee conceive
of this actus continuus. or how shall it be distinctly notioned. Is
it an act that is alwayes in doeinge. & not done; or as the ayre is
all day long enlightened. & the sun is all day enlighteninge of it
so a beleever is perfectly justified, & yet god is continually justify-
inge of him, or is the person justified at first & that act is not
rescinded & so said to continue. ~~which is very improper~~, for if wee
consider justificatio to be a thinge that makes us to be alio loco
et numero apud deum (as wotton saies) & so to be referred
rather to relationem (then as sanctificatio which is resembled by
alteratio of inherent qualities), then why may wee not say thus.
that as pater et filius. maritus et uxor. beinge relata; there is no
other denominatio but from the first thinge whereby they are so.
~~so~~ in force whereof they continue alwaies so: & yet it were improper
to say that pater & maritus are so by a continued act. so a
beleever is acquit & absolved alwaies. not as if he was alwaies in
absolvinge. but in vertue of the first receptio of Xt a favour-ed
I say a favour-ed as Davenant saith on ye text col. 2. 6.
The great knot is. how a man in Xt is justified from his sins committed
in & under grace: if by vertue of his first justificatio or at first. then
futura are all pardoned before they be. If there be a continued justifica-
tio. then there must be a succession of acts of justifyinge as of acts of
sin. for if there be not novus actus. then the first stands good
to the acquittinge of after-sins. & how doe works come in to doe it
or to be conditions of it, I conceive that justificatio ~~stands~~ opposite
both to ἐγκλημα & κατάκριμα. charge or accusatio. & condemnatio
but not to every charge or accusatio. but to such as whereby I have
offended or am said to have offended ye law I am bound unto, in
which case. if I have not offended I am justified by ye law itselfe
if I have. I must be justified by faith in Xt. & not by ye law
nor consequently by works; so that to put works as ye conditio of
an evangelicall justificatio. is to put a contradictio, except wee can find
that there is a legall justificatio in some respect to be subjoined to yt
wee call evangelicall. which is ~~of~~ from faith to faith. & therefore I beleeve
the requisiteness or conditionality of holiness & right. unto salvation
ex vi pacti. but unto absolutio or acquitment fro sin & guilt. ἐπεχ

My highly valued Reverend Brother 12 Grace & Peace.

Sett price is all of yors in my esteeme, yt I reckoned Mr Baldwin to have made a prosperous voyage (as to me) wch he brought me backe so rich a Prize, as yor lines. The slow returnes I must Patiently beare: The Indias are not at my doore: Meaner Merchandize is sooner found: My Lunar course may be sooner finished, yn yor Solar: I shall go presently dispatch yn, ye briefe Account of ye successe of yors. // If you Received not my booke of Bapt before Aprill 7th, at least three monthes, Mr Tyton was too blame. I was doubtfull whether it might seeme Arrogancye to thrust such a peice of mine, into yor handes: but I was emboldened by ye Consciousnes of my debt, & ye Knowledge of yor freindly Candor wch will not Misinterpret. // For those Theses, I do freely acknowledge my rashnes in Publishing ym so hastily, before I had taken ye Censure of ye learned. The Occasions were 1o My Expectation yn of present Death, being in no likelyhood of living till I should receive mens Animadversions. 2o I had no freind to Conferre wth in yt case, within my reach 3o I have no Amanuensis to write me a Coppy; much lesse many. I have since ye Publishing of ye Postscript in my Treat. of Bapt, received divers papers of Animadversions from Learned men, from severall pts of ye Land; all wch ingenious & Candide: & some yet promise me more from remote pts, if I will delay ye Reprinting: (wch I am wch easily intreated to doe) They go on exceeding various grounds: & are farre more contrary one to another, then any one of ym is to me. All of ym save one do disclaime wth me ye Instrumentality of Faith: (so do both) I exceedingly rejoyce in ye extraordinary Opportunitye yt I have hereby to discerne ye Truth in these weighty points. I beleive yt few men living had ever such a help, (as ye Comunication of so many learned mens Judgmts, from all pts, in such different waies; & all wth great accurateness) had I but an Understanding able to Improve it. (For I have strong hopes yt prejudice will not much hinder me.) If you would know ye successe hitherto, it is this. 1o I finde many slipps in bywordes & phrase, wch I before overlookt. The weaknesse & cloudynesse of my head, makes me, in perusing any writing of my owne, to overlooke such mistakes: for I read ym wth ye supply yt is in my owne braine, & as if it were written; for I know my owne meaning. 2o I finde a greate need of explaining some thinges, & proving others, more fully then is there done. For I then thought ye Readers would sooner have Apprehended my meaning, & have Understood a word as well as a Page, wherein I finde my selfe mistaken. 3o The maine Doctrinalls wch I there Assert, I am yet farre more Confirmed in, then ever before. I pray God daily to keepe me from error, especially yt wch comes from pride, & over-valuing ye Issue of my owne braine. To the Charge of Magisteriall writing I answer. 1o I am likely enough to Miscarry in my stile: 2o Yet I know not an ill word yt I give Mr Roborough. 3o Nor had I touched Mr Walker, but for his long famous unpeaceablenesse, wch Mr Gataker saith 500 times more of, yn I. 4o Yet I resolve to be guilty of such rashnesse no more. If men will teare out ye bowells of ye Church, let others tell ym of it, yt can be heard. 5o If my judging ym Mistaken be Magisteriall, yn we are so to all we differ from. Whether to have a meane esteeme of Mr Walkers & Robs answer to Mr Goodwin, be a Magisteriall slighting ym, I appeale to ye truly Judicious ~~learned~~ yt have deliberately perused them; but to noe others. 6o I see now Mr Goodwin is a flatt Arminian: but yt condemneth not any charitable thoughts of him; nor is his Treat. of Justifn ever ye worse. I gave him no singular Comendations: & since I have as Publiquely spoake of his Schisme: But I know better how to speake ye next time. Only let me adde this. If a high esteeme of my owne Judgmt be ye thing they meane, ye searcher of my heart knoweth, yt ye Consciousnes of my great Ignorance so increaseth daily, yt it is one of ye sorest shaking Temptations, yt I have in ye world: Satan thence drawing me to give up (not all but) very much, as if there were no hope of reaching a Certainty therein. May not a man know his owne Ignorance & anothers also? Doth it follow yt I judge my selfe learned, bec I know my neighbors to be unlearned? // Now to ye Matter. // I finde you in those lines allmost wholly of my Judgmt, & saying ye summe of allmost all yt I have said; wch is no small Confirmation to me. Only one point of Mont we differ in, about ye Condition of Continued Justification. (of wch anon) 1o To yor Caution about ye Ambiguity of ye termes ~~[illegible]~~ [Condition] I answer. All humane Language hath some Ambiguity, & so it is impossible to avoid all. But I cannot Conceive how any can finde reason to doubt of my meaning, taking ye terme wth ye subject to wch it is applied. Conditions are either Naturall (as ye Nearnes of wood to ye fire, is ye Condition of Burning) No man can Imagine yt I speake of such Conditionality, in a Morall, Theologicall Discourse. 2ly Conditions are also Morall, receiving ye force or Interest from ye will of ye Lawgiver, Donor or Contracter. Such we speake of. The nature of ye Condition is fully exprest in ye terme. It is, saith Cujacius, Lex addita Negotio, quae donec praestetur, eventum suspendit. Mynsinger & others seeme to require yt it be Uncertaine: but yt is but ex Natura rei, yt it be not ex numero [illegible] Necessariorum, sed Contingentium. He saith it is, Cum quid in Casum incertum, qui potest tendere esse, vel non esse, (yt is ex natura rei) Confertur. Et in hac stipulatione, neque obligatio, neque Actio ulla est, antequam Conditio eveniat: quicquid est in Conditione, non est in obligatione. Mynsing. Schol. in Justit. p. 523. It is (ut Paulus leg. 60. D. de Condit.) ut quis det, ut quid fiat, ut quid obligat; ~~[illegible]~~, vel ne quis det, ne fiat, ne obligat. It in hand is only, ut fiat, et ne fiat.

Their Common Distinction is, in Potestativas, Casuales, vel mixtas: we speake only de Conditionibus potestativis. And though Conditiones Potestativæ may be subdivided, it is nothing to or purpose. See Amyrald. ffullyer in his Answ. to Hoards, Gods Love to Mankinde. pag. 108 105. 110. 111. Allso whereas some Conditions are De præterito, some De præsenti (quæ ambo, aut statim infirmant obligationem, aut omnino non differunt, inquit Justin:) & some de futuro; we speake only of these last. for yt two former are Improperly Conditions, saith Mynsing. ibid p. 524. Proprie enim loquendo Conditio non est de præsenti, vel præterito, sed futura tantum respicit, inquit Idem. p. 380. So yt yt Condition wch we have to do with, is Actio Arbitraria de futuro, a Deo Legislatore & Testatore in Nova Lege, ffoedere, vel Testamto Requisita, ut ex ejus præstatione, sit, quasi obligatio; et Actor jus habeat ad Præmium, Donum vel Legatum: vel, ut obligationem et eventum suspendat, donec præstetur. I have now told yu wt I meane by a Condition; but I do not thinke yt yt Explication is Necessary, yt we may use ye terme to ye Vulgar. For in my best Observation yt most Vulgar frequent use of ye word [Condition] in Morall Cases of Guift Reward, or Punishmt, is yt very same wch I have here Expressed. And if yu say to ye simplest woman in ye towne, [I will give yu all my estate on Condition yu will take me for thy husband] she Understands ye word [Condition] as I have explained it, without any other Explication. If yu have any further Distinction Necessary for ye right Understanding yt, I shall live in hope to receive it. // That ffaith is not any proper Instrument of Justifying, I am now past doubt. Yet I have professed to quarrell with none, yt will use words Improperly. If Metaphorically they will call it an Instrumt, they may take yt course. If yu aske, why yn do I finde fault? I answ. 1o It is with ye thing & not ye Name, ye Doctrine more yn ye terme. 2o. Should we use & use only Metaphors in Disputation, & yt in so high a point? 3o It is a scandal yt I cannot beare, to read such Multitudes of most learned Divines in ye Disputes with ye Papists, to affirme first, yt ye maine Difference between us & yem, is in ye point of Justification; & afterwards to make yt ye very hinge of ye Difference about Justificn, yt we affirme ffaith to Justifye only as an Instrument, & ye Papists deny it. Is not yt to Disgrace ye Reformed Religion? As if ye maine point of it lay in a Palpable error? And hath not yt dealing hardened ye Papists agt us? who would not Continue a Papist, yt comes now to ye reading of such Divines, who tell him, yt here lyeth ye maine points of Difference? 4o It hath such dangerous Consequents, yt I durst not but speake my thoughts of it. 1o It advanceth ye Act of man so highly, as to make man ye Pardoner of his owne sin, & his owne Justifyer: An Instrumentall Cause is an efficient. 2o It Introduceth Abundance of other false notions into ye Doctrine of Justification. 3o It seemeth to Accuse ye Scripture of Insufficiency, wn ye summ of or Religion must be placed in a pointe, wch ye Scripture speaks not one word for. Many such Reasons moved me: But me thinks, yt Lovelynes of Truth it selfe may Justifye me, If I make it appeare to be Truth wt I speake! // But two things yu hint here wch I should beware. 1o That a condition in ye sense yt I seeme to use it, is a Cause: 2o That it tends to levell ffaith & Works, as Animal doth, Homo & Brutum. To ye 1o I answ. Conditions Naturall may be allso Efficient Causes: or efficients may be called Conditions. 2o But Morall Conditions, as such, are not Efficients, nor any true Causes at all. Such Conditions are of Two sorts 1o Some (& most) Containe something in yem wch in it selfe, is pleasing to ye Donor, Testator or Legislator, as having some worth or usefullnes, & so he appoints yem to ye place of Conditionality. These with men are Impulsive, Procatarctick Causes (Tho: some learned men say, yt is no Cause:) but with God there are not such Causes. Yet if any one will say, yt by an Anthropopathye, we may ascribe yem to God, I gainsay yem not. ffaith pleaseth God, wn nothing can please him without it. So Obedience might be called an Impulsive Cause of or Salvation. But I had rather say, yt both Obedience is Via Regni, non Causa Regnandi; & ffaith is Via ad Remissionem & Justificationem, non Causa Remissionis, aut Justificationis. 2o Some Conditions may Containe Actions, tho: pleasing & Good, yet of such Comon Rationall Necessity, yt ye Performance can be no Impulsive Cause to ye Donor; but yt non-Performance of these Actions would be so Irrationall & Barbarously wicked, yt it might well be Called an Impulsive Cause of not-Giving, or of Suspending ye Guift or Event till ye Performance. So if a man Give another his Liberty from Servitude, or any Dignity or Possession, only on Condition, yt he Accept it. Here ye Accepting is a Good Action, but so Naturally Requisite, unlesse men will be Brutish, yt it cannot be called any Impulsive Cause of ye Donors Act: but ye Rejecting is so Barbarous, yt it may be well called ye Impulsive Cause of ye after-denyall, or Punishmt. If any man will say, yt faith is such a Condition as yt, he shall have no Contradiction from me. So yt yu see, I make ffaith no Cause of Justificn wch way ere it be. Conditio est tantum

Antecedens, vel Causa sine qua non. 3° If I did affirme ye Causality of Faith, it were no more yn most do those yt differ from me. And ye Scripture so plainly holding out ye Conditionality of it, & none ye Instrumentality I had rather make it such a Cause as ye Scripture doth, yn such as it doth not. The Particle [If] doth Certainly Denote a Condition: but ye particle [By] doth not allway denote a Cause, much lesse an Instrumt. 4° It is Incomparably more dangerous to make Faith a true Instrumentall Efficient Cause of Remission & Justificn yn to make it a low Impulsive Cause. Yet I do neither. // And for ye 2d Danger, [viz, bringing Faith & Works into ye same Level] I thinke my Answer to yor last is Satisfactory. 1° If I did Levell ym, yu here Acknowledge, it is not by giving any more to Works yn others: for as yu say, they are ordinarily affirmed to be Conditions. But it is only by giving lesse to Faith yn others, in denying it to be ye an efficient Cause. Seing yn I give lesse to man yn others, how Injuriously do these Brethren deale wth me, yt Accuse me of pleading Justificn by Works, so as to give more to Works & man yn they, wn it is Evident, yt ye only difference lyeth in my giving lesse to ym. 2° I am sure I do not Levell Xt & Works, nor give lesse to him yn others: but only take lesse from him. 3° If I did Levell Faith & Works, it is not Works in Pauls sence Rom. 4. 4, wch make ye Reward to be, not of Grace, but of Debt. For such I disclaime ye very presence of ym at all, wn yet Divines on yt pointe, do usually acknowledge ye presence of works, but deny ye Con-Causality. 4° I am farr from levelling Faith & Actuall Obedience to Xt, called, Gospell Works: wn I affirme yt Faith only & alone doth Justifye us, & make us rectos in Curia, & put us into a state of Grace, in ye first Momt of its sincere being; even wthout ye presence & before ye Existence of those Evangelicall Works. Yet here Divines do ordinarily say, yt Fides solum, non autem sola Justificat. Faith alone but not yt Faith wch is alone, wthout Workes: & yt they speake in expounding James, as speaking of or first Justification. Do not they farr more Levell Faith & Works, yn I: wn I deny ye very presence of Works? 5° yu Acknowledge, yt it is Ordinary wth or Divines to make both Faith & works to be Conditions: so I do no more levell ym by affirming ym to be Conditions, yn they do. I affirme ym to be Conditions of a Different Nature, if yu looke at ye Acts ymselves: & wt would they have more? // 6° I have in these Aphorismes freed my selfe from ye levelling Imputation, by ye plaine distinguishing (& so explaining my meaning) 1° I distinguish between ye neerest or Formall Reason of or being Justified by Faith; & ye Remote Reason drawne from ye Aptitude of it to yt Office, wch is ye quasi Materiale; or ye very Nature of ye Act itselfe. 2° In regard of ye Nature of ye severall Acts, I am so farr from levelling ym, yt I thinke I differ not from others (yt agree among ymselves) about ym. For I distinguish between those Acts wch are ye Receiving of Xt, as he is offered, (yt is, or first Faith:) & those wch only Retaine him being Received; wch are 1° The Continuance of yt sincere Consent (or Faith) by wch we first Received him: 2° And ye reall Performance of yt we Consent to, or by Covenant engaged orselves to, (& thereby expressing ye sincerity of or Consent or Covent) (yt is sincere Obedience: wch is not Receiving Act, nor so directly a Retaining Act, as Faith is; but only is a Condition of ye Continuation, & not loosing or Interest in Xt, & Consequently in his Benefitts. 3° I Distinguish between Justificn begunn (or yt 1st act wch doth set us Rectos in Curia, & make us just of unjust) & ye Continuance & Consumation of Justification. 4° As allso, between ye 1st Universall Justificn (most properly so called) & a particular, renewed Justificn or Remission, wch is Requisite upon particular Falls. Upon these Distinctions I Conclude, 1° That ye very Nature of Faith, is to be a Receiving of Xt as offered: 2° That Obedience is no such receiving (except yu Consider Faith, as an Act of Obedience, wch of ye 1st Act is scarce proper) 3° yt in a proper & full sence, Xt is received but once, for so receiving him, implies yt we were before wthout him, (Col. 2. 6. Joh. 1. 11. 12.) 4° It is or only or first Beleiving, wch is ye proper full Receiving Xt. 5° Yet in a more Restrained sence, he is Received, 1° By Continuing yt Consent wch did 1st Receive him (for ye nature of ye Act of faith is ye same still; only ye Object is not afterward presented to us, as yt wch we are ~~were~~ wholly wthout.) 2° And by particular Acts of Application of Xt, as to particular sins. (For as there is an Universall Remission & Justification at 1st, wch is continued, but never Repeated; & a Particular Remission of Particular sinns, (& I thinke A Justificn Answerable: for they differ but Notionally) wch is oft repeated; so is there Accordingly a threefold Beleiving or Receiving Xt. One proper & full; wn we Receive him De Novo first, to yt fu-

Interest in him. 2° The Habituall Continuation, & Actuall Renovation of yt first Consent, for ye Con-
tinuance of or Interest. 3° A particular Application, for particular Remission, (Acceptance & other Uses.)
6° The Nature of ye Faith lyeth not in Receiving Justifn (expressly & directly) nor in Receiving
Chr. Righteousness to Justify us: But in Receiving Chr himself & so obtaining Interest in him, and
Union wth him, (as by Marriage Covent): & wth him, we Consequentially Receive his Righteousness,
& so are Justified. 7° Yet is it no one single Act of ye Soule wch is ye Receiving of Chr, but many
together (as Repentance is to it preparatorily & is presupposed: we receiving him so by Assent receptively, by Consent
Election, Acceptation (ipsum Velle) Completively & formally, & by Affiance Applicatively.) As Ames
in Medul. fully l.1. c.3. & l.2. c.5. § 12.13 &c.) And if we exclude all yt hath in it ye Nature of Love or
Desire, we shall exclude ye ipsum Velle Christum oblatum, wch is ye Compleate Receiving Act. Paul never in-
tended ye Advancing of one single Act of ye Soule above all ye Rest, but ye advancemt of ye Ob-
-ject, Chr: & in yt sense, Divines say very well, yt Faith Justifieth Relatively: & so any Act
wch is a Receiving Act, was not intended by Paul to be excluded. 8° We are Interested in Chr & United
to him, & Consequtly Justified & Adopted by ye Faith only, without ye Conditionality, presence or Co-existence
of Works. So farr are Works [Evangelicall] from being equall to Faith. 9° (There being no
Act in ye life so fully & properly called Justificn as ye first Constitutive Justifn; & it being most usu-
all wth Divines, when they speake of Justifn to meane only ye first Change; so we Comonly & fitly say, we
are Justified by Faith alone, without Workes: (tho we speake not of ye Continuance of it) 10° Yet
ye Justifn at Judgmt is ye most full Compleat Justifn of all: & so when we speake of it (or of ye Conti-
nued Justification here) we may & must say, yt we are Justified by Workes, & not by faith only.
11° [Works] are either 1° Strictly so called, viz, for those yt make ye Reward to be, not of Grace, but of
debt, called, Meritorious; 2° Or those yt nothing Derogate from ye Graciousness of ye Reward; such
as or Imperfect Sincere Obedience is: Paul speaks of ye former, James of ye Later. Yet both are Ab-
sent from or 1st Justifn: But I Beleive not, yt Paul meant ye later in his Exclusion. For the
very Question yn was, Whether Justifn were by ye Works of ye Law, as duties pacifying & pleasing
God; or by Beleiving in him yt had pacifyed & satisfied him. If a Woman yt is Condemned, be
offered Deliverance by ye Prince, on Condition she will but take him for her husband & Lord: & one yt standes
by tells her she had better pacifye ye King by her owne Merits & working it out in somewt yt will please
him, & not trust ye Prince: & if one come here & determine ye Controversy, & tell her, yu canst not be
deliverd by thy owne working or Duty, but only by taking ye Prince on his offer & trusting him:
Will any man Interpret ye speech so, as if by [Working] were meant her obedience to ye Prince
wn she take him for her Lord? wch as yt is plainely included (as Necessary for ye future to Continue
her Priviledges, tho: not at present to begin ym,) & Workes in ye speech are Excluded. 12° Faith
is both a Condition & a Receiving: Obedience is a Condition (secondary as aforesaid) but not a Receiving.
See yt, in ye Nature they much differ. And Faith hath in it a Naturall Aptitude, to be ye first sole
Condition, wch Obedience hath not. Yet hath Obedience a Naturall Aptitude to yt office of Conditionality
wch God hath given it (or else God would not have ordained it therto.) viz, as it is yt wch faith engageth us to, &
so is in some sort, ye End of Faith; & yt wch is pleasing to ye holy God (yt Imperfections being all Par-
doned by Chr.) 13° If any think it sounds more to ye Advancemt of Grace, to speake all ys rather Nega-
tively, yt ye Condition is, [yt we disobey not Chr, so as to provoke him to Depart] rather yn [yt we obey him
so as to please him]; & yt it is rather ye Condition [Non-amittendi Justificationem] yn [Continuandi]
I will not quarrell wth ym, while they yeild in one Phrase, ye same thing wch they deny in another
Thus farr, Sr, I have Confessed my faith to yu in these points, as Distinctly & clearly as I can to
avoide both Cloudes & Logomachies. And are wee not thus farr agreed? But ye maine thing that I
intend & Insist upon, is my next Conclusion. 14° The neerest & formall Reason, why faith or
Obedience, or any humane Act, hath ye Interest wch they have in ye Workes of or Justifn is only ye
being ye Conditions of ye Law or Covent wch Giveth Chr & his Benefitts to us: It is not be

[illegible] a Reception, or Apprehension; or bec Obedience is becoming ye holy [illegible] aptnesse is it's Nature: & it is not yt simple Doing, or Nature of any Act of ors, yt can pardon or Justifye us. 2o The whole Guift or pardo Causality, is Gods: so yt Nature of mans Act can have no more hand in ye worke, yn yt will of God assigneth to it. 3o God might have given us Chts Righteousnesse Absolutely, if he had pleased, tho: we had never heard of a Cht, any more yn yt Remotest Indians: so or Reception Justifieth not, ex Natura Actus, formally; but as a Condition Appointed by yt free Donor. Some deny yt Antecedent on a silly Shift, & say, yt to give wthout Actuall Voluntary Receiving, is not to Give [To] one, but only to Give [For] him. A meer Logomachy! As if God did not Give Cht & his Righteousnesse to any Infant, but only [For] ym! And a man Gives not his Landes by will, To his Infants, but for ym: or To a son yt is 1000 mile of, till he know it: or a King may not give a Condemned man his life, wthout his knowledge, yea agt his will. 4o In all Testamts or deeds of Guift, or Remunerative Lawes, those Conditions only use to be inserted, wch receive yt office or force first & principally from yt will of yt Ordainer or Donor. & those yt are of Absolute Necessity in all ex Natura rei, are ever Implied, as Conditiones Naturales, & not exprest, ut Conditiones Morales. So yt (I pray take notice yt) here is yt maine point I intend, wn I dissent from yt Comon Doctrine about Faiths Instrumentality. I think it not true yt Faith is at all an Instrumt of Justifn nor pro[illegible], yt it is an Instrumt of Receiving Cht; But if any will say, yt it is yt very Receiving of Cht; & may Metaphorically be called an Instrumt thereof, I will not quarrell wth him about yt word. But still all yt is but yt Nature of the Act: & but a Remote reason of its Justifying Interest. It Justifyes principally & formally, as a Condition: & but 2darily & Remotely, as a Receiving, (or Instrumt, as they cal it.) None can forgive sins but God. To make Faith to Justifye ex Natura Actus, Immediate & formaliter ~~ut~~ is to make us Causes & Selfe-Pardoners. He yt saith, [Faith Justifieth Remotely as a Condition & primo & formaliter ut Instrumentum; vel ex Natura Actus;) gives yt Glory to man & his Act. He yt saith [we are Justified primo & formaliter, by faith as a Condition, et Remotè tantum ut Recipit, vel ex Natura Actus] gives yt Glory to God. For Conditions Receive yr force, from yt will of yt Ordainer. Yet is there so great an Aptitude in faith to yt office, yt it is even next to a Naturall Necessity (there being a kinde of Rationall Morall Necessity to yt great ends intended) yt it should have yt office wch it hath. In a word, Sr, here's my Judgmt. wn you aske mee the Cheife reason why Faith Justifieth, I answ. bec it is yt Condition of Justifn, so made by yt free-will of yt Legislator & Donor. If you aske mee, why God did choose Faith, rather yn works or any thing else to be yt Condition; yn I answ. Bec of yt singular Rationall Aptitude, yt faith hath in it's Nature, to yt office. Not principally as it is a Receiving ye Benefitt; but him, to wm we are United, & from wm it flows. It is one thing to Answer, why Faith Justifyeth: And another, Why it is chosen to yt office: (So farr as we may give Reasons of Gods Acts from yt thing.) For example, in yt forementioned Comparison. Doth yt womans taking yt Prince for her husband, Deliver her principally ex Natura Actus, velut Instrumentum; or rather principally, as yt Condition uppon wch yt King will give her some Deliverance? No doubt as a Condition of yt Guift: & only 2darily as it is such an Act, & of such a nature. For as yt Act would have done nothing, wthout yt Grant; so yt Grant might have bin absolute, or on some other Condition, if yt King had pleased. It might have bin her Accepting Deliverance only, & not yt Deliverer himself: or it might have bin, yt taking him only as a Master, & not as a husband. Who dare say, yt it was not in Gods power to have made yt Condition more or lesse, or somewt else? This yn is my cheife Conclusion. If faith were an Instrumt, yet it Justifyes not formaliter et primò, as an Instrumt, but as a Condition. It's Instrumentality or Receptive Nature, is but yt quasi Materiale, or it's Aptitude to be a Condition is meerly extrinsecally Adventitious, & not yt Nature of yt Act, as exercised on such an object. Nor doth yt making both a Condition, & to Justifye as a Condition, any way levell Faith & Obedience, more yn God hath done in assigning ym yt Conditionality: yt Different Natures I acknowledge as much as others. It is no unmeete levelling the Marriage Contract, & Marriage fidelity afterwards, to say, yt both are Conditions, in yt fore-mentioned Example; & yt both Deliver & Dignifye yt woman principally as Conditions (one of Initiation, yt other of Continuation) & but Aptitudinaliter & secundario, as such or such Acts. Rationes [illegible] speaks yt formall Reason That of Animal & homo, holds not; bec Conditionality is not Naturall & essentiall to faith & works, as Animal is to a man. Yet he yt saith [homo vivit] quatenus animal, & non quatenus homo; sed vivit vitâ nobiliorem, viz, rationalem, quatenus homo] doth not levell them. Those Reasons perswade me is not a meere Blinde, but yt only terme, yt I know of, to expresse yt formall Reason of Faith's Interest in Justification [& obedience in its place] // The 2d pointe yu minde me of is, yt soundnes of Mr Pemble's Exposition of James. In wch I except not agt Mr Pemble's Analysis, but only his putting [a working faith] instead of [Works.] & so, needlessly changing yt holy Ghost's phrase, yea depraving it: as if yt holy-Ghost had meant [By a working faith a man is justified, & not by faith only] I will not trouble yu wth repeating my reasons wch are in Aphor. p. 297. 298. 299. 300. 302. 304. only let me tell yu, yt p. 300, instead of [Works make faith alive] it should have been written, [wthout works faith is not alive.] (The Observation wch yu putt me in minde of [yt James speakes of yt first Justifn. bec. he cites yt of Abraham &c] I cannot possibly assent to. for 1° It is Undeniable (Contrary to yor supposition) yt Abraham was Justified long before he offered Isaack: for yt Covent was made to him, & he was Circumcized, & Abundant more Evidence &c. 2° And it is Evident yt James speaks not of or Justifn. as begunn, wch changeth or state, & setts us Rectos in Curia: But of or Justificn as Continued. for works are not so much as Co-existent wth yt Faith wch first Justifyeth: It is yn Fides solum, & quae sola: it is not so much as by a Working Faith: unlesse yu mean it of a Faith Disposing & Engaging to obey hereafter, & not of Actuall working. // In yor Enclosed, yu say [There is an Order of works of holynes, & Righteousness to Salvation, & yt a Conditionality; & yt not denyed by Orthodoxe Divines, as Davenant: but plura requiruntur ad Salutem, quam ad Justificationem]. Ans. 1° I accept wt yu grant. 2° If Davenant be Orthodoxe, so am I: for I say no more for works yn he, but yt same thing. De Justif. Habit. & Actu. cap. 31. yt is his 5th Conclusion. Bona quaedam opera sunt Necessaria ad Justificationem, ut Conditiones Concurrentes vel praecursoriae, licet non sunt Necessaria, ut Causae efficientes aut Meritoriae. He Instanceth in sorrow for sin, hatred of it, humbly to subject ourselves to God, to fly to Gods Mercy, to fasten or hope in Xt yt Mediator, to purpose a new life, aliaque consimilia. His 6th Conclusion is. Bona opera sunt Necessaria ad Justificationis statum retinendum & Conservandum; non ut causae, quae per se efficiant, aut mereantur hanc Conservationem; sed ut media seu Conditiones sine quibus Deus non vult Justificationis gratiam in hominibus Conservare. See yt whole chap. 3° I am Confident yu beleeve not yt there is ~~any~~ Any one Morall Condition more required of us to or Get & full Justifn at Judgmt, or or finall Justifn in yt life, yn is, to or Glorification. Yu Confesse it, of yt Venite Benedicti. Sententia Legis (wch now Justificatn) & Sententia Judicis, go on yt same Conditions. I will not dare to suspect yu to Judge otherwise: And for or first Justifn I grant yu all. // Though Justifn be a pt of or Salvation, yet yu need not suspect, yt by Justifn I [illegible] Salvation. I told yu in my last letter (wch I hope yu received) & in Aphor. sev. times, yt I meane [Justificn only as Continued here & Consummate at Judgmt]. p. 302. 264. 266. and Distinct. 27. in Judice. I gratefully accept yor Concessions, yt Justifn is a Continued Act; & yt at first Instantaneous, & yt James speaks of Justifn Coram Deo: (but yt it is not de prima Justifice: I have proved, & all yt Scope will give.) (The Popish Distinction of Justifn in primam & secundam, I disclaime. I speake only of yt same Justifn as begunn, & as Continued & Confirmed: (& of yt great sententiall Justifn at Judgmt.) nor do I meane Sanctifn as they do. But yt pointe wherin I perceive yu differ from me indeed, is yt: yu thinke [yt Justifn is not Continued by works; but by yt same Faith, by wch it was begunn: & yt It Cannot begin by one, & continue by another] Ans. I am pswaded yu will change yor minde in yt as soone as yu have Considered, 1° yt yt expresse words of Scripture are, yt we are Justified by works, (wch cannot be meant of yt begining of Justifn.) And if yee forgive men yr trespasses, yor heavenly father will forgive yu, &c. I pray see yt texts quoted Aphor. pag. 310. 312. 313. 319. 235. 236. to save me yt labor of citeing. 2°. The Continuation & accomplishmt of Justifn hath yt same Condition, as or Glorification. wch he Justifyeth, yn he Glorifyeth; & on yt same termes, as to finall Justifn. 3° Justifn is yt Actum Moralem Legislatoris, Postulatoris, Donantis: God Justifieth us by his Gospell of Grant, Testament or Law, as his Instrumt. And in such Acts, where yt Conditions suspending yt effect of yt Law depend wholly on yt will of yt Law-giver, it is not only possible, but nothing more common, yn to give possession on one Condition & yt Continuance, on yt same wth more added. Yor wife hath title to yu, & yor estate on her first Marriage Contract: but there is more in yt Condition of Continuation: viz, yt she yeild affection, fidelity, chastity, & obedience answerable: (especially between Xt & us it is so; for he knows or hearts, & requires yn.) yt people have interest in yt King (as Israel in Saul & David) upon yt Consent & takeing him for yr King: & so they have right to his favor & Protection: But loyalty, & keeping his Laws allso, are Conditions of yt Continuance of these. Yor servant hath right to those Benefitts wch are due from a Master, upon his meere taking yu for his master: but not to yt Continuance of yn, unlesse allso he do yor service: yt Tenant hath right to his house, upon the taking yu for his Landlord, & paying his fine: but not to Continuance but on paying his rent, or doing some homage. It is so in all or most titles upon Contract or Covent.

Ar ther is formt wth yt Party hath him self. By yt Covent, to ꝑforme de futuro, for yt future enjoying yt Benefitts from yt other. And tho: to enter yt Covent give yt entrance on yt Benefitts; yet yt keeping of yt Covent is Necessary to yt Continuance of yem. These Conditions must needs be ꝑformed afterward, whose non-ꝑformance forfeitteth yt Benefitts. In or Bapt, or first Justifn we covenanted wth Ct to take him for or Saviour & Lord, & to be his faithfull Servants, & Soldiers to or lives end: and if we ꝑforme not yt ꝓmise, we forfeit yt Benefitts of yt Covent: yt ꝑformance ergo is yt Condition of yt Continuation of or Title. Listing by yt Baptismall Vow admitts us into his Army: but obedience & fighting allso, keeps us in, as Conditions. See yt explicn of Davenants 6th Conclusion: chap. 30. before cited; wch affirms yis: || All yt following Difficulties [whether Justifn be Actus unicus Continuus? whether allway doing, but not done? or still doing, & yet ꝑfectly done? whether it be Resembled to Relations? How we are Justified from sins under Grace? whether by yt first Justifn or a succession of Justifying Acts? wth yt Rest.] Do open yemselves in yt cleare light, upon yt true Understanding of yt Nature of yt Justifying Act: Pardon my Confident Expressions. You know Divines tell us ordinarily, yt Justifn is a Transient Act: (except Twisse & few more) but wn yu would faine know of yem wt Act it is, there is altum silentium. I now wonder, yt I remember, yt tells it. Only Rutherford on yt by sometime, saith as I do.) Mr Tombes & my selfe, have adventured to speake wt act we judge it to be, & yet we differ in it. He saith it is a sentence passed by God before yt Coelestiall Court of Angels &c. I cannot Digest yt. I have told you ~~might~~ thoughts in Aphor. pag. 173 &c. I Judge it to be Actus Legis, vel Dei ꝑ legem, vel Testamtum. Many Reasons I have: I will name you but 2 or 3. 1o Justificare, (Constitutive & Virtualiter Declarative) et Praemiare are Acts of Laws in Common: ergo Gods Laws doth Undoubtedly Justificare & Praemiare. 2o It is yt Scripture phrase, to be Justified or Not-Justified by yt Law. 3o It is a Rule in yt Civill Law (saith Ulpian oft) yt obligation is removed by yt same matter it was Introduced. But or Obligation to punishmt was by Law, & ergo or Discharge from yt Obligation is by Law. The Law Condemneth: ergo yt Law Justifyeth (tho: not yt same Law.) The Nature of Justifn ergo wch we have in yis life by Faith, is ꝓperly in sensu & ꝑ sententiam Legis: & for yt ꝑ sententiam Judicis, we must stay till Judgmt: (yt single ꝑ Justifns before men & Conscience, I insist not on, as being not yt Justifn by Faith.) There is no other knowne now ꝑ sententiam Judicis, wch is a Transient Act. Now on yis ground I Resolve yt Difficulties. Righteousness is a meer Relation. To be Justifyed in Law here, is to be putt into yt Relation. The foundation doth quasi efficere, sed non ꝓprie efficere Relationem. But in yis ꝓsent Law-case, it may as ꝓperly as any where be said, Moraliter agere & efficere. Here you are two Acts of God whereby he Justifieth us. One Physica, viz, yt making of yt New-Law or Covent: yt other Morall, viz yt Action of yt Law or Covent once made. And yis last is it wch ꝓperly & effectually Justifieth. A Testamt, Deed of Guift, or other Instrumt in Law, doth not Agere ex se, sed ex Voluntate Authoris: & ergo doth not agere vel efficere simul & semel, except wn yt Author will so have it: but may effect exact Morally wn & on wt termes he will. And so or first Justifn is ꝑ Actum Unicum Moralem sed non Desinentem, dum Conditio Continuatur: & so yt Continuance of yt effect, is by Continuance of yt same Morall Act. It is still in doing, & yet fully done De Praesenti: yis is of Universall Justifn And for ꝑticular Remission of sinnes committed afterwards, yt same Law or Covent Remitteth yem ꝑ novum et repetitum Actum Moralem, wthout any new Physicall Act of God, or Change in yt Law. All yis power did God putt into yt New Law, (for so I am bold to call it) or Testamt at its first making, and it is all Discernable in yt tenor of it. The Parliamt did at once make yt Law agt Murther: yet it, Morali Actione, condemneth one Murtherer to day, & another to Morrow. If you do in your Testamt give your sonne such a house & Land Immediately on your Death, & such a one wn he marrieth; & so much money besides every time he ꝑformeth such a Condition. You make yr Testamt at once: but it gives these severall Legacyes, not at once, but by severall Acts, at severall times. Yet If any had rather say, all yis is but one Morall Act, I will not Contend, so we be but agreed about its Nature. I yeild to you, yt Justifn is opposed, both to Accusation & Condemnation (tho: an acute Animadvertor chideth me for saying so:) but not alike. We are Justifyed from Condemnation, but not from Accusation, but agt it. Justifn is opposed to Condemnation, ꝑ sententiam Veteris legis, ne sit efficax ad Condemnationem ꝑ sententiam Judicis, vel ad Executionem ꝑ Poenam. It is opposed to Condemnation ꝑ sententiam finalem Legis Novae, & to Condemnation ꝑ sententiam Judicis, ne fiat. It is opposed to Accusation, fiat, sed tantum ne succedat ad Condemnationem rei. And so both Justificatio & Apologiam, 1o & Senten=~~tiam Judicis~~ are opposite to it: you Adde [If I have not offended I am Justifyed by ye Law it selfe: if I have, I must be Justifyed by ffaith in Xt, & not by ye Law, nor Consequently by works; so yt, to putt works as ye Condition of an Evangelicall Justifn is to me a Contradn &c.] Ans. I thought I had untied this knott in my Epist. beyond exception, were it but for these two Distinctions. 1o you must Distinguish between ye Righteousnes, wch ye Law Requireth, wch Divines use to call, ye Matter of Justifn (wch is Xts Satisfaction, & not Act of or owne:) & ye Condition Required of us for or Particip[atio]n thereof. ffor being neither performed by or selves Naturally or Morally (as ye Antinomists say) Xt being not or Deputy, Delegate or Vicar, but a free Mediator; so there must be some way to make it ours: And God is pleased yt it shall be only by first making Xt himselfe ours: wch is done at first by ye ffaith (uniting us to him in a Marriage Covent,) & continued by ye ffaith & Obedience, wch he hath Assigned to ye office of being Conditions hereof. So yt Xts Satisfying ye Law, doth not exclude or performing ye Conditions for Interest therin: you know it excludes not ffaith, (wch is ye Covent:) nor sure yt Obedience to ye Redeemer, wch by ye Covent we engaged to: yt is my plaine Antith: 2o. There is a twofold Law, & so a twofold Accusation & Condemnation, from wch we must be Justifyed. 1o wn we are Accused as having broken ye Law of Nature or Workes, yt is, as being sinners: yn we must plead only Xts Satisfaction, as or Righteousnes, & nothing of or owne; (but as Conditions of or Interest in it:) but wn we are Accused, as not having performed ye Conditions, wch ye Gospell or New Law Requireth to or Particip[atio]n of Xt: yt is, as being Impenitent, Unbelievers, & Rebells agt ye Redeemer; yn we must be Justified, (at Judgmt, & wn ever we are Justifyable) by pleading not guilty, & producing or Repentance, ffaith, & Sincere Obedience, & not by Xts Righteousnes here. // ffor Xt hath not freed us from Repentance & ffaith &c. // He yt cannot produce these, shall never be Justifyed. Me thinks, yis is all plaine. But if you would have it from others, Deodate on James ye 2d, hath ye substance of it: & Placeus in Thes. De Justifne in ye learned Theses Salmurienses. Vol. 1. hath punctually ye same // I gladly read ye assertion of wthy grt Davenant, yt we are Justifyed in vertue of ye Reception of Xt a Savior-Lord, for I account it a pt of grt momt. And yn, as ye taking of Xt for Lord is ye very heart-Subjection, & covent to obey him (as taking him for Xt, engageth to Affiance in his Sacrifice) so you may perceive, yt ye very ffaith wch Justifyeth, is a promise to obey, & ergo this obedience not so farr from faith, as some thinke. Men are Deluded by ye Distinction of ffides quae Justificat, & ffides quâ Justificat. No doubt it is as Essentiall to ffaith, as it is ye Condition of Justifn to receive Xt as Lord, as to Receive him, as Savior: else he is not Received as Xt. That wch Deceiveth ym is, not distinguishing wt Justifyeth ex parte Objecti, & wt ex parte Actus (ffidei). Ex parte Objecti Xt doth not Justifye Meritoriè, quatenus Rex, sed qua Sacerdos, vel potius, Mediator Satisfaciens; but ex parte Actus, yt ffaith wch Receives him, & is ye Condition, Receives him as entire Xt. Non est Distinguendum, ubi lex non Distinguit. Yea Xt, as King, Justifyeth Constitutivè per Legislationem, & Sententialiter per Judicium. //

Sr, Using of late to Deale wth men yt Understand not Multa in Paucis, hath habituated me to tediousnes, & made me now forget wm I speake to. The last time I ventured one ffull sheete on yor Patience, but now I have presumed to Load you wth two. ffarewell.

Yor Unworthy Brother
Ri: Baxter. June. 16. 1641.

Canine dente me rodunt in publico de=
trahentes, legentes in angulis: Iidem Accusatores et Defensores, cum in alijs probent,
quod in me reprobant, quasi Virtus et Vitium non in rebus sit, sed cum Author[e]
mutetur. Hieronim: adversus Ruffin: To. 3. fol. (mihi) 103. //

Parum adipisci aliquid potuisse. Plus est quod adeptus es posse servare. Sicut et
fides ipsa et Nativitas salutaris, non Accepta, sed Custodita Vivificat. Nec statim
Consecutio, sed Consummatio hominem Deo servat. ut Joh. 5. 14. Cyprian: Epist.
ad Rogat. &c. pag (mihi) 19.

Much honored & reuerenced Sr

I haue bin once more reuiued by the receipt of yor lines of which nothing is ingrate but
ye rarity. Concerning ye doctrine of my Thesis, far was it from me to expect a ready or generall ap-
probation of ym. A plaine dissent was all I hoped for from ye most of my brethren: I haue bin informed
yt you haue bin pleased in some of theire Company to obserue ye edge & acrimony of their opposi-
tion, for which as I am thankfull to you, so I think they haue cause ym selues: Above all ye sects
in ye world, I haue the greatest Jealousie & dislike of Antinomists & being much pestered with ym for many
yeares, & finding their doctrine very pernicious, & yt it is ye religion of some Magnificos who want not
will, nor (as I think) power, to make their faith ye Common faith, or at least not opposed, & being
much confirmed against them by gods wonderfull hand upon ym in New-England; I was animated
& euen necessitated to bend my selfe yt way, & professe I am not able to confute an Antinomian
if I desert ye maine points in my Thesis. I haue done wt I could modestly & imodestly to extort
from many dissenters, their grounds of dislike, & can yet prevaile with none to purpose: & those 2 or 3
yt haue giuen me any thing, go on so different grounds (some on Antinomian principles, & some on
other) yt they differ betweene ym selues as much almost as with me. For my describing faith & other graces,
which is the great obiection, I doubt not but you see in wt is written, yt in our first Justification I
deny not only ye Conditionality but ye presence of works or obedience: & affirme only yt sincere ob-
edience by the Lord of ye Couenant made a condition of the Continuance & Consummation of our
Justification: 2o yt but a 2dary pt of ye Condition, viz, as it is a dependency of, & necessary attendant
upon faith, which is ye principall great Condition. 3o yt works in Pauls sense (wch make ye
rewards to be not of grace but of debt, Rom. 4. 4.) must not once be thought of by a Xtian 4o
nor do all our graces, or obedience make ye least pt of our Legall Righteousnes as ioyned with
Xts satisfaction. 5o yet these two things I beleeue, 1o yt ye Gospell by [Faith] meanes no one
single Act, but all those yt are comprized in this phrase [ye entertainment or receiving of an
offered Redeemer, or of whole Xt with ye whole soule] 2o yt all these Acts, Assentiue, Electiue,
Consentiue, velle &c I do in some kind Loue, tho ye Schoolmen deny: yet not wholly neither;
but with Davenant I take faith to be as it were began in ye Intellect & consummate in ye Will;
yet ye whole is denominated from Assent (mostly), it being ye leading, & like it selfe) ye most
difficult Act (& so wee should find it, if Xtianity had not ye advantage of Custome & pa-
rentall Countenance of Authority) I heartily subscribe to ye Assemblyes definition of faith, espe-
cially in ye lesser Catechisme. 2o I think Paul usually takes faith Relatiuely, & intendeth
not ye extolling of faith much, but ye exalting of Xt, & excluding of Merit. By Relatiuely I meane
not so Tropically as some, as if by [faith] were meant Xt: but yt Xt ye obiect is implyed in ye Act as
ye maine matter intended, & so faith named as ye Act fittest to imply ye obiect, as being in fullest &
plainest Relation to it. I use to explaine my selfe by Dr Prestons ordinary similitude. A poore
woman is taken from beggery & made a Queene by marriage with a King. Now 1o I demaund
wt is ye principall cause of her advancemt? Ans. ye meere free Loue & Mercy of ye King. 2o wt is
ye Instrumt & causa sine qua non? Ans. His owne free guift 1o of himselfe to her 2o of all his
riches & honor. 3o wt was ye meanes or Condition on her pt? Ans. Her Marriage, or
Consent & Acceptance of him for her husband, & giuing up herselfe to be his wife by
Couenanting to be faithfull &c. (This is true faith) & so it is no wrong nor any way
in her. 4o wt meane we when we say, Her Marriage advanced her? Ans. we meane ye
Marriage was ye meanes on her pt, but we chiefly meane ye Person to whom shee was
marryed, Relatiuely. 5o Hath her Loue to him no hand in it? Ans. yes, it is an essentiall
pt or Affection of ye Marriage Consent. 6o Is it yn as fit to say, Her Loue to such a man
advanced her, as yt her Marriage advanced her? Ans. No: her Loue is but a pt or affec-
tion of ye maine Act wch is Consent, & therefore not so fit to expresse ye Relation. 7o Did
Her Marriage faithfulnes & duty advance her? Ans. No: in respect of her first advance-
ment they did not: for they were not in being: But they are ye very fulfilling of ye Marriage
Couent, & so ye end of it, & so are ye Conditions or Meanes of Continuing her honor & advance-
ment: & shee holdeth ym only on yt Condition: & if shee play ye harlot or forsake her hus-
band she shall be dispossest of all. 8o was it any one Act yt gaue her this? or was it
her taking him only to advance & enrich her, wch procureth her enriching & advancement
rather yn taking him to be her head, & Superior? Ans. Non est distinguendum ubi Lex

are distinguisht. It is her actuall taking him for her husband, which is, to be her Head, Superior, & Oblig[er]
as well as Rewarder & advancer: which is ye Condition of her advancemt. So or Justification & salva-
tion proceeds as really from or taking Xt to be or King & Prophet, as from or taking him to justify
& save us. 2o It is her accepting him & not his estate yt is ye proper Condition or way of her advancem[t]
So it is or accepting Xt for or Lord & Saviour yt is ye Condition of or Justification, & not properly &
directly ye Apprehension of his Righteousnes; yt comes in with him. 3o It is a Morall Legall
Act, wch is ye way of her advancemt, giving her a Legall Title to him & to his honor & we[alth]
It is not a physicall apprehension, as such, yt doth her any good: For if she should lay hold on
him, & on his Crowne & gold, this would not make it hers, without his guift: but his guift m[ay]
make it hers without any such Physicall Contact or apprehension, & doth so upon ye will's
Consent manifested (Indeed there is Vnion & Contact betweene man & wife wch cannot be
mutually betweene us & Xt). Thus much to acquaint you in part with my meaning. He yt in
this similitude shall say, It is a Levelling of ye Marriage Covenant or Consent, & of Love &
Marriage duty & Fidelity, to call ym all by ye name of a Condition only, will mistake. For they
are Conditions of such exceeding different natures, & use. // For ye name of [illegible],
I am resolved it shall never affright me from ye truth: for ye Thing, I am far fro it. // If
you are pleased to vouchsafe me yor apprehensions of this weighty point, it is a favour exceeding acceptable
to me. And bec: I am not quite hopeless yt it may occasion my further Information by yor Condes-
cending to returne me yor Animadversions, I will adventure to lay my thoughts to yrs. God
made two (Adam & Eve) & not one only, Righteous. Lets consider 1o of their Representation, 2o their
derivation to us, which you mention. 1 yt Adam was naturally ye Roote of all, I acknowledg, &
so all were (as it were) Naturally, Seminally, Virtually in him: but yt he also did beare ye person of every
man by appointed Representation, is an assertion yt will holde dispute. 2o If he did Represent all, yet
not so as to be Righteous Actually for ym, as well as for himself (so his obeying to be taken as
if they had obeyed in him, (& therefore it was not properly a Representation). His Actuall Righte-
ousnes was not Imputable according to ye tenor of yt Covent to any other. For yt Covent enabled
not one to be Righteous instead of another, to impute it to him, but required a personall Righteous-
nes of each one. How Adams sin is imputed, I may not stay to enquire: whether by a strict
esteeming ye sin to be ors: or only esteeming it a sufficient Cause to punish us, or whether it (as
(death without imputing sin to [illegible] non gradu eodem): whether his
was to Cause upon sin only, or all after: Whether they be in Federall or only upon Naturall interest.
whether if Adam had stood, Caines sin would not have bin as much imputed to his posterity, ac-
cording to yt same Covent. These & ye like I passe for brevity, yet judging yt many assert things
hereabout from Custome more yn Scripture. 2 Its true (as to ye point of derivation) we derive
or natures from Adam, & those natures would have bin Innocent, if he & all others or predecessors had
bin Innocent. But yn 1o This is no conveying of his owne personall Righteousnes to us either habitu-
all or Actuall. 2o Tis or natures, but or beings & qualities: But ye Innocency or Righteousnes is a bare
Relation. 3o If Adam & all succeeding progenitors had continued Righteous, yn our imediate
progenitors would have derived yt Righteousnes to us (yt is yt nature which was Righteous) as truly &
more properly yn Adam: we have ye nature more directly from them yn him, yet it is neither their
Righteousnes nor his, yt should thereby have beene made ors. 4o If Adam had stood & a 100
generations after him, yet if yt next parent had bin a sinner, ye child would be borne in sin, &
cleane thing could not come from an uncleane; nor ye parent convey yt Sanctity or Image of
God which he had lost, & so Adams Righteousnes or Righteous nature would not have bin
ours. 5o I yet conceive yt we should not imagine any Consonancy betweene ye Righteousnes of
ye two Covents in this, it being ye maine difference betweene ym, yt or Righteousnes in ye first wa[s]
to be personall, & not in another, nor imputed, nor derived from another; but or Xtian Righteousnes
is contrary. In a word Adam & Eve & all their posterity being considered under ye same
Law were to have each one a Righteousnes of ye same kinde. But Adam was Righteous
himself & not another, & so was Eve; neither had either of ym an Imputed or derived Righte-
ousnes. Lastly if you will say yet, yt having or nature wch is Righteous fro Adam, we should
consequently have had or Righteousnes from him: I ans. As it would have bin from or ne[xt]
parents as well as him, (wch would make ym as much representative as he) so it would be a personall
Righteousnes, & but part to constitute or whole Righteousnes: for personall obedience would have [bin]
ye maine part of it through ye rest of or lives: & therefore you may well say yt personall obedience
would yet have bin ye Condition demanded. Nor if you parallel ye Conveyance of or Righteousnes &
with this you must say, yt he conveyeth to us no Righteousnes of his owne, or resulting from any
but a Nature which is to be denominated Righteous, & all ye rest of ye Righteousnes through or lives
personall. This would scarce suite with their judgmt yt say Xt hath forgiven only all ye sins of [illegible]
& so taken downe ye obligation of ye Law, yt no after sins do need forgivenes: but this is not my judgmt.

And for ye next point of Xts Representation & Communication, I conceive ye former is a very weighty
doctrine & hath need of a more accurate head yn mine to explaine it distinctly & solidly yt a mistake
in it may not introduce a systeme of mistakes; for it hath a greate influence into ye body of
divinity. The word [Represent] you know is variously taken & in a large sence I doubt not but Xt
Represented those he dyed for; yt is, he payed ye debt, wch they should have payed, or bore ye suffer-
ing which was due to them & he did it for ym or for their sakes. But in ye strict sence as most take
ye word, for Representing ye very person of another (non ut Histrio in Comaedia sed) ut
delegatus, Vicarius, substitutus &c wch ye Law shall repute for ye principall actor, or whose Action
or suffering ye Law doth take for ye very Action or suffering of ye person Represented, performed by
his deputy, delegate, vicar &c thus I am not yet convinced yt Xt did Represent ye person of any.
Here I will not meddle with any Representation so called in gods ~~word~~ mere decree or secret
councels, but of Representing in a Law-sence, wch is it we have to do with. If I mistake not, this
strict Representation of ye persons of ye elect by Xt is ye very master-pillar in ye fabricke of Antino-
mianisme, (wch Mr Owen builds on in his late book agt me) & to wch too many of or owne have put
under their shoulders, for want of deeper & distinct consideration. Even in ye very point of
suffering & satisfaction where Xt did far most properly Represent ye person of ye offender, yet even
there he did it not in ye strict Legall forementioned sence; much lesse in ye following Antecedents,
Concomitants, consequents, as his owne being justifyed, Ascending, Glorifyed &c, least of all
in ye whole work of Mediatorship. My Reasons for all together take thus. 1 Xt bare ye person of ye
Mediator, therefore not (in ye sence abovesaid) of ye sinner. The mediator must be a middle person be-
tween ye offended & ye offender, & not in sence of Law, one of ym himself. 2o Else in sensu Legali
it might be truly sayed, yt we dyed & bare ye curse of ye Law & wrath of god ourselves, yt we satisfyed
gods Justice, were Meritted Remission & Glorification. if not yt wee ~~[illegible]~~ redeemed ourselves. 3o On ye
like grounds many divines affirme yt Xt also Represented or person in his actuall obedience, & so
we obeyed interpretative in him, & yn wt need of his death, or of or owne obedience? you know
how Mr Walton de Redem. Mr Gataker with many more have confuted this (& yor friends tell
me yt you are about ye controversie of ye Active & Passive Righteousnes of their judgmt) 4o Else
(if we had payd ye debt in Xt) we should be justifyed Absolutely thereupon & not Conditionally;
agt which ye Scripture is most evident (for all yt Mr Owen saith to ye contrary) 5o And yt Absolute
Justification would be immediately (in time) as soone as Xt had satisfied: & so before we had
sinned or were in beinge. For if Xt payd ye debt as Representing or person, yn we payd it Legal-
ly by him. & who can deny an acquittance where ye debt is fully so payed? or Justice
can deny him to be just, & so to justify him (without condition or delay) who hath
satisfied ye Law? 6o yea this strict Representation would undoubtedly leave no place for
pardon of sin, & so exclude prayer for pardon. For wt need hath he of a pardon who hath
borne all yt ye Law required, or paid all the debt, by himselfe, or another. Can any
require more yn all; & yt by one yt Representeth or person in ye paymt? 7o And if we were Legally
in Xt at his suffering, yn we were his body, & his church: & so ye church should be coetus
Electorum & not coetus vocatorum (wch Amesius & yt generality of sound divines deny): & yn ye
unbelievers (on wm ye wrath of god abideth, & who are unjustified) & ye workers of iniquity
(wm god hateth) should be members of ye body of Xt. I speak not all this, as if I thought yt
you meane any such Representation, but to open to you my owne conceivings of it. yet yor phrase
of [Xts Representing ye persons yt are in him] did begin to make me doubt of yor meaninge. But I
suppose you meane only yt we are in him improperly, in regard of ye Election or decree of god, wch
is no more but yt god hath decreed yt wee [should] be in him afterwards, it being terminus dimi-
nuens as to or real being in Xt, & so proveth certainly yt yn we were not in him: And beyond all
doubt no man is in sensu Legali et proprio in Xt till he believe (as Mr Walton hath proved fully) Nor
is any man in Xt (thus) as he is considered in ye worke of Satisfying & Meriting, but only as
he is considered as ye head (not of ye Elect as such, but) of believers. Even those yt were in Xt
at ye houre of his death, as Peter, John &c were thus in him as believers, upon supposition
of ye efficacy of his suffering & satisfaction as precedent, though ye actuall suffering did not
precede. Where you say yt [god gives not every man a single Righteousnes of his owne, but
puts all againe into a 2d man] I believe it verily, yt no man hath a true Legall Righteous-
nes (I meane yt is so denominated by ye covent of workes) but wt he receiveth from ye 2d Adam, it
being as it were in him: But withall this is my judgment yt as it is Xts personall Righteousnes it is
not ors. ye Accidents perish if they be separated from their subjects, & ye same Accident is not in two
our subjects; but Righteousnes is an Accident, viz, ~~from~~ a Relation. I believe Alstedius yt Xt is
or Righteousnes in sensu causali, non in sensu formali. In him it is satisfaction & Merit:
thence by gods will floweth ye covent, which bestoweth ye benefits of this satisfaction &
Merit on all Believers, & pronounceth ym just: from this Law, Guift, or covent, as soone as we
performe ye Condition of believing immediately resulteth our Relation of Righteous & Justified.
I cannot conceive of any other being of or Righteousnes in Xt, or derivation from him. I am

it is a plaine way whether true, I leave to yor judgment: I could never make a Religion of words without their sence. And now to ye point it selfe: What is ye Modus derivandi? And I suppose It is evident enough one yt we must not thinke of a physicall derivation. A relation resulting from ye Covent (ye act of god) obtained by ye satisfaction & merit of Xt is not capable of a physicall conveyance for we are not speaking of inherent holynes which ye Papists call or Righteousnes. How Xts Satisfaction should become ours & so make us Righteous, seemes now somewt plaine, viz, by no physicall Emanation as qualityes may be conveyed, as heat & light from ye sun, but Morally. And ye only [illegible] of Derivation is on Xts pt ye fathers, & on ours is but a Conditionality. Gods donation yn is ye Derivation or Communication it selfe which some call Imputation. This some make an Immanent Act in god Most a transient, but tell not wt act it is: Some a transient but terminated in ye Conscience. I have told you in my Aphor: I judge it plainly a Legall deed of Guift, viz, ye Covent of Grace wherein god hath as it were under his hand, made over Xt & his satisfaction to all yt will Beleive, & pronounced them Righteous. Righteousnes being a Relation in respect to Law & Judgmt, must have its ground & rise from Law. It is not like mony, which a man must receive in his hand, or p contactu physicum. So This is ye Modus derivandi on gods pt. And yn on our pt, there is no other here but ye performance of ye Condition on which ye Law or Covent passeth this Guift, which some will call an Impulsive procatarctick Cause, as moving god to give it to this man rather yn ye other: wch speaking of god after ye manner of men, may be borne with; otherwise not. But I choose rather to deny it any pp Causality, & but call it a Causa sine quâ non. Modus derivandi is a generall doubtfull phrase. Nothing hath lost us & ye truth more in ye doctrine of Justification yn mens dreaming of some physicall apprehension or Reception: not that they will call it physicall; but yet in all their disputes their termes & descriptions speake no else. And yn some, yt understand not ye distinction of physicall & Morall, will thrust in physicall as if were a Verbum. Our Assent, Consent, Affiance &c are physicall Acts, but not physicall Causes or Means for ye Communication, derivation, donation, reception &c are not physicall. This mistake hath introduced Notion of Instrumentality; (yea a physicall passive Instrumentality, wch Mr Burgesse in Letters to me, ascribes to faith, saying yt Workes is only pati; yea yt ye Act of faith is passive in its Instrumentality physicall which I have fully answered). Now if there be any other Modus derivandi besides Conditionality in or Case I have not yet heard it, nor can bethinke me of it. Sure I am ye generality of divines call faith (& most also Repentance, Gratitude, Obedience) ye Condition of ye Covent: & therefore I say no more yn they, though I may say lesse. In a word, if wn you say yt faith only is ye Modus derivandi, you meane yt faith only is ye Condition of or first title to Xt with his satisfaction, excluding all workes (save Repentance & such like wch are but remotely Conditions, or quasi Conditio Conditionis, or as you say, ye pulling off ye gloves though not washing ye hands) & by [faith] you meane no one single Act but all those which go to ye Receiving or Entertaining of an offered Redeemer on ye termes he is offered, & yt after-Love & Obedience are only Conditions of ye Continuance of wt by faith alone was received (or non amittendi as Lud: Crocius & Conr: Bergius say) & of ye Consummation at ye last ~~day~~ Judgmt: & of this but Conditiones secundariæ as ye necessary fruites of faith: still excluding all thoughts of Workes in Pauls sence, wch make ye reward to be not of grace but of debt] I say if this be yor meaning I am of yor minde. The nature of faith is but ye quasi Materiale (as ye gold before ye stamp) or its Aptitude to its office, & must be distinguished fro ye formall Reason of its Justifying Virtue, wch is its being ye Condition in ye deed of Guift. From ye later I answer ye questn how doth faith Justify: from ye former I answer ye Questn why did god appoint faith rather yn other graces to this office. If faith did Justify as a simple apprehension of ye object, yn it were not recipiendo ~~[illegible]~~ sed [illegible] us, & so we apprehend & receive sin, Satan, death or any object in ye same manner as we receive Xt. If it were by a physicall reception of ye thing it selfe, yn as it is an impossibility ye relative object being uncapable of it, & there being no physicall Contact &c. So if there were such a thing, yn ye Reception of Righteousnes would no more make Righteous yn Maries bearing Xt in her wombe. or if it would, yn ye Reception of Righteousnes would make Righteous, & ye Reception of pdon would pdon us, & so our faith would not do both, & ye Reception of Xt would directly do neither. Further if I did Love faith, as I do, yet not by giving more to workes yn others, (for most confesse yn to be conditions) but lesse to faith, & so lesse to man, but no lesse to Xt; I would any to show ye Contrary. &c I beseech you thinke not yt I have wrot this in a Warring veine: but yt I may aperto pectore & nudato corde give you a free confession of my faith herein. & I intreat you where you dissent let me receive yor Castigation, if it be ye briefer. // Those yt dissent by knowing more yn I of ye truth, I love, & would learne of: Those yt dissent by Ignorance, & Lazynes I pitty. God hath not made all with a growing capacity. But ye undoing of England is yt it is made next an impossibility to make men yt know not, to know or beleive yt they know not. Nothing but ye Light wch reveales ye truth will discover former Errors. // Yor prayer [yt ye Lord would give me to live & dye as I write] did goe to my heart with dread & Joy: dread, in so close & concerning an admonition: Joy, in hope god will heare yor prayer. // The Agitation wch you enquire of, I let fall upon yor silence: Having (upon yor free communication of yor advice) told you I would go no further without you, I was confident yor silence was either a prudent advice for suspending ye whole, or at least a withdrawing yor owne hand. And I durst not arrogate so much to my selfe as to carry on so gt a worke alone, both because I am conscious of my weaknes, & bec I am already so heavily censured by my brethren about London, wm I love & honor. yet can I receive ye censures at pleasure. I am told by Mr [illegible] with of ye same worke afoote in London & ye psons named, & I was desirous to see their way, & to let better hands yn mine dispatch it. yet indeed I finde so little Knowledge & peaceablenes in men yt I am not hopeles of a good issue. I am in ye same minde & case with you for ye Engagemt, having to my gt comfort seene your proposalls (which I knew by ye stile) & a Copy of yor excellent Lre to Mr Evans. But dying I feare not such things. I am faine to be silent at Mr Ashe's Epistle prefixed to my booke agt my will without my knowledge, lest else so good a man wm I highly honor & dearly love should take it ill. The Lord of peace restore peace once to his poore Churches. I lay as much on yor patience as my paper will containe. Sir

Kederminster 1650.

Yors ex animo Ri: Baxter [illegible] 24

ad Rogat. Dr. pag (mihi) 19

~~A friend of Mr Burgesse's & mine (T. V.) lately brought me [illegible] yt he taketh this one thing alone to be unanswerable, for the proving yt faith Justifieth not as a Condition of ye Promise, & sufficient agt all yt I say to ye Contrary: viz, [If faith be ye Condition of pardoning other sins yn wt is the Condition of our pardon for the Imperfections of faith itself: faith is Imperfect yt Imperfection is a sin: yt sin must be pardoned, or ye sinner perish: If this Imperfection be pardoned on Condition, wt is yt Condition? & will not yt Condition have its Imperfection also? & so must have another Condition of its pardon? & so in infinitum.]~~

~~Answ. 1o If this would prove any thing, it is plaine Antinomianisme, viz yt Justificatn & pardon are given Absolutely, & not on any Condition, morally so called. And so yt ye Covenant or promise of Remission hath no Condition.~~

~~2o Is there a more facile obvious Truth in any Controverted pt of Divinity, than yt sincere faith, is the Condition of ye pardon of its owne Imperfection? God promiseth most frequently ye pardon of all sin on Condition of Believing sincerely in Ct: The Imperfection of yt same required act of faith is one sin: Go yt pardon of yt sin is promised on Condition of sincere believing: For who knowes not yt it is not Perfect faith & Repentance, but sincere, yt are ye Conditions of Justification & Salvation.~~

58.

Mr Ames Letters answered

*25

4

My most honoured and most ——, The maine scope & end
off my first letter, being this; When those, who having
in ye knowne ordinary been set over others in ye land, have
agreed upon a Way off Publick worship or Glorifying God,
noe way contrary to Scripture such as ye Liturgie is; & shewn
by those Scriptures there alledged & other like, All,
whom God's providence hath placed under yt power, ought
sure for ye love and peace off Christ, either to submit
or to Retire or to Bee gone: And off my second, this;
That the Acts of the Apostles & first Xtians doe justifie none
in acting contrary to ye lawes of ye place, where they are,
unles they can doe as they did, that is, work miracles (wch
power in a great measure, was, you know, in ye Church
till yt greatest miracle, soe much pointed at in the
Revelation, The Emperor and Empire becoming Christian):
And 3dly The calling of you and mee and of all the
ministers of ye church of England, tying us expressly
in ye ordination off our office here, to keeping close to
ye lawes and ordinances of this Realme (as is apparent
by sundry passages in ye Booke off Ordering Bishops,
Priests and Deacons, and by ye oathes, & other solemne
Engagements there) And, lastly, The great appointmt
off Jesus christ, Charity to yorselfe, seeming at this
time to require you to spare and withdraw yorselfe
from those uncommanded wastings & wearings off yor
selfe, wch you call Office & Duty, but not very properly
I suppose: These foure things might, I hoped, have
been ~~Offered~~ Hints sufficient to soe honest-hearted
and quick-sighted a Beleever as you are, for satisfying
yorselfe agt all those little doubts & Queries, yt
have been working and floating in yor Intellectuals.
However, if you will have ye patience to read my
thoughts upon all ye considerable passages of yor three
letters (as by that hint in yor last, —you answered not
my instance, That the church for 300 yeares preach'd
agt ye will of ye magistrates, you seeme not altoge-
ther averse from such an Exercise) If God lend life
(for long I am sure it cannot bee) and strength (for I
am under noe lesse then three incurable diseases) You
Shall, God willing, have them κατὰ πόδας afterwards, as it
may bee. In ye meane while and ever,
Deare Sr, Yor daily servt in the
surest way of doing service,
Wm White

Monday-night. Aprill ye 20th -75.
Yors of ye 8th instant came not
to my hands till last Saturday-night.

26

fol. 27. of Baxter Letters in vo

27

21

ffor the Reverend Mr Baxter in
South-Hampton buildings, over agt
South. Hampton-house; thes./

2

Reverend Sr

1. As I have before expressed my sorrow for dealing in such a Controversy that divides Communion w person of your piety and candour, and from whom I am so unwilling to differ upon any tolerable te I am withall glad that we can still maintein an unpassionate way of debating it, which for my part I conceive not only most Christian but most usefull and successfull. It is only with this design that I willing to continue it, wherein I hope you will not be displeased at me for venturing on that Liberty your self are pleased to take, and which I hope, through Gods gracious assistance, I shall never abuse. For my ing is as much as is possible, to abstein from all things personall, and to insist only on the proposall of S. Augustine to Maximinus, ut res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione certet; and besides it self I shall endeavour to avoyd the multitude of unnecessary Controversyes, that we may be more accurate in the discussion of such as shall remain.

2. To proceed therefore to your 1. generall exception concerning my supposed mistake in including you, at least under the generall name of the Non-Conformists in England with whom you are acquainted, against whom you suppose my Preface to have been designed; I shall beseech you to consider 1. that there is indeed no necessity of concluding any of those present Non-Conformists of your acquaintance to have been meant by me, and therefore that you cannot [illegible] presume your self either directly or even indirectly concluded in it. For my design there was not to dispute the Question with the present Non-Conformists, but only to give an historicall account of the ill consequences of the Principles layd down by their first predecessors in Q. Elizabeths dayes, and so to shew how they were afterwards improveable, and actually improved by such as acted consequently unto them, (not with a design, for that I am confident themselves would have abhorred, but) with an influence too favourable to that Irreligion and Atheism which we find at present too predominant. Seing therefore that you and the Non-Conformists of your mind do disown those principles prejudiciall to the Authority of the Ch and seing that your owning them is not as much as intimated by me; I do not see any reason why you should think your self concerned in their ill consequences. And yet certainly 2ly if I had indeed charged Non-Conformists indefinitely with it (as I never did) yet unless I had farther particularized the Presbyterians (as it is also plain I did not) you will have no reason either to believe me mistaken in my information, or your self concerned in it: Not me mistaken; for I believe you know severall of other Sects, even of your own acquaintance, that do really deny the Clergy the power of imposing things confessedly indifferent: Not your self concerned, for I do not believe that you will undertake the defence of the Independents, Anabaptists, and the other numerous Sects that, [illegible] however different among themselves, do yet all confederate under the negative title of Non-Conformists. And further 3ly if I had particularly ascribed these doctrines to the Presbyterians themselves, even those of [illegible] this present time, yet it cannot appear, nor is in prudence to be presumed that I meant those in England of your acquaintance, but those of Ireland of my own; and they are extreme few of that opinion, that I have had the happiness to be acquainted with, that are of your moderate temper even in this Question concerning the Authority of the Church. Yet 4ly suppose that I had ascribed the Presbyterians even of your acquaintance; yet considering that I did not speak of their actuall tenets but what they must if they stick to the rationall consequences of their own doctrines and practices: I do indeed believe that they cannot maintein (not their differing from the judgment of their Ecclesiasticall Superiors, nor their refusing conformity actively, if they had given passive obedience by submitting to the penalty; but their downright active disobedience, in resisting the Governours setled over them, and in erecting an opposite Communion to them;) without disparaging opinions concerning the Authority of the Governours so resisted by them. And your way of disproving this should have been, not barely to deny such opinions, seing you were not pretended to affirm them in express terms, but to have shewn your selves not obliged to [illegible] defend them by any consequence from other Principles which you do indeed professedly maintein. But I am not willing to give any occasion of digressing from our present Controversy as it is principally handled in your Letter; and therefore shall desire you to look on these later Answers as given ex abundanti, and to take the first as a downright account of this business, and your little concernment in my Preface. Your 2d. exception is against the impertinency of my mentioning the Non-Conformists in Q. Elizabeths dayes as reall mainteiners of the opinions related by me in order to proving our present Non-Conformists guilty of the same. If this consequence had been mine, I should indeed have acknowledged it impertinent. But I have already shewn my self no way obliged to ascribe those Opinions to all present Non-Conformists. And that I mentioned the Old Non-Conformists, was not to shew the sense of the present, but only to shew that there had been reall mainteiners of such Principles, which was very pertinent to that series of discourse deduced from them in my Preface. Nor did I mention your Savoy-Conference in 1661. with any such design as you seem to intimate, but another occasioned by your self, as you may easily inform your self by consulting the place.

3. But these are subjects I conceive not so usefull or edifying as to deserve a particular discussio makes me therefore the more desirous to hasten to the principall Controversy of your Letter, the preserving Ecclesiasticall discipline under a Diocesan Episcopacy. Where I am glad to find that the rather derived from your self forgetfullness of your own concessions and mind than any reall differe Opinions when clearly and candidly explained. For I can perceive only 2 things questioned betw

your whole Letter. 1. whether the Biſhop be obliged in his own perſon to a particular care of all the ſouls conteined within his juriſdiction, or whether he may not aſſume aſſiſtants and Coadjutors dependent on himſelf, over whom he is to exerciſe the office of an Biſhop, that is, an overſeer, not to take the whole burden on himſelf, but to oblige them to the performance of their duty, and to puniſh their delinquencies? 2ly whether ſuppoſing this delegation lawfull, Lay-Chancellors be fit to be intruſted with it. The former you ſeem to have yielded when you ſay: "If this had been all our diſpute, whether a Patriarch or Archbiſhop can rule a 1000 [redacted] Churches by a 1000 inferior Biſhops or Church-rulers, I had ſaid ſomething; which is indeed the onely thing aſſerted by me in my proofs, and the very caſe in practice, no Biſhop undertaking the particular care of a whole Dioceſe without the aſſiſtance of his particular reſpective Parochians. When therefore you aſk, whether it "followes that our Church-Monarch can overſee all himſelf without any ſubooverſeers, or rule them (by Gods word on the Conſcience) without any ſubrulers?" ſure you cannot mean that this is the practice of our Dioceſans. And if your deſign be to aſſert that every Clergyman is bound to a particular perſonall care of all within his limits, and therefore ought not to undertake a care too great for his perſonall cognizance, and which he cannot manage without aſſiſtants, this ſhould have been more directly proved than your Letter attempts. So alſo for the 2d whether ſuppoſing this aſſiſtance lawfull, it were fit to be intruſted to Lay-Chancellors, I expreſsly declined that Queſtion (if you had remembred it) as alſo whether it were expedient that the Biſhops Government were ſo Monarchicall as to exclude the councell of Presbyters. But though we be thus agreed in the main, if not the whole, difficulty, if rightly explained, yet your arguments and anſwers, if allowed, do ſo conſequently overthrow your conceſsions themſelves, as that it is eaſy to obſerve how heat of diſcourſe does tranſport you beyond the equity of your more compoſed thoughts.

[redacted]

4 If I may therefore ſecurely take it for graunted that a Biſhop with many ſubrulers (and ſuch are the particular Pariſh Miniſters) may govern a Dioceſe of as large extent at leaſt as ours are, as your words ſeem to graunt; I can imagine no poſſible difficulty concerning the poſſibility of conſerving diſcipline under a Dioceſan Government. For by Diſcipline I ſuppoſe we mean nothing but good lawes punctually executed, both of which are neceſſarily implyed in the nature of good Government. Either therefore you muſt deny that ſuch good Lawes, and ſuch punctuall execution, may be had under ſuch a Dioceſane Government, and then you will deſtroy the poſſibility of ſuch Government contrary to your own conceſsion; or elſe you muſt ſay that ſuch Government may be maintained without good Lawes or punctuall execution, which is alike abſurd to affirm concerning a good Government, concerning which alone we are at preſent diſputing. But becauſe I find by ſome of your other works that you do indeed deny a poſſibility of diſcipline under a Dioceſane Government, may ſometimes deny the lawfullneſs of communicating with a Dioceſane Church as Dioceſane; perhaps this confeſsion may have ſlipped from you unawares, ſo that it may not be ſafe to take you at your word. If this later be your caſe, (as methinks it muſt if there be any reall controverſy betwixt us) all that at preſent I am willing to undertake (that I may not enlarge beyond neceſſity) is the examination of your Anſwers to the reaſons produced in my former Letter. My firſt reaſon therefore for proving the poſſibility of Diſcipline under a Monarchicall Dioceſane in the ſenſe there and here already explained (which I could gladly wiſh you would keep in mind for preventing miſunderſtandings on your part and unneceſſary repetitions on mine) was, that your reaſons (not drawn from Teſtimony, or any poſitive and peculiar preſcriptions which might make the caſe ſingular; but from reaſon, and that not particularly drawn from the nature of Government as Eccleſiaſticall, but generall from the Principles of Government as ſuch) will proceed as ſtrongly againſt the poſſibility of ſecular Diſcipline under a ſecular, as of Eccleſiaſticall under an Eccleſiaſticall Monarch. Seing therefore that in a ſecular Monarchy as abſolute as the Eccleſiaſticall we ſpeak of, and as remote from a poſſibility of a cognizance of all particulars, and of a much larger extent than any Dioceſe, ſecular Diſcipline may notwithſtanding be preſerved; it muſt needs follow that no reaſons of this kind can prove it impoſſible under ſuch an Eccleſiaſticall Monarchy as is the ſubject of our preſent Diſcourſe. Nay as it hence appears not only poſſible upon particular accounts but ſimply, as having been actually performed under ſecular Monarchyes, ſo it muſt, upon theſe Principles, be preſumed actually performable in Eccleſiaſticalls; which will not onely evince the falſhood of your reaſons, but alſo the truth of the contrary Aſſertion. In this argument you ſeem to graunt (what is alſo proved in my Letter from the inſtance of Davids Kingdome of Iſrael, and good government of it, which I thought leaſt liable to exception) that ſecular Diſcipline is preſervable under ſecular Monarchy. That alſo what agrees to Eccleſiaſticall Government, not by virtue of any peculiar ingredients as Eccleſiaſticall, but by virtue of the common Principles of Government in generall, muſt alſo agree to all other Governments, as alſo on the contrary, that what agrees to other formes of Government upon the like generall accounts, muſt likewiſe agree to that which is Eccleſiaſticall, is ſo clear that as I do not perceive that what you ſay tends to the denyall of it, ſo I do not think it worth my time to prove it. The onely thing therefore remaining, which you ſeem to Queſtion in your Anſwer is, that the reaſons produced by you proceed on Principles peculiar to Eccleſiaſticall Government as ſuch. For your principall exception is to ſhew a diſparity, why though ſecular Diſcipline be indeed maintainable under a ſecular Monarchy, yet Eccleſiaſticall muſt not therefore be preſumed to be ſo under an Eccleſiaſticall, for which you refer me to my Ld Ba-

=con,

Bacon and your own Letter to *Ludovicus Molinæus* beſides what you add to that purpoſe in your preſent Letter, for
the very ſuppoſall of a diſparity does neceſſarily proceed on peculiar conſiderations, and is directly repugnant to the notion of
generall and common Principles. Now to let you underſtand that your reaſons do indeed proceed on Principles common to all
Government of the ſame number of perſons and extent of place as that of the largeſt of our Dioceſes, ſecular as well as sa-
cred; I need onely to invert thoſe Topicks of duty from the impoſſibility of whoſe diſcharge you inferr an impoſſibility of
Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, that you may ſee that none of them are to be exempted from the care of the ſecular Magiſtrate.
I beleeve you will not Queſtion but that every ſecular Magiſtrate is as reſponſible for his Care as the Eccleſiaſticall, and
5. that this Care is not ſo generall but that all particular miſdemeanors of particular perſons that are capable of an extern
cognizance, both as to their prevention and puniſhment, are comprehended under it. If ſo then certainly 1. as many perſons
will belong to the Care of the Civill as the Eccleſiaſticall Government, nay generally more, ſeeing that in the ſame Province
L. III. cont. it is true what Optatus Milevitanus tells us, that the Church is contained in the Commonwealth, not the Commonwealth
Parmen. in the Church, there being no members of the Church not liable to the Civill Government, but many in the Commonwealth
not being ſubject to the Church; as Pagans, Jews, Mahometanes and other Infidells. And 2ly at leaſt as many Crimes
[illegible] will come under Secular as Eccleſiaſticall cognizance, nay generally more, both as to the Individualls and Kinds of Crimes. As
to the *Individuals*, becauſe thoſe who are not obnoxious to the power of the Church, as Infidells, are to be preſumed generally
more careleſs of themſelves, and leſs capable of good impreſſions, as wanting thoſe moſt powerfull motives for reclaiming men from
a vitious courſe of life which are taught by the Doctrines of Chriſtianity. And as to the *Kinds* of Crimes; for as for the Laws
of Nature, the puniſhment of offences againſt that will as properly belong to the Magiſtrate as the Biſhop, and that not onely as
to the *Second Table* which does profeſſedly concern Crimes againſt ſecular Converſation, but alſo the *firſt* as far as it *relates*
to Natural Religion, the intereſts of the State being ſo nearly involved in that of Religion, eſpecially as far as it is Naturall, as
that all obligation of Conſcience is derived from thence, which is incomparably a better preſervative of the Princes rights
than that of external force. As for the poſitive Lawes of the State they are far more numerous than thoſe of Chriſtianity, accord-
ing to thoſe who make the Scripture an adequate Rule of all ſuch poſitives. For how extremely do theſe fall ſhort of thoſe volumes
of Codes and Pandects, Charters and Statutes, Civil and Municipal, of all the diſtinct ſubordinate Societyes to which every parti-
cular perſon is related, by multiplication whereof his dutyes, and poſſible offences, muſt be proportionably multiplyed; that
I may not now mention all the extemporary proviſional commands which are acknowledged obligatory (even to the ſinfulneſs
of ſuch diſobedience) by virtue of the generall ſubjection due to ordinary and extraordinary Superiors? But yet the poſitive
impoſitions of the Scriptures themſelves, which may be conceived primarily and eternally obligatory to us, are extreme-
ly ſhort of the voluminouſneſs of the Canonical writers themſelves. For deduct all thoſe paſſages that are purely hiſto-
ricall (for as for the obligation of Scripture precedent which is ſo much inſiſted on by ſome, themſelves dare not maintain it
in the utmoſt latitude, nor have they yet eſtabliſhed ſuch Notes whereby we might diſcern when we are concerned in them
and when we are not; and when we are, when onely its imitation is commendable, and when its omiſſion is directly ſinfull;
what is obligatory in all circumſtances, and what onely in ſome particular ones; what are all the circumſtances requiſite
for ſuch obligation, and how we may know when they concur particularly in our preſent caſe; when their obligation
ariſes from the Authority and when onely from the prudence of their Author, when they oblige as Lawes and when onely as
Rules; when upon account of the Authority of the perſon, and when onely of the reaſon of the thing; for when their obligation
is derived from the reaſon of the thing (as I might have proved it generally to be either as to the eſtabliſhment of the Rule
or, at leaſt as to its application to the particular Caſe to be decided by it) then it cannot be proved without recourſe to
other Lawes of Nature or Prudence or poſitive Conſtitutions, ſo that ſuch precedents will not encreaſe the number of Scripture
obligations) deduct alſo all promiſes and threats, all exhortations and dehortations, which are not themſelves *precepts*, but
ſuppoſe their proof by other *mediums*. And, even of that ſmall part of the Scripture, which after theſe deductions will ſtill re-
main properly preceptive, which (for the Old Teſtament) does according to the computation of the *Rabbins*, who are moſt
minutely criticall in ſuch punctilio's, amount to no more than 643, including both *Affirmatives* and *Negatives*; if we ſtill further
conſider how many of them are onely poſitive enforcements of Naturall Lawes, and ſo reducible to the forementioned conſide-
ration; how many of them that are poſitive, concern the Jews not as a Church, but as a Commonwealth; how all of them
that concern them as a Church are now evacuated by that Evangelical Liberty which has abrogated the Moſaick Authority
from which they derived their ſanction; how, even of the N.T. Preſcriptions, many are onely proviſional and onely grounded
on temporary reaſons, and thoſe ſuch as are not ſuitable to our preſent times and places; how many are confeſſedly antiqua-
ted, and how hard it is to diſtinguiſh Apoſtolicall connivances from approbations, their approbations from Conſtitutions, their Con-
ſtitutions as of Ordinary Governours, and their Traditions as extraordinarily ſent and empowered by our Saviour for the eter-
nal and unalterable obligation of the Catholick Church; the poſitive Conſtitutions of the Scripture, which may oblige us antecedent-
6. ly to the Churches Impoſition (which the perſons I am ſpeaking of do not value) and that to ſin, will be extremely ſhort of
the number of Secular Lawes. And though we ſhould, to encreaſe the number, add the Eccleſiaſtical Lawes to thoſe of the Scri-
ptures, yet neither ſo would they exceed the Secular. For to make this compariſon with Juſtice, we ſhould 1. compare onely
ſuch Eccleſiaſticall Lawes as do not derive their force from any Civill Sanctions; for they that do muſt needs ſuppoſe thoſe
Civil Sanctions at leaſt as numerous as themſelves, and therefore cannot be preſumed to outnumber them. And this conſidera-
tion will ~~[illegible]~~ onely extend to ſuch inſtances wherein Eccleſiaſticall perſons exerciſe a power confeſſedly dependent
on the conceſſions of Princes, as in Marriages and Wills and Teſtaments, and the certain proviſion of the Eccleſiaſticall
maintenance &c. but alſo, as to thoſe Spiritual Crimes more immediately relating to their cognizance, as eſtabliſhed under
Secular penaltyes, which will *de Jure* include all affairs of that nature in a Chriſtian Commonwealth, where the Prince is
acknowledged to be *Cuſtos utriuſque Juris*, and *de facto* does include the Eccleſiaſticall Conſtitutions of our Kingdomes, where
the Clergy are, not onely by Law, but by promiſe in K. Henry the VIII. time (as far as that promiſe can oblige their
Succeſſors) obliged to make no Lawes without the Secular permiſſion. Seeing therefore that, with us at leaſt, there are no Eccle-
ſiaſtical Lawes but what are ſeconded by the Secular, but many Secular unſeconded by Eccleſiaſtical, it muſt needs follow that
Petr. de Marca de Concord. Sacerd. & Imper. L. III. c. 6. Secular Lawes, and conſequently Crimes, muſt be more numerous than ſuch as are Eccleſiaſtical. But 2ly abate we out of
the Jus Pontificium, which has ſwelled to the greateſt voluminouſneſs in this kind, not onely ſuch things as are undertaken
by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons by the favour of Princes, but ſuch as are uſurped againſt their expreſs conſent, and wherein the
Romiſh Clergy, who have ſo exceeded in this kind, cannot de Jure challenge any Legiſlative Power, and the number of ſuch La

will extremely decrease. And 3.ly all such Lawes as are grounded on Ecclesiasticall usurpations; such as
are all those which abridg the power of Ordinary Bishops, and assume all to the Omnipotency of the Ro-
mane See, which seems to have been the principall scandal that first alienated Spalato from them. I
need not instance particulars of this kind; whole Titles abound with them as those of reserved cases, of Exem-
ptions, of Appeals from without the limits of the Romane Patriarchate &c. And 4.ly all such Lawes as are ground-
ed on false Doctrines, as those against the use of the Cup in Laical Communion, against reading the Scri-
ptures, concerning Indulgences and the like practices grounded on the supposal of Purgatory &c. And 5.ly all
such as are misbecoming the candor and equity of a Christian Church; such as are all those relating to the
Inquisition, in relation to the delation and punishment of the persons, and suppressing the Books of Hereticks
&c. the very things the Catholicks under the first persecutions complained of as unequal in the Pagans, and pre-
judiciall to all just Information; And 6.ly all even indifferent Constitutions which though Lawfull to be obey-
ed, are yet either *imprudent* as to the things, or *burthensome* as to their number, and therefore unnecessa-
ry to be imposed; for if St Augustine complained that even in his time the Constitutions of this kind ex-
ceeded the Freedome of the Law, we may do it much more justly now when they are incomparably more
7. numerous. These things, I say, and the like being retrenched, and no more being left than what are abso-
lutely necessary for the government of a Church reformed from all encroachments and abuses, would re-
duce the Ecclesiastical Laws into a narrow compass, as we find them in the severall Codices Ecclesiae Univer-
salis Romanae and Africanae, which though extremely short of the voluminousness of the present Canon-
Lawe, yet were thought sufficient for severall Centuryes before the ambitions and factiousness of private
Persons had dissolved the Unity of the Catholick Church. And as the Crimes are thus apparently more nu-
merous that come under the cognizance of the Civill than Ecclesiastical Governours; so also 3.ly the
necessityes to be provided for by the Magistrate are so too. Thus *Marys* better part, which was Religion,
is represented by our Saviour himself as a solicitousness only *for one thing necessary*, whereas *Martha*
was troubled about *many things*. For Religion teaches us an indifferency as to the desires, and an uncon-
cernedness in the events, and a constant acquiescency in God for our temporal provisions whose Efficacious
procurement and security is the design of temporal Laws. It preserves us from many or great designs, and
from all ambitions or competitions, from all resentment and impatience of injuryes; and for such persons
very few Laws will prove sufficient; for the Apostle tells us that the Law is not for the righteous. And as the
necessityes are thus certainly *fewer* in persons of an eminent perfection in Religion, so the means of bringing
them to that perfection are fewer and easier than those of a secular conversation; it being much easyer to
curb our own desires which is the design of *Religion*, than to curb the world and the course of Providence
which are many times necessary for their gratification, which is the design of the world. Besides that the
good things of Religion are not, like those of the world, the less to particulars for being communicated
to many, which is the great occasion of those many Controversyes concerning *Meum & Tuum*, which
make the cares of men so intricate, and their Lawes so very voluminous. And, though the things
themselves were more obnoxious to injury than they are, yet the persons are not so inclinable to offer
it, Religion much more effectually uniting and endearing its Professors than the most excellent humane
Lawes. To which may be added that, in case of incorrigibleness the Church is much more easily cleared of
the prejudice of a corrupt member than the Commonwealth, that being sufficiently cleared of his scan-
8. dal by disowning him, and excluding him from Communion, and the blessings consequent thereunto, but
this never being secure from suffering by him while he lives, which is much the more difficult case. It
had been easy for me to have added many more difficultyes in the secular government of a multitude
which have not place in the Ecclesiasticall, and that without the partiality of insisting only on the conve-
niences of one part and only on the inconveniences of the other, which I confess very fallacious, and unfit
for a faithfull representation of the cause, but in such instances as might be competent for an absolute
and equall sentence concerning the whole. Nay I might have insisted on your own Topicks, and shewn you
[illegible] the many requisites for making one *good Subject*, and wherein more positive Lawes are concerned
than in making a *good Christian*. How many Lawes of the Commonwealth concern Marriages that there
may be no injury to the friends, or the persons concerned, or the Children. When the children are begotten,
there are further Lawes for preserving them in the womb; and, when they are born, for securing them from
murther, or exposing, or unwholesome nourishment, or vitious Education. The Oeconomical charge of
Education do require more care and constant attendance of the Nurse than is ever pretended or required
from any Minister in the conversion of Souls. Many are the casualtyes of their childish follyes, many the
distempers of their irregular actions, many the dangers they can neither avoid nor complain of to such as
might prevent or remedy them. And yet for all these their Nurses are made responsible if they happen
by their negligence. Nay so great is this care for some years as to take up the whole time of the Nurse,
which the conversion of no sinner does of a Minister. Yet certainly you would not think your own
Argument good if I should apply it here. If the nursing of one Child take up the whole time of one per-
son, then what one person can be able to govern as many Children as are in ordinary Familyes? and, if
this Government of many Children appear thus impossible to one person, then much more that of a Family
of a Corporation, of a City, of a Province &c. And if, to avoyd this, you reply that although every Master of
a Family be not able personally to discharge the duty of governing many Children, yet he can by his Autho-
rity oblige the Nurses and Tutors to do their duty, and so at least mediately govern them; as the King,
though he cannot possibly be personally present in all places of his Dominions, where it is necessary that
Justice be administred, can yet command such as may, and punish them upon non-performance of their
duty, which subordination and Delegation may be so contrived as that they who come under his more imme-
diate personal inspection may be proportionable enough to the abilityes of one man; I pray consider whether
the case be not exactly the same here? If one Minister be able to govern 200 which is the lowest number
mentioned by you as in a Parish, then why may not a Bishop govern 400 Ministers, especially considering that
the Government of a Bishop over his Clergy is *only in generall to see that they do their duty*, and does not

require

require so particular an inspection into their performances as that of a Minister over his Parishioners; for it is much
easier for a Bishop to inform himself whether a Minister perform the duty of his Cure, whether of preaching or
praying or visiting, and whether he be of good repute or at least not scandalous with his Parishioners then for
a Minister, not onely to inform himself of these Queryes concerning each of his flock, whether they discharge their calling
justly and conscientiously, and what means may be used for their recovery in case of their default, who are not so easily
to be cast out of the Ministers care by Excommunication as scandalous Ministers are by deprivation; besides
his Catechizings of the Ignorant, and his Admonitions of the Knowing, and his resolutions of perplexed Consciences,
and his awaiting fit opportunities and circumstances for rendring his persuasions more prevalent, which are the most
expensive of time, and are not so absolutely necessary to be Critically observed in Government, where the publick Service
may be promoted by other Instruments if persuasions prove unsuccessfull, as in private discourses where
the personal advantage of the party concerned is principally minded. But then if you would be pleased to consider
9. further how few Parishes are so little peopled, and how few Dioceses consist of so many Ministers that have proper
and distinct cures; how that usually the most eminent men for Parts and Actions are, or should be, chosen Bps
many of them even upon personall regards able to perform the work of many ordinary Ministers, and may well be
presumed extraordinary considering the great advantage for choyce from the disproportion of their number; and how untrue
it is that the dispensation of discipline, even as it is practiced, is managed by the Bp. alone, who has his inferior
Officers for preparing things for his cognizance besides the ~~assistance~~ direction of learned Lawyers for his assistance in point
of Counsell (which is the main reason that may be pretended for proving the Government of many better than that
which is Monarchical) and for Counsel in this kind the Clergy themselves are not qualifyed as Clergymen but as
Lawyers; but much more according to my Letter, where I have professed my self desirous that the Bps would more
communicate the great affairs of Government with their Clergy, which I confess more agreeable to the primitive forms;
you would find discipline much more practicable under a Diocesane than a Secular Monarchy. And I wish you would
consider whether your Argument will not proceed with the same force (I do not say onely against those numerous Parishes of
30000 or 50000 persons, which is a greater number than I believe are in some of our Irish Dioceses (especially if onely Protestants
be accounted) and yet you do not pretend a duty of separating from the Communion of such Parishes as you do
from our Communion as Diocesane, though certainly a Bp with a multitude of Clergy so more subject to him than ordinary
Curates are to their principal Parsons, is much more able for the Government of a Diocese than an ordinary Minister,
wanting those advantages, is for the Government of such a Parish; but) against Provincial and National Classes; for it
is as impossible for every particular Elder of even a Provincial Class, which are often of larger extent than our Dioceses,
to inform himself particularly of every person and cause to be brought before him, so as to be able to judg distinctly of them
meerly as for a Diocesane Bishop; and I can perceive nothing that may with any plausibility be pretended there that may
10. not with as much force be urged here. If it be pretended that there is a multitude who have their distinct Governments in
their respective precincts mutually independent on each other, some of whom, by advantage of their neighbourhood may have
opportunity of informing themselves particularly of every cause belonging to their Jurisdiction; the same may be pretended
here, the same number of Clergy being employed under a Classical as under a Diocesane Government. But it
is withall clear that a much greater number of them will even in such Classes prove incapable of that advantage of personal
information, who yet would not be denyed their decisive vote on the testimony of others, and in all Polyarchical
Governments the suffrages of the major part is as decretory as that of a single person in that which is Monarchical, so
that still the Government is managed without particular information. If this multitude be urged for the security of their Counsell
that is had also here, especially in the Hypothesis defended by me, where Presbyters are joyned in Government with the Bps
with this advantage in our case that the same security of Counsel is here joyned with expeditness in its decision and execution
and security from equall partyes, the want of which do oftentimes more prejudice Polyarchical Societyes than the security of
their Counsels do avayl them. And it is plainly as impossible, if not more, for any Class, which can onely be convened occasionally,
11. to execute its own Decrees without delegation as for the Bishop. Your Answers for shewing the disparity betwixt
Civil and Ecclesiastical Government, as many of them as are true (for all are not) do onely prove a disparity on other accounts
(which is not denyed) but not such a one as may hinder the governableness of the same multitude by an Ecclesiastical
Head that in foro exteriori, which is the onely Question I am concerned in at present; which is acknowledged governable by
a Secular Magistrate, and that neither in poynt of reason, nor of any positive revelation of God which might make such a
multitude less governable by reason of some libertyes restrained in the Church but allowed in the Commonwealth. Your 1. is
" that the standing of the Magistrates office is by the Law of Nature, which therefore alloweth variety and mutations of inferior
" Orders, as there is cause. But the standing of the Clergy is by supernatural Institution; our Book of Ordination telling
" us that there are 3 Orders &c. Whence you conclude that man may not alter them, or make more of the same
" kind. The force of this Answer, as far as I can apprehend it, seems to consist in these 2 things: 1. that the Government
of ~~the~~ a Diocese cannot be administred without more than these Orders, for those 3 you seem to allow from the Book of Ordination;
and 2ly that it is not in the power of the Church to institute new Orders besides the 3 already established, though
it be in the power of the State to innovate as they please by reason of the disparity by you mentioned. The former is so manifestly
false as that if ever discipline were observed ever since the Government of the Church was Diocesane (which is hard to
deny since it has been so as far as any Ecclesiastical History can inform us) it was under these three Orders; nay the Presbyterians
pretend their Classical Discipline to be maintainable by one Order alone, for Deaconship they make onely a kind of
Civil Office for disposing of the [illegible] of the Church, so sufficient they account the subordination of particular persons singly
considered to the same as considered collectively in an Assembly, without any distinction of Orders, for Government. And why the
President of these Presbyteryes, though not of a distinct Order (as most of the Schoolmen, and many of the Episcopal Authors
maintein, especially those of the Old Prelatists, as your self have elsewhere observed) may not upon the same terms maintein
Discipline, for my part I cannot understand. The ground, I believe, of your mistake is, that in the administration of our Prelatick
Episcopacy you have observed some other Offices of prudential Ecclesiastical constitution which some are intrusted with jurisdiction,
as Deans, Archdeacons, Vicars Generals, Lay-Chancellors &c. which you mistake for Orders, because they have different
dutyes in the subordination of the Polity of the Church. But 1. I do not doubt but that you know, better then I can tell you, that
even Diocesane Government, as Diocesane, may, and has been actually administred without them in the Primitive times, some
then being of Civil constitution for administring the power of the Prince in the exterior government of the Church as he is
ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκτὸς, that I may use the language of Constantine the Great, and all of them of prudentiall right, onely convenient
not

not simply necessary even in the opinion of them that use them. And 2ly you cannot pretend that the
addition of New Officers, though possibly unlawfull upon other accounts, yet, should make the discipline of a scrupulous
pretended less, but rather more, maintainable; for certainly in such a case the multitude of officers is an
advantage; ~~[illegible]~~ and let me entreat you to remember that this is the real Question, not whether Diocesane
Government be constituted by God, but whether Discipline be maintainable under it? But 3ly suppose it as
inconvenient as you please even for the maintenance of Discipline (which I am not willing at present to
digress to) nay even unlawfull to be introduced by Governours; yet how can it be proved that it is lawfull for
Subjects to undertake their ~~separation~~ reformation without and against the consent of Governours, and how they can be excused
even in such a case for refusing passive obedience, for separating from them, and joyning with partyes formed in
opposition to them; which seems to be your case in separating from our Communion as Diocesane, and communicating
with such who have cast of their obedience, and united themselves in a communion opposite to their original
Superiours? And 4ly you may be pleased to consider that, as we do not call all these prudential offices Orders, so
there is no reason why we should do so in the Ecclesiastical notion of the word. For not now to make use of that
distinction betwixt Order and Jurisdiction which is generally followed by the ancient and modern Popish Schoolmen
that Order is circa corpus Christi mysticum and Jurisdiction circa corpus Christi verum, according whereunto
these offices will differ in Jurisdiction not in Order; it is plain that every rank of men in Ecclesiastical Assemblyes
are not by the ~~[illegible]~~ Presbyterians themselves accounted distinct Orders, as Scribes, Moderators, Lay-Elders &c.
but onely such as by a distinct solemn consecration have a distinct power given them for the dispensation of Divine
graces, not to be deposed or repeated as to its original right, though it may be restrained as to its actual execution;
in which sense it is plain that these offices neither are, nor suppose, a distinction of Orders. But then for the 2d
12. Proposition supposed in your Answer, that the Church has not power of constituting new Orders, though I doubt
not, you understand what conclusion may be inferred from the doctrine of that ingenious person who has professedly
1 disproved all Divine unalterable right of any certain form of Church-Government, because I confess my self not to be
of his mind; yet, if you mean by Orders all deputation even of Ecclesiastical persons to particular offices exclusive
of their generall power; then I think you have no way disproved prudential innovations in this kind, nay I doubt
not but that it were easy to instance in all other sects as well as the Presbyterians, that have any face of Government,
Unscriptural offices. The Scripture has not used the word, and therefore cannot be pretended to have condemned
it. Nor has the Church ever understood it in this sense, when she has owned but 3 or 2 H. Orders. But if by Orders
you mean the limitted sense of Church of that word, then I confess they are not multipliable by the Church,
but conceive I have shewn the no-necessity of it in our Catholick Diocesane Government. Your 2d disparity,
13. "that Kingly power requireth not ad dispositionem materiæ, such personal ability as the Pastoral Office
"doth. That a child may be a King, and that it may serve turn if he be but the Head of power, and give
"others commission to do all the rest of the governing work. But it is not so with a Judg, a Physician, an
"Orator, or a BP. who is not subjectum capax of the essence of the office without personal aptitude. This
seems to me a plain mistake even in the judgment of those Nations which are governed by an hereditary Monarchy,
who do not suffer their Princes whilest Children, to intermeddle, I do not say in the Executive (which belongs not to
them as absolute Princes) but in the Decretory parts of their Government (which is their Royalty) but oblige them
to perform all by Regents and Protectors, till themselves come to the years of personal aptitude; in the mean time reserving
them onely the honour without the power of a King. And this sense of the necessity of personal abilityes, as
it appears from the Scripture which accounts those Nations miserable that are under such Princes, and the
nature of the Office itself which is as chargeable with the miscarriages of their subjects as Ecclesiasticks, as is excellently
discoursed by Socrates in Xenophon; so the avoyding such defects in regard of personal incapacity seems to be
the reason of all those Nations who have made their Government Elective, and even of those which are hereditary,
who have excluded persons notoriously incapable, or at least so judged by them; as fools in all places, and Women
in France, and even such as are judged so in regard of natural endowments till they come to be so personally. That
Children therefore are any where permitted the honour of Kings is not because that they think them sufficiently qualified,
or that they think it convenient to stand to the hazardous contingency of their future qualifications, but that
it is accounted a less evill so to be assured of their person than to expose themselves to the danger of civil wars and
seditions on that account, if it were managed by popular Election. And accordingly those Nations themselves onely make
those Offices hereditary which being supreme, are supposed, in the interregna, not to leave a power sufficiently preservative
of the publick peace. Otherwise they that have, are even among them elective, as all inferiour Magistrates.
And upon these accounts of avoyding greater inconveniences it is not repugnant to the Ecclesiastical Magistracy
as such, to be hereditary, as appears from the High-Priesthood among the Jewes, which yet you will not conclude not
to have required personal abilityes. But still your comparison of a Prince wanting personal abilityes with a Bishop
having them, are not, methinks to the purpose for shewing [illegible] a greater multitude to be governable by such a Prince than
such a BP. Nay, certainly, in such a case the advantage will ly on the BPs side, personal abilityes being much more
sufficient for the discharge of such a trust than the want of them. Nor will it be sufficient for you to reply that the defect
of personal abilityes in a Prince is supplyed by the assistance of his substitute Governours, whose united aids are more considerable
than the personal abilityes of any single Bishop. For it will be requisite for making the comparison even that
the BP. as well as the Prince be considered with the like assistances of Substitutes, and then the advantage will still
remain, as formerly, on the BPs side. For certainly the Bishop having personal abilityes to judg of the sufficiency of
his Substitutes, and to call them to an account in case of their defaults, must needs be able to perform more work
than such a Prince who must not be supposed able to assure himself of the sufficiency or honesty of his inferiour Officers.
If it be pretended that Princes have power to nominate such substitutes, but that BPs have not, and therefore that the
comparison is rightly formed betwixt Princes with their Substitutes and BPs singly considered; I pray remember 1. the
that the Question is not whether BPs may lawfully use Substitutes, but what were possible to be performed by them
in the nature of the thing; for of this kind were your arguments, from the many requisites for dealing with a single Soul,
much more with so many Souls as are included in a Parish, and more yet for as many Parishes as are comprehended in
a Diocese. These, I say, if they prove any thing, prove the impossibility of Discipline in a Diocesane Government, not
onely its unlawfullness; and the proving its possibility not barely lawfullness, was my design in this argument drawn from
the good government of secular Monarchyes. Nay this is clearly granted me in this Answer; for if a Prince without personal
abilityes may yet govern a Kingdome by his Substitutes, much more may a Bishop with the like Substitutes and
personal abilityes besides. And 2ly it is plainly the case in practice among us, for BPs to govern their Dioceses, not ~~[illegible]~~ alone but
by the assistance of other officers besides the distinct subordinate Parochians. And to this Government, as thus established, [illegible]
before you objected the impossibility of Discipline; and 3ly the lawfullness of such Substitution was, you know, the thing

principally

14. principally debated, and therefore you ought not ſo confidently to have urged your ſenſe of it as a diſparity. Your 3d and 4th
diſparityes are onely againſt Bps ſubſtituting Laymen, which becauſe I did not undertake to defend, I ſhall not look on my ſelf
" as further concerned in. Your 5th is, That either it is the Bps work that is delegated by him, or ſome other. If properly his own,
" then either he maketh more Bps (and that, you ſay, is all you plead for) or elſe a Preſbyter or Layman may do a Bps proper work. And
" then what need of a Bp? This is an Exception ſo eaſily anſwered as that I eaſily perſwade my ſelf that ſuch a Wit as yours is, would
have eaſily defended as againſt it ~~[illegible]~~ if it had been objected by another Adverſary. And, if I might be ſo bold I would humbly beg
you, not to exerciſe your Wit in bringing needleſs and weak arguments ex abundanti, but onely to inſiſt on ſuch as are in your own
Judgment convincing. For certainly if you had but curſorily reflected on this Argument, you would readily have diſcerned that
this is ſo far from being a difficulty as that indeed, if it prove any thing, it will proceed with as much force againſt the poſſibility of
ſecular Diſcipline under a Civil government of the ſame extent with a Dioceſe. For may it not as well be urged againſt the power of
Delegation in a Prince, that either it muſt be his own work that is delegated by him, or ſome other? If that which is properly his own
then he muſt muſt either make many Princes, (which were directly deſtructive to his Monarchical Government) or elſe he who
[illegible] is no Prince may do a Princes work, and then what need of a Prince, Beſides that your pretended contradiction will proceed
with as much force here as in the Church. Conſider, I pray, what you would anſwer in behalf of a Secular Monarch, and
ſee whether it will not be equally appliable to that which is Eccleſiaſtical. I believe your ſelf would deny that every inferior
Officer who is delegated to do the Princes is not thereby made a Prince, ſeeing that though he do exert the ſame
power, yet he does not do it adequately (ſome Acts of Grace being ſtill reſerved to the Princes perſon incommunicably) or if
adequately, yet, at leaſt, not independently, all other Officers being ſubject to the ſupreme; for theſe 2 are the formal conſtitutives
of a Princes power as ſuch, ſo that they who want them, how many ſoever of his Commands are executed, or how much ſoever of
his power is adminiſtred, by them, will not therefore prove formal Princes. Beſides that upon theſe Principles it may be affirmed,
that, though the Prince may indeed imploy others in all the Services of the Commonwealth, yet it does not thence neceſſarily
follow that he delegates that which is properly his own work. For to do all things himſelf is ſo far from being his proper, as that
it is none of his work as a Prince; but onely to take care that the Supreme Officers intruſted under him do their duty, and to puniſh
them in caſe of default, ſo that an αὐθεντία or irreſponſible power is that which is proper to them, and which, if it be communicated
to others muſt make them alſo Princes; and this care of obliging others to the performance of their dutyes is ſo inſeparable a
Royalty of the Supreme Power as that thoſe Princes who have intruſted others with it have been judged by all prudent perſons
Princes onely in name, not in effect, as Chilperick of France, Sardanapalus &c. This proper work therefore of the Prince
being reſerved to himſelf incommunicably, it will plainly appear that this deputation will not ſuperſede the neceſſity of the
Supreme Monarch; and that there will be no contradiction in the caſe, the inferior Officers ſtill remaining Subjects, not Princes,
notwithſtanding whatſoever deputation that does not make them abſolute and unaccountable, and unobnoxious to the care and cognizance
of the Supreme. The application to our preſent caſe is eaſily made. For when I mentioned the delegation of the Biſhops
power to particular Parochians, I onely meant ſuch a ſubordinate power for governing their reſpective Pariſhes as Viceroys and Lieutenants
have under Secular Monarchs for the Government of particular Provinces; but this ſubordinate power is ſo far from being
this proper work of a Bp as ſuch, as that it would make him no Bp. to ſuppoſe it in him at all. That therefore which is proper
to a Bp as ſuch (that is, the power of compelling the Parochians to the performance of their dutyes) is not communicated to any
Parochian, and when it has been communicated to any ſimple Preſbyters, it has been counted as great an effeminacy and betraying
of their power as the like caſe in Seculars was reputed in the Secular Princes now mentioned; for this was the occaſion of the
abolition of the Chorepiſcopi about the 9th Century that the Bps made uſe of them as pretences for their own Sloth in the performance
of their own dutyes. If therefore any thing of this kind have crept in in later Ages, I will not defend it, but onely ſhall deſire you to remember
that it is not pertinent to your deſign of making all Preſbyters as ſuch, without any ſuch particular deputation, equall with
them; and that your Arguments, if they prove any thing, are more directly levelled againſt Dioceſane Epiſcopacy as ſuch without any
ſuch abuſive deputations. But this at preſent, may ſuffice to ſhew that that power which is by the Bps permitted to Pariſh-Miniſters
15. does not make them Bps nor make them who are ſo properly, unneceſſary; which methinks your ſelf might eaſily have underſtood
if you had but reflected on what your ſelf know concerning its practice among us, without ſuch dilemmatical uncertaintyes which would
make one think you a ſtranger to it. The other member of your dilemma you do not proſecute, whether becauſe you forgot it, or that you
thought it of it ſelf ſufficiently evident, I know not. I ſuppoſe your Argument would have been, that if the power delegated by the
Biſhop to the inferior Clergy was none of his own, then he could not delegate it, ſeeing that none can juſtly diſpoſe of that which is not
his own. To this the Anſwer is eaſy from the parallell power of Princes already inſiſted on, that this power is the Biſhops the ſame way
as that of inferior Magiſtrates is the Supreme Princes, not to be executed by his own perſon, but by others obnoxious to his Action and
16. Cenſures, which is ſufficient to ſhew that the diſpoſall of it is his, though not the execution. Your 6th Anſwer, which you call your chief
one, is that, which I before obſerved to be a conceſſion of all that I pretended to prove, that a Biſhop with inferior Church-Rulers can
" govern a ſcope as large as a Dioceſe. But when in application of it to our purpoſe, you aſk "whether it follows, that our Church-Monarch
" can overſee them all himſelf without any ſub-overſeers, or rule them (by Gods word on the Conſcience) without any ſubrulers
I wonder that you ſhould ſeem ſo to forget our practice of ruling our Pariſhes as Subrulers under the Bp. It may be your meaning
was that our Pariſh Miniſters were not allowed a part in the ſupreme Government of their Churches, as if that were ſufficient to deny
them the name of proper Churchrulers. But you might have remembred 1. that ~~according to~~ my deſire was, that the Bps as in St Cyprian's
time, ſo now would more communicate their affairs of any conſiderable importance with their Preſbytery; and 2ly that even according to
the Rubricks of our Church the Pariſh-Miniſter or Curate is allowed the power, not onely of diſſwading (which yet is all that is allowed
the Church by ſeverall of our non-conforming Brethren) but alſo of hindring notorious ill livers and uncharitable perſons from the Communion,
onely with a proviſion that they ſignify ſuch their proceedings to the Ordinary within 14 days at the fartheſt, which was no more
than neceſſary for keeping them to the notion of ſub not principall-Rulers. This quick and eaſy diſpatch in caſe of the Miniſters concurrence
would make one wonder at your complaints concerning the dilatory proceedings of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts in this affair, if the Clergy could
be perſwaded to be unanimous and rigorous in the performance of their duty; and 3ly as it is plain that there are many Subrulers under
Princes who are not of their privy Councill, ſo you cannot therefore conclude the Pariſh-Miniſters not to be Subrulers under the Bp. even
now, becauſe all great affairs are not originally tranſacted by their counſell; nay 4ly your ſelf confeſs Legiſlation it ſelf to be communicated
to the inferior Clergy in the lower Houſe in Convocations, when they make Canons which are Church-Laws; and this, which is one of the higheſt
17. acts of Government being communicated to them, can you yet complain of their excluſion from Government? When I deſcribed the Eccleſiaſtical
Monarchy, I ſpoke of, to be ſuch as does appropriate the Decretory power of Government to it communicating onely the Executive
to others; you bid me Hold to that. What your meaning is thereby I do not know; for neither do you ſeem to perſwade me to
de facto hold to it as Truth, ſeeing you afterwards ſeem to diſlike it: nor can I think that you would have me to hold to an Errour, that
you might have advantage of diſputing againſt me. What you except againſt a meer Executioner's being no Governour might
eaſily have been prevented if you had conſidered that the word [meer] was none of mine; and that the Executive power
was by me oppoſed to that which is Decretory, that is, which is abſolute and unaccountable to any Superior on Earth, at leaſt within
ſuch limits, which as it may include much more power than that which your ſelf call more than Executive, that of Reproving, Exhorting,
Convincing &c. ſo that Decretory in this ſenſe can agree to a Subject I believe your ſelf will hardly affirm. And indeed
if

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if you had been pleased to follow the Analogy in the Civil Power where I do not find you so scrupulous as in
Ecclesiastical; you would more clearly have understood my meaning, and its unconcernedness in your Exceptions.
v 8 F r 1v 2F For in Civils, at least, the Directory power from whence all Canons and Rules of proceeding are Originally borrowed,
and to which all Appeals, in case of difficulty in their sense or partiality of inferior Judges, are finally referred,
will I believe be owned by your self as proper to the Supreme Magistrate. And how you will call that power
of the Subject as such, that is, as depending thereon by a more proper name than that of Executive (though it may
withall include something Directory in affairs of inferior concernments, which though Directory in respect of their Inferiors,
is yet only Executive in relation to the sense and design of their Supreme to which they are even in such cases
confined) for my part I do not understand; and if I knew what were more, either indeed expressive of my meaning,
or likely to be understood so by you, though indeed less proper, I would rather have used it than have given you occasion
18. to leave my sense and only to dispute the impropriety of my expressions. But you pretend your Arguments to prove the
" Bp. uncapable even of the Judicial work (by which I suppose you mean the same that I called Directory) because
" Exploration is part of that, which you seem to imply to be neither fit to be intrusted to others, nor yet possible to
be managed by the Bp. in his own person in so large a circuit as a Diocese. This Argument also would have been
found false if applied to the Secular power. For by the same reason you may prove that a Prince cannot govern
a Diocese, because he cannot explore every particular crime committed within his Jurisdiction, which according to
you he must do in his own person if he be a Judg. Consider, I pray, whether what you would answer in defence
of the power of Princes may not be as plausibly in behalf of Bps.? Would you not say that there is a twofold Judicial
power: such as does determine Canons and General Rules of proceedings; and such as does apply them to particular facts;
and that the former is that only which is reserved as the Prerogative of the supreme power, the later only which is
that alone which alone includes Exploration particular and personal, is communicated to inferior Officers? And you
might have discerned that the former only was that which I called Directory, and which was by me appropriated to one
Supreme Ecclesiastical Monarch, which, you see, does not necessarily include Exploration. And even concerning that Exploration,
which is requisite for pronouncing Sentence in our ordinary Secular Tribunals, you might have answered
in behalf of Princes, that it is not necessary that it be so minute and exact as might be had from a personal
acquaintance with the person, and observation of his humour and behaviour in the course of his life; but for the Judges
information that is thought sufficient which is publick and Juridical, upon the Testimonyes of honest persons who have
known [illegible] the person and his fact; for upon these evidences our ordinary Judges do generally proceed in sentencing such
as they never saw or knew before; nor is it only usuall in practice, but in reason it is thought abundantly sufficient.
And, I pray, what may be the disparity that may make this just in our Secular, and unjust in our Ecclesiastical, proceedings?
Is it that the credit of the witnesses may as well be suspected as partial or mistaken even where no grounds
do appear sufficiently convictive of such a suspicion, as the persons themselves, or frequent experiences of their deceiving
such as have relyed on their Testimony? For are not these difficultyes as great in Secular causes, where yet they are not
thought considerable? For humane affairs are not capable of Demonstrations, but proceed generally on [illegible] only Moral Certainty,
oftentimes only on Probabilities, which are therefore, after the utmost humane diligence, acknowledged
fallible; yet is it thought prudent to rely even on such proofs, when the publick advantage by the decision of such causes
is more considerable than the prejudice that may redound to the person concerned by a particular mistake, when such
proof is the best that the matter is capable of, or that can be had, and that its failings are more rare and unusual.
And the same reasons are as cogent for the like proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts. Or is it that some crimes are
so secret as that they cannot be Juridically discovered with such evidence as may satisfy a prudent person without
personal and particular information? But you may remember that all crimes do not come under the cognisance
of publick discipline, but only such as are great and notorious, concerning which this cannot be pretended. And as Governours
have thought it just and prudent in some criminal causes to proceed on conjectures and presumptions, which
themselves confess hard in some instances, as judging it fitter that some few Innocents should suffer some prejudice
rather than that many [illegible] guilty should escape; so in others, where the probabilityes are more frequently fallible
they have rejected them, as conceiving it more just that some few nocents should escape than that many Innocents should
suffer. Besides that where this publick evidence does not appear the crime cannot be so scandalous, nor consequently can
19. the Church in such a case be so nearly concerned for its punishment. Indeed in some attempts [illegible]
[illegible], it has been found that persons have used much more liberty in private for raising
and propagating scandalous reports than when their Oath has been required for publick service, by which means they
have at once made the crime very scandalous and yet secured the Criminal from Justice. But then the blame of such Impunity
is not to be imputed to the negligence of such a Judg but the prevarication of such witnesses, and therefore will not be
pertinent to our purpose. And then for other less or less notorious crimes the private power of exhorting reproving &c.
which you call more than Executive, and is no more denyed a Minister in his own Parish under a Diocesane than any other
form of Government, may and must prove sufficient, because no other is either convenient or possible. Or is it that the penitence
of the Criminal which is requisite to his Absolution (which is equally an act of power as that of Censure) cannot be
so certainly known by this publick Juridical Evidence? This (besides that it may be as plausibly objected in Secular causes
where personal penitence, at least that which is judged so, is as much required to Absolution from secular penaltyes, and where
these Juridical evidences are perfectly as fallible) will not appear so difficult as it may seem, if it be considered what
kind of Penitence is requisite for this Ecclesiastical Absolution: 1. not a universal penitence for all sins, but only those which
he had before been censured for; 2ly those not secret but publick and notorious. For none but these can be scandalous, and
none but scandalous sins do fall under Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and 3ly not real penitence, even for these themselves, but
only so far as it may be signified to the satisfaction of a prudent person by exterior indications; and 4ly these exterior indications,
not private but publick, such as publick Confession of the sin, and asking forgiveness for it, and giving publick satisfaction
to the injured party and the Church, and the scandalized Enemyes, and [illegible] all circumstantiated with such pregnant
[illegible] evidences of sincerity, as may be thought sufficient probabilityes of it in the judgment of equall prudent persons; and 5ly
these publick indications such as may satisfy even strangers, who have been scandalized with his crime, though unacquainted
with his person. Now why a Bp. may not in this publick Juridical way of proceeding explore the penitence even of
particular Criminals without personal acquaintance, as well as the scandalized multitude, and as well as Secular Judges,
as you have produced none, so, for my part I see no cogent argument. And yet further 6ly considering that it is
not the personal sin but the publick scandal of it which brings it to a publick cognisance, though these signs should
fail of signifying his real personal penitence, yet if they satisfy the multitude, though erroneously, the cause of the scandal,
and therefore give a just reason of revoking such publick censures; for every cause that may be sufficient to dissuade a person
upon account of his own unfitness to abstain from Communion, will not be fit for depriving him of it Authoritatively. For there
are not all sorts of Crimes that put us out of the State of Grace, as they ought to be that deprive us of our right to Communion;
nor all that can deprive us of that right that have evidence enough to warrant a coercive involuntary punishment;
nor all that have that [illegible] evidence that are fit to be punished publickly, and I believe you will not question but
that

that Excommunication is a publick puniſhment. And thus, I believe, by this time you may underſtand, how that, though the
ſentence upon other mens words (which your ſelf confeſſes, may, perhaps ſometimes be done) yet there are as good prudential preſervatives
againſt that inconvenience which you thence infer, [that he muſt Excommunicate all that ſomebody elſe ſayes he muſt excommun
as there ^are againſt the like in Secular Tribunals, which do confeſſedly ſentence on other mens words, and yet do not therefore condemn all
20. " that ſomebody ſaith they muſt condemn. Your 7th diſparity is, that in the Kingdome there is not one ſubject of a 100 or many 100 who
" hath Law-ſuits with others once in a year, or 7 years, or his life; not one of ſome 100 (where you have lived) that ſideth the Magiſtrate
" work as a Criminal &c. But we are all of a ſinning corrupt diſpoſition, and that the Paſtor hath few of his flock that need not frequent
" perſonal applications in one degree or other; And even as to groſs ſins lived in, as Ignorance or Hereſy againſt the very eſſence of
" Chriſtianity, it is a good Pariſh where a conſiderable part of them are not guilty. To this it is eaſy to reply 1. that, though the caſe
were as you have repreſented it, that men were, not only where you have lived, but generally more guilty of Crimes obnoxious to
~~Secular than~~ Eccleſiaſtical ^than Secular cognizance; yet it would not follow that more were governable by a Secular than an Eccleſiaſtical Ma-
=giſtrate: 1. becauſe I have already ſhewn that there are, even in the ſame precincts, very many more perſons, if not Crimes, ſubject
to the Magiſtrate than the Church, as Infidels, Excommunicated perſons, and ſuch as are incorrigible by Eccleſiaſtical cenſures &c.
7 L m Beſides thoſe who are Religious, who are not the leſs ſubject to the Magiſtrate for their being members of the Church; and 2ly there are
many other ends of Government, beſides the puniſhment of Criminals, ſuch as are the prevention of the Crimes, the promotion of Unani-
=mity and induſtry, and publick generous deſigns, and the determination of diſputable Controverſies, wherein good and well-meaning
men may bonâ fide differ from each other, and the like; they muſt as well build as take away the rubbiſh. And therefore there is
a government where there are no Crimes, over the Angels and beatified Spirits. But eſpecially among men, where Crimes are at leaſt
acknowledged poſſible, the prevention of Crimes may be a work of no leſs vigilance than their reformation. And 3ly the free-
=dome of good men from theſe moſt ordinary ſcandalous Crimes (which I perceive you to inſtance in) though it may leſs frequently
exerciſe the Secular Power, yet it will moſt dangerouſly. For 1. virtue raiſes the Spirits of men and makes them active and induſtrious that
they may ſo ſatiſfy themſelves of their own uſefulneſs in their generations; whereas, on the contrary, vice does emaſculate mens Spirits and
make them ſlothfull, and ſluggiſh, and lovers of their own eaſe, and moſt unfit for commotions; and 2ly virtue makes men publick Spirited
whereas vice does debaſe them to private and little intereſts; ſo that the Adverſaries of theſe are only ſuch ordinarily as may oppoſe
them in their limited particular deſigns, and therefore only private perſons; but theſe having the ſame deſign with the publick Magiſtrate
that is the publick concernments, muſt moſt directly claſh with him in caſe of different perſuaſion; and 3ly the very authority of virtue
with the multitude, who cannot but reverence it in others, how little ſoever they practice it themſelves, cannot chuſe but very much advan-
=tage virtuous perſons for the forming of a Party than ſuch as are vitious, who, though they may be flattered and loved by ſuch as are gainers by
their vices, yet cannot in Prudence be thought ſo fit for management of their publick concernments even by vitious perſons themſelves, who are
upon principles of worldly Prudence, as they who are more honoured, and publick Spirited, and honeſt and ſincere, and ſo every way as well
more fit, as more able, for the diſcharge of a publick truſt; and 4ly the only curbs of the Supreme Powers, whether of rewards or puniſhments, are
leſs regarded by virtuous than vitious perſons, and therefore muſt needs be leſs able to reſtrain them. For how can he who undervalues Death
and Fear and all deprivations of Exteriors, be overawed by any humane power? Beſides 5ly the great courage, and that not precipitant but
rational, which animates good men to the ſuſcitation of great attempts, from the ſatiſfaction of their own Conſciences, and their ſtrong confidence
of the preſent aſſiſtance, or future rewards of God, of which wicked men are utterly deſtitute; Theſe conſiderations, I ſay, and many others
may ſuffice to ſhew that the miſtakes of good men are of more miſchievous influence on the Commonwealth than the Crimes of debauche-
=ries, and therefore far from diminiſhing the care of the Supreme Magiſtrate. And accordingly you may find the moſt virtuous Ages of the Ro-
=mans more troubleſome for popular broyls and ſeditions than thoſe later ones of wickedneſs, witneſs the almoſt perpetual claſhings between the
Senate and the People, the popular envyes againſt their Heroes, Coriolanus, Camillus, Scipio Africanus &c. But 4ly though the generality of People
were actually every where as little troubleſome to the Magiſtrate as where you have known them (which I doubt you can hardly under-
=take for) yet you muſt not thence eſtimate the qualifications ~~of~~ and duty of a Magiſtrate. For as none would think it prudent for a per-
=ſon putting to Sea in a calm to chuſe a Pilot ſufficient only for that ſeaſon, but unprovided for a Storm; ſo certainly a Magiſtrate ought
to be prepared and qualified with abilityes for governing a criminal and unquiet people, even then when he lyes under no actual obligation
for exerciſing them, eſpecially conſidering it as a caſe ſo very ordinary and ſo probably to be expected. If therefore a Bp. may not undertake
the charge of a Dioceſe becauſe impoſſible to be performed by him, I may as well, by the ſame parity of reaſon, conclude, that a Magiſtrate
may not undertake that of a Province or Kingdome, even when in the good humour you ſuppoſe them, becauſe he muſt not in prudence
venture on that, unleſs he be prepared for them when vitious, which you ſuppoſe impoſſible, and therefore unfit to be engaged on. And
5ly you do not propoſe the caſe with any equality. For if you would do ſo you ſhould not have compared a Prince governing a regular
People and a Bp with an irregular ſcandalous Dioceſe, but have ſuppoſed the ſubjects in both caſes regular, or both irregular. And if you
will needs ſuppoſe in favour of the Prince, that his ſubjects are as little criminal in his Courts as you have found them where you have
been acquainted, to ſhew the poſſibility of his governing ſuch a People, though in a large precinct; why can you not ſuppoſe in favour of the
Biſhop that the ſubjects of his Dioceſe behave themſelves as innocently in reference to Crimes obnoxious to the publick cognizance of his
Courts? Is it either becauſe that even perſons ſo ſuppoſed equally innocent in relation to the charges of both Courts are yet more diffi-
=cultly governable by an Eccleſiaſtical than a Secular Magiſtrate? This is not as much as pretended, I am confident, not as much as plauſi-
=bly proved, in your preſent diſcourſe. Or is it that the ſuppoſition it ſelf in relation to Eccleſiaſtical Crimes is more difficult, it being more
rare and improbable to find a people innocent in Crimes of publick Eccleſiaſtical, than Secular, cognizance? If this latter be your meaning I
doubt neither of the reaſons intimated by you will maintain you in it. Not that of your own Experience; for I believe you would have found
thoſe good perſons of your acquaintance as little troubleſome to the Bps as the Kings Courts, as little guilty of inceſtuous Marriages,
forging Wills and Teſtaments, Simony &c. as of any Acts of Secular Injuſtice. And as for the other concerning our propenſity to Actual, de-
=duced from the doctrine of Original, Sin; you have not as yet, proved this propenſity greater to Eccleſiaſtical, than Secular, crimes; but
it is rather probable that, as the crimes cognoſcible in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts are generally moſt heinous, ſo they are moſt eaſily
avoydable. If you have any inclination to think ſo, for perceiving it, I pray, remember, what I have already intimated, that they are not
all ſorts of ſins againſt God that are cognoſcible in the Biſhops Courts, but only ſuch as are great and ſcandalous and notorious, and
then conſider whether it be not as eaſy to ſuppoſe a People innocent of great and ſcandalous and notorious ſins againſt God and Re-
=ligion as of Injuſtice towards men; for this indeed will be the true ſtate of the Queſtion. 2ly therefore it will not be ſo eaſily
proved that the Crimes cognoſcible in the Secular Courts are ſo few, in compariſon of thoſe that are Eccleſiaſtical. This I have already
proved before, and am not willing to repeat what I have there ſaid. At preſent methinks your own conceſſions, if cloſely reflect-
=ed on, would have prevented your pretending otherwiſe. For, beſides that thoſe multitudes of perſons guilty of Crimes obnoxious to
the Bps Courts (which I have ſaid were of impenitent ſinners is not, and have given my reaſon why I ſaid ſo) are I doubt guilty
of many more Civil crimes, for which I ſhall only appeal to your own Experience; I pray conſider, how many of the Crimes cognoſci-
=ble in the Bps Courts are originally Civil, as ^thoſe concerning Marriages, Wills and Teſtaments, Tithes &c. which are meer arbitrary conceſſions
of Princes in favour of the Church as protected by them; and the reſt that are not, yet come under the Princes cognizance, as
the Churches Canons are made Lawes of the Commonwealth, and her cenſures are ſeconded by coercive ſecular penalties impoſed
by the Prince on ſuch as have proved refractory againſt her Spiritual Authority; upon which accounts it is impoſſible but that the
Secular Cauſes muſt needs prove moſt numerous, as including all Eccleſiaſticals and many proper to themſelves beſides. So that the
diſparity is every way unconducive of your purpoſe. For if you mean thoſe perſons who are ſo innocent of Secular Crimes to be differe
from thoſe who are ſuppoſed ſo very guilty of Eccleſiaſticals, then there ^can be no juſt diſparity pretended becauſe there is indeed no equal com-
=pariſons but if you mean the ſame perſons in both caſes, then the diſparity cannot be pretended true becauſe the ſuppoſition is not ſo.
21. " But you object in favour of me, That the Pariſh-Prieſt is to reprove, exhort, and convince [Sinners] &c, but he [illegible]
" impenitent, and that he is to inſtruct the Ignorant, Infidels and Hereticks [which muſt needs conſiderably leſſen the number of the

I heard him say, he would not be willing to have an account to give to God
for above 100l a year for his maintenance in the Ministry.

I have admired his discourse about his writings; for putting him upon any po
yt was more difficult & intricate; I have observ'd, he would take his rise a good w
off, & by several steps fairly linked together, wth much clearness go on to what he aff

You will mencon his writings in ye order he wrote ym, wth ye occasion, & some plain tho brief account of
& especially I would have you clearly & briefly lay down his Judgmt conc: Justificacon (which few do clearly & fully under
late some in ye city have so opposed [illegible]) & show he really magnifies Ct & faith & grace, & do
not really differ from honest true Protestants; & tho his Hypothesis may differ from oth
(as many of ye Astronomers do,) but yet he asserts ye same realities wth them.

I have oft pressed him to let his books lie by him some time, & to review them again &
again, but could never prevail wth him, wo said, they must come forth so, or not at all —

And, Sr, as God is pleased in ye H. Scr: to mencon ye failings of his greatest Saint
So you will take a fit occasion to do it hansomly, & yt amst his great excellencies he
least an infallible man was not without [illegible] failings; one of ye chief of wch was, his high & peremptory censuring
those [illegible] he dissented from, [illegible] ye famousest writers, Synods &c wth too much magisterialness
& all or Protestant divines in managing ye Controversies wth ye Papists, esp: concerning ye Resolut
It will be to his honr to have a hansom Vail drawn here, & yt herein he is not alone, b
in ye same fault wth divers of ye Ancient Fathers & modern writers, Hierom, Luther &c —

The horrid lies & reproches cast on him, you will not forget. Tis sd of Calvin, scarce
ever any was more belied & abused then he; So yt besides many others, Monsr Drelincourt one
ye Prot: Minrs at Paris, año 1667, printed a hansom large book in defence of him, wch is worth

Of his great & many sufferings from ye high Episcopal party, (which many others of ye [illegible] disliked [illegible]) tho he was so much for peace
to ye Everlasting shame of such — esp: yt carriage of my Ld Jeffries wn before him in his
(Mr Jacomb as I remember was by then) wn his Lady (yet living) desired him to be more fair —
& how used in Westminster Hall, — Nothing more honble yn when ye Reverend Baxter stood at bar, bro
abused, despised — Never more great then then. Draw this well ~~[illegible]~~ (You'l say, this will
not be born. It may, if well done; & if it will not be born now, it will hereafter, & ye time will
& it may be known.) This is ye noblest part of his life, & not yt he might have been a Bp.

2 Cor. 11. The Aple wn he would glory, mentions his labours & stripes & bonds & imprisonmts, his troubl
weariness, dangers, reproches; not his riches, & coaches, & honours, & advantages. God lead
us into this Spirit, & free us from ye worldly one wch we are apt to run into!

And be sure to give a clear account of ye transactions at ye Savoy (1660) of wch he hath th
Me he had a fuller account amgt his papers yn any yet extant, & how truly he foresaw & told what wo
follow on ye course they took; & take notice of ye misrepresentation of him by Bp Morley, & ye re
bre: Dr Turner (since Bp of Ely,) in his Animadversions on ye Naked Truth (1676) licensed by ye B
of London, pag. 14. mentions ye Notable effect yt Conferences wth ye Leaders of ye N.C. might have;
(saies he) appears in wt ye Bp of Winchester (yn of Worcester) printed of what passed in yt short
of ye Savoy; yt so soon as it came to writing in Syllogism, they were driven to assert, yt wha
may be ye occasion of sin to any Person must be taken away. (But did they dispute th
Syllogisms & in writing? I question it.) & p. 26. If he could see a Conference, whose Moderators w
designed to see all done in strict form of Argt, & ye ratiocinators on both sides might have da
given them to review if any thing had slipped from them, yt there might be no lying at ye Catch,
should hope by such a Council as this, to see ye Church in her ancient splendor & glory. And w
hindered but ye Bps might have had such a one if they had desired it? And what advantage got
Guning Bp of Chichester by disputing wt Mr Joh. Corbet? & did not Bp Morley lie at ye Catch as

But it's time to end. Might it not do well, to reprint some of Mr Baxters little piec
together; as his Call to ye Unconverted; Now or never; And they made light of him; His Serm
before ye House of Comons before K. Cha: 2 coming in; & his book of Catholick Comunion or Unity, (in
as I think he calls it. Dear Sr, I pray God be with you in this good work; You have a
fair opportunity to teach all sorts many usefull things, & you have a grave savoury stile;
as I sd at first, make not too much hast tho you be pressed to it. It will prove a work of many
to do it well; & sat cito (you know) si sat bene. Excuse this freedom, from Your unfeigned friend & Serv

BAXTER
LETTERS

fol. 77. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

FE
5

These

For my worthy Frend
Mr Matthew Sylvester at
his house in Charterhouse yard
London

[illegible]
about ye matter [illegible] Ri: Baxter Jan. 13

68* 35 June 2d. 1680.

Reuerend Sr;

I receiued your Letter & the Papers encloſed, which hauing perus'd I do now return. And I cannot think my selfe to be really much concern'd in them, because they grant all along that the obligation of Duty ceaseth where there is no probability of success; and this Principle is the true ground & bottom of my Assertion: So that unless upon the same Principle contrary Conclusions can be built, there must be some mistake in the reasoning of one side. But whether I be really concern'd in it or not, I haue great reason to think that it will generally be belieued that this Discourse is particularly designed against me; and that the same malice which raised so groundles a clamour against my late Sermon, will be very glad to find me struck at in the odious company of Spinosa & Mr Hobbs, as of the same Atheistical principles with them; a blow which I lest expected, and for that reason should be very much surpriſed to receiue from your hand. I could be glad to meet with that kindnes and candour which I haue euer uſed towards others; but if that may not be, I must

content

[illegible] June 2d 1790

Reverend Sir

I received your Letter with the [illegible]

and be assured I do now return [illegible]

[illegible] to be really much concerned in them, because

[illegible] all along that the obligation of [illegible]

there is no probability of [illegible] and the [illegible]

[illegible] ground & [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]

the same Principle contrary Conclusions can be built from

[illegible] the Lords Supper in the [illegible]

whether to be really conveyed [illegible] not [illegible]

[illegible] not think that [illegible]

[illegible] of particularly [illegible] against me, and that

[illegible] matters which raised the grounds of a [illegible]

my late [illegible] will be [illegible]

in the doing company of [illegible] & all [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] expected, and for [illegible] reason should be [illegible]

[illegible] to receive from your hand. [illegible] would be

glad however with that [illegible] and [illegible]

Every effort [illegible] others [illegible] that they not be [illegible] content my selfe with the conscience of having endeavoured to deserve well of all men, and of the Truth it selfe.

I am, Sr, with great sincerity, as I have always been,

Your affectionate Friend
and Servant

John Tillotson

79

[illegible] [illegible]
about ye matter [illegible] Ri: Baxter [illegible]

Worthy Sir

I am greatly obliged to you for your self= humbling
descension & friendly plainnesse, in speaking to so a low a per
son, and that with wholsome reproofes, after many yeares
silence, and refusall to give me any answer to my Letters.
never long that cometh at last. Tho I am dull in hearing, yet
knowing it was my duty to repent of my sins, I did to yt end re
view your Criminations: And I give you this account of ye
successe. x Crim. That I am passionate is not only true, but less
than the truth; for I have faults much worse, wch I am weary
xx. That I am forgetfull is yet more evident to my selfe, but
yet I remember some things and yt of ye matters in hand. xxx.
Your good counsell to avoid ye pride of selfdefence is very usefull.
for nature is prone to overdoe by partiality in self defence
But if I thought that all selfdefence were of pride & unlaw
full, I might by a lying confession have saved ye labour of con
futing many a volume of calumnies: if ye Popes accusations
be not infallible, neither are Mr E. S.'s. Tho Loyalty forbid
selfdefence by Armes agt a King, it forbad not Paul a
verball selfdefence before Agrippa. I never heard yt Judge
Hale forbad any Defendent a selfdefence, nor said to any,
I am so much wiser than you, that I know you to be guilty
and to deny it will be your pride. xv. That I told you yester
day that I knew not of any Transcript by any of my ap
pointment, was my culpable forgetfullnesse. But yt I said
so before in print, if I believe it must be by renouncing of
my senses. I find no more in my words but this [only the Latin
verses and an interlining or two are his own hand which
I knew by many a sheet yt I have had from him.] Whether
they were in your Copy or mine I say not: when I find my
own I shall soon know: Yet I deny not that your Copy
is your writing, for its possible my Lord my interline
But if you deny ye Latine verses & ye interlining to be his
hand the reason why I shall not believe it is because

am unable. V. That I wrote yt my Lord bid me draw one out of
ye three is not true: And humility bindeth me not to ly, to
avoid ye Pride of selfdefence. I think St Francis going
through ye City with his Breeches on his head, to exercise hu-
-mility by incurring contempt, was lesse faulty than to ex-
ercise it by lying. My words were [I confesse ye Deliverer tho
it best for me to make one Treatise out of them all]. But
you were ye Deliverer and I tooke you not to be Judge Hale. I
think you will not deny your words: if you do all yt I shal
say is, yt I am now more forgetfull than I was when I
wrote that. But I think I remember yt you were yest
day here, and yt I rose in ye morning; and if so, then I re-
member this. VI. I should not have publisht it with-
out your consent. Ans. 1. How prove you yt? 2. Why did you
not forbid me? 3. Why did you deliver it me, and tell me
it had a Direction (For Mr Baxter) did those words sig-
nify nothing? 4. How should I have known your min
Did not I write to you and you disdain'd or refused so much
to give a word of answer? 5. Had you not diverse years
time before I publisht it to have made me know you
mind? Why not all yt while as well as now? But I
thank you yt you did it before I dy, tho I had rather it
had been sooner. VII. But I forfeited your answer by
telling you of gain yt you might get if you would write
my Lords life &c. Ans. Sure few are for so easy an Excom
munication of men from friendly converse. Will so smal
a matter forfeit ye answer of a letter from you? Did you
not shew me Judge Hales will yt bequeathed you halfe
ye profit? If he wronged you by publishing yt in his will
am not I excusable yt did much lesse in a private
letter? Had I said yt you received any gain, you might
have blamed me, (Tho I think he yt will give to ye
poor must receive that he may give). But if I
only told you yt you might gain by your labour, I
think few men either Labourers or Lords do think

just gain & dishonour or injury to them: I would more were
neerer that opinion. xxx. But I should have known ye
Judges Will, which I did not, who forbad ye publishing of
any of his Writings without his consent. Ans. You know you
yt I knew it not.? I payd fully for taking out a Copy of his
Will: I read it over and over. What more could I do.?
xx. I should not there have gone against his will. Ans. 1.
I told you in ye Preface yt I resolvedly on that very
account forbore, yea abhorred ye thought of publishing
it for divers yeares. I told you yt I did it not till
wise and good men urged it as my duty, for publick
good: If it was a crime, why did you lead me the
way in larger works? I told you yt I advised with one
yt I think to have been one of ye most knowing & uprighte
Judges and Lawyers that this land hath had. I told
you his reasons in print that convinced me. If you say
you are wiser thanks I think otherwise. If you say
that I misstated ye case I will not believe your naked
word without proofe. I thus stated it, that Mr S. told me
it was directed to Mr Baxter and yt I had written to
him before to make publick his Judgment on that sub-
ject. Was this false.? x. But there is more behind. You
were told by one as neare me as any save my selfe that I bar-
gained with ye Bookseller for money, so much a sheet, & tooke
ye profit to my selfe that was by my Lords Will bequeathed
to you and others. Ans. If ye Pope himselfe from ye Chaire
of Infallibility had brought in this charge I should think
a Refutation consistent with humility. I will lay down ye
matter of fact & leave it to another sort of Judge that
useth not to passe sentence before he heareth the de-
fense of ye accused. 1° About an. 1655. I agreed with
Nevill Simons to allow me ye 15th Booke of those prin-
ted for me and 18d a Rheame for my gain: when he
came to London he desired no alteration of that

bargain; but by taking too deare a Shop and printing my
great Directory so soone a 2d Edition and other wayes
unknown to me he broke deepe in mr Whites debt & min
laying ye cause on mr Whites death; And so I lost what
he had long owed me by that agreement. After that I used
him not again a while, till compassion moved me at his
request, and I remember not that I ever tooke any mony
of him any more, for any booke that since then I
publisht: I am certaine that for many yeares past
I never had nor askt a penny of any; but they all
owed me the tenth booke to give my friends: I have
published above six score bookes, some of great price:
of allmost all or most of these I gave away ye 15th
of some, & ye 10th of others, some to Lords, Knights, Ladys,
Gentlemen and others: which came to many hundreds
or thousands: For all these I know not that ever
I received one penny of any one man High or Low,
for any one booke that I gave him (tho divers frien
otherwise have been freer than I desired). For these
papers of Judge Hale, I desired only some bookes to
give away. And besides those I bought of ye poore
widow that printed them, as I remember betwe
50 and 100 to give, of which I have many by me
not given yet: when she was pressed about my pa
rashnesse, my bookes stuck on her hands, and at her
removall & within this two yeares & a halfe I
have bought of her as many of my own (and this in pa
stian) to give away as cost me full two hundred
pound; for which I never received mony: Mr
Parkhurst and others have lost by printing my book
of late yeares, so that I have been faine to buy
many of them of him also to give away. I printe
my Methodus at 500 li at my own charge, an

never received halfe y^{t} mony for them, (the halfe of them being yet unsold and dead, & about a 100 given and sent abroad that I had nothing for. So that my own bookes have cost me within these six yeares about 450^{l} out of my own purse more than I received for them. And now I am accused of bargaining for and receiving mony for the papers of Judge Hales, w^{ch} hath cost me mony to buy them to give away. This writing is but six sheetes in print, which sticht is but six pence. If I had taken mony for the tenth books, it had been but 50^{s}, if could have sold them; but y^{e} poore woman could not sell them well her selfe, or else I had not had need to buy them of her in pity of her losse. S^{r}, I confesse again that my memory is of late yeares very bad; And if there be any thing in all this that I misreport by forgetfullnesse, I will not justify it, but thank you to detect it to me. The reason why I give it you in writing after our conference, is 1. Because you talk of writing and using me kindly; and I would desire you only to do what you do truly without mistakes, and then shew me no other favour than your friendly reproofes and admonitions. 2^{o} Because I found y^{t} your way is 1. To judge confidently before you heare a man speake for himselfe. 2. And to be (contrary to S^{t} James Councill) swift to speake and slow to heare. And y^{e} answer y^{t} you cannot receive in words, you shall have in writing. Two things I presume to advise you (pardon my presumption) 1. That you hereafter learn of Judge Hales, & judge not (at least too confidently)

before you heare ye accuſed ſpeake or at leaſt yt you count
not many yeares to lodge ſlanders in your mind before
you vouchſafe a word of reproofe to ye accuſed, and that
you think not your ſelfe too high to anſwer a Letter from
ſuch as are as far below you as I am, or that as may
diſpleaſe you. 2° That you take warning by Nevill
Simons caſe, and let not ye ſpeedy ſale of ye Judges
firſt Bookes, tempt you to draw in Bernard wh
in hope of profit to overprint ye remainder leaſt
you breake him. For bookes paſſe not as they have
done. Should he print ye bookes of Judge Hale that
I read againſt Atheiſme, Sadduciſme & Infidelity, &c
I think he would loſe 100l if not 200 by it, if you
take not a penny of him.

Reverend Sr.

The Letter you published Aprill 7th at the end of yor Answere to Dr C. came to my hands before the other, you wrote Aprill the ffirst, on wch Occasion I prepared for yor view a just State of the Controversie betweene Us, and our opposites; since wch time I have both received & perused yor Letter of Aprill the first, wch is sounder & more severe than the published Breviate, and in which I finde the Catalogue of the Twenty Untruths, wch in yor Breviate you declare to the World to be in my Letter. Now Sr, I humbly Apprehend you have not done well (1) In publishing an Answere to a private Letter, tis scarce Civill, and will be a discouragemt to such as would deale faithfully wth you to yor profitt. I discharged my Conscience in What I wrote, I did it not to blaze yor faults to the World, but to doe you good; for I know so much of my own selfe, and see every day so much neede of pardoning grace from God, of the Compassions, and prayers, and helpe of the Godly, that I cannot but be convinced of the Usefullnesse of this procedure, and that the faithfullnesse of the Godly in reproveing mee, as they see Occasion, would bee very advantagious, I see Cause to say wth David, Let the Righteous smite mee, it shall bee a kindnesse, and lett him reprove mee it shall be an excellent Oyle and that this is the way of Christ; and that therefore if you had Apprehended Mr Lawson to have been a Sufferer for his Sin, fathering it on God, I thought you should, in a friendly manner, useing Meeknesse, have written to him, and so doe. I Considerd how you are Under a Temptation, & have dishonoured God, and that you thinke, that wch is really yor Sin is a defence of God, and the Universall Church, I judg'd it my Duty to tell you

you as I thought you should have treated Mr R. therefore
I wrote that Letter and used a greater freedome, than I ought
to have done in publique, Notwithstanding wch you are
immediately a sending an Answere in print, telling the World
there are about Twenty Untruthes in my Letter, through
Mistake.

This would provoake some to publish that Letter, and
this Defence, but because many of the things mentiond
relate onely to yor person, I will not yet do so. But (2) The
Catalogue of Untruths layd to my Charge, are for the
most part yor owne Mistakes. This I hope clearly to
prove, & do beseech you on yor perusall to Consider, it is
not impossible but you may mistake.

In yor printed Breviate, you mention about Twenty
Untruths in my Letter, and in yor Letter you enumerate
Twenty Eight particulars, I will therefore (1) single
out those Instances, wch I think, you do not looke on to
bee Untruths & (2). Those you say are Untruths, and give
you my Reply distinctly, shewing wherein you have mis-
=apprehended mee, and by Mistake falsely accused mee, not
imputing it to yor Ignorance, or other Cause; but leaving it
to yor owne more Coole & Milder Unengaged thoughts to determine

1. There are I think about Twelve or Fourteene of yor
Instances, wch If I mistake you not, you do not judge
Untruths.

1 When 11 you say, wee (not like Lovers of truth) do
take plaine detection of our Errors for Reproachfull 2
exposing Us to Severity. This is yor Charge, Not of
my writing an Untruth, but of our taking a plaine
detection of our Errors to be a Reproachfull exposing
Us to Severity. Now if this be not so, then there is
Untruth on yor Side, But. 1° Why did not you tell us
of the Error, that was plainly detected, wch detection
wee esteemed a Reproachfull exposing Us to Severity
2. you say, That in yor Booke agt Mr R. you have
plainely detected our Error and wee esteeme that to be
an exposing Us to Severity. I Answere Wee see no
plain

plaine detection of Error in that Booke, wee indeede finde you
Under great Disturbance, and very perplexed and that's all.
But 2° you accuse MBK. for suffering for his Sinn,
even when you justifie him for what he suffered. If
you had read his Indictmt, you would have found that
the great fault, for wch hee suffered was for that part
of his Booke, wch is agt persecution, wch you approve.
3. You Load him wth the Reproach of fathering his
Sin on God, wee tell you that this is a Reproachfull
exposing him to Severity & so it is, But 4. If the
Matter for wch hee suffered had been a declaring his
Judgmt agt kneeling att the Sacramt, That he looked
on it to be a Symbolizing wth Idolaters, that tis &
Idolatrously Used amongst the Papists, was of an Idolatrous
Originall, as the Lincolne Ministers declare, & had he
suffered for this, must this be a suffering for his Sin?
Suppose kneeling in it selfe indifferent, but esteemd
by him Unlawfull, is it not to him Unlawfull, and would
hee not Sin if he kneeled, & if he suffers for not
kneeling would it not be for not Sinning. It is strange,
that you should ~~be~~ [illegible] in yor Censurings. No. Sr
wee do not take plaine detection of our Errors to bee
exposing Us to Reproachfull Severity, but we take
yor Opposition to truth, in this Juncture to be so.

2 Yor Second Charge is §. 96. where I say, you would not
Assent & Consent Unto all or which you say is true, and
add, That you never perswaded none nor any man to it, and
then accuse Us for telling men that they must not bee present
where there is any thing, that we may not Assent and
Consent Unto, wch is to say to all Men on Earth, have no-
morall Communion wth one another, wch is no Trifle you say.
Ans. 1 You falsely accuse Us, if you say, That we tell
Men, That they must not be present where there is any
thing, that we may not Assent & Consent Unto, Wee disclaim
every such Opinion, & so did Dr O. But 2. Wee say That

if

if any Church make any thing doubtfull Termes of Communion wth them, our Communicating wth them is an Assent & Consent to those Termes, and as Arch Bp Whitgift told Cartwright Using, or doing a thing, is as much an Allowing, or assenting to it as Subscribing. We think that the Church of England doth make what is sinfull to be Termes of our Lay-Communion wth them, & if wee are Mistaken, our Error lyes in thinking a Misse of the Church, not in wt you accuse Us of.

3 Yor Third is p.10. You say I should name the Injuries you did the Bp of Cork. Answ: 1 I onely said you were too Tarte in yor Reply to the Bp. and that I could bee c- [illegible] evince, had I both yor & his Booke by mee, wch I have not, 2. If you call too Tarte Answering Injurious, you are one of the most injurious Writers that ever I read. for all that know yor Polemicall Writings, know you are ~~very~~ too Tart. and I think you should have rather thanked the Bp for his affectionate, and faithfull Admonition than have been so ~~[illegible]~~. There are others of my Opinion, even some, that Love and honour you as much as tis possible for Men that exceede not due bounds.

4 In p. You say I blame you for telling Us our Mistakes in print. Ans. 1 I think that when it may be done privately, it ~~[illegible]~~ must bee done so, and as I told it might have been done so. & 2. the Remainder of p.11 is such an Exuberance, as cannot be Answered as it Deserves, otherwise then by a smart reproving for yor Sin. You are too Sarcasticall & injurious in yor Insinuation. God forbid we should frighten poore Soules into Church dissolving Opinions, & make it Law, that we may write thus in print, and that you must not Answere Us in Print.

5 In p.18. You take notice of the greife of my Soul that you are so much spoken agt, and Querie, whether it bee for you, Or for those that speake agt you, and if for you, you would not have me troubled no more than yor selfe. Ans: 1 This is my Trouble for you that you can as you doe & be no more sensible of yor Sin. that you can doe so much hurt wth so little trouble is my greife for you. 2 That

others are too severe in speaking agt you & not faithfull to discourse wth you or write unto you, is my trouble for them.

3. What you add about our Making the Church of Christ Idolaters for 1200 yeares, I understand you not; for 1. If by the Church you meane, not onely Hypocriticall & Professors, but all those, who were of the Church for so many hundred yeares, I do not know who makes em all Idolaters, for I beleive, that from Antichrist's first rise to the Waldenses, tho there was not publique testimony given in agt the grosse Corruptions then in the Church, yet all this while the Lamb stood on the Mount Sion, and wth him an hundred Forty and Four thousand, who were redeemed from the Earth, and did follow the Lamb, & were the first Fruits unto God, and to the Lamb, Chaste & wthout Guile, There were I beleive severall thousands in the worst of times, who never bowed the Knee to Baall. 2. If you can defend the Corruptions of the Antichristian Faction for 1200 hundred yeares Lett us see yor Defence. But 3. If they must be acknowledged Corruptions & some of em Superstitions, and others Idolatrous, 'tis not prescription, that can bee their Justification. I am really sorry to finde you publish yor crude indigested Notions in this Controversie. The proceeding wch I leave to him, who will Answeare yor Discourse agt Mr K. for one is about it, I understand, yea two, or three.

6 In the 19. § you say, That Untill I prove that you have given them Just Occasion to speake agt you, I must leave you by my Instance to mourne for the Church, whilst meer Ignorance & Mistake doth carry good Men to serve Satan agt Love & peace agt their generall Intent. Ans. 1. The proofe of yor giveing Occasion will be made too manifest to be contradicted in due time. 2. What you say of others may (I feare) too truely bee applyed to yor selfe.

7 In § 20. You say I am deceived in thinking none have dealt as plainely wth you as I have done. Ans. 1. I am glad I am deceived But 2dly I am sorry That neither they nor I am more successfull in our Attempts.

8 In §. 21. You say, Many Assent unto the Cause you Maintaine, but prudence makes them say, that the desease is incurable that Disputation will but exasperate it, & others say yor Stile is too keene

keene. Ans. 1. Those of yor Minde are but little Obliged to you for yor justifying Dr Stillingfleets Charge agt them, who said, That the Ministers knew the people were in a Sin, in refusing to hold Communion wth their Church, but durst not tell them so, wch is hard of those, that assent unto the Cause you maintaine if they say as you report. 2. why doe you not write agt their Conniveing att the Sins of their people. But 3. yor owne party, who cannot bee partiall in determining anything agt you see you are too keene, in plaine English, [too tart] in yor writings, wch (if you be right in the Notion of too tart) is, you are so injurious.

9 Ins. 22. You say I desire to see yor Answere to Dr. C. that came to late. Ans. I sent it as soone as I could after I knew what you were about.

10 Ins. 23. My Opinion that you explaine what the Case of Intended Worship agt Mr R. giveth you no Confuteing Reason. Ans. I referr you to the Reply to yor Answere, in wch you will I verily beleive see a Confuteing Reason.

11 Ins. 24. You say, That I suppose you are a defending the Ceremonies in dispute, and answere. 1. That you are onely Confuteing them that make all Accidents parts of Worship, and false Worship, or Idolatrous, if they have not a particular divine Institution. 2. And the Doctrine of them that excommunicate all the Church of Christ for Unlawfull Ceremonies. Ans. If you are not defending the Ceremonies in dispute, why do you write agt Mr R. hee onely writes agt the Ceremonies in Dispute, even agt Popish Ceremonies as hee expressly Affirmes in the page you referr us to. 2. you say you are onely Confuteing them that make all accidents parts of Worship. Ans. Then you are Confuteing no body but yor selfe. You are not in yor Animadversions to Mr R. Confuteing the Church of England, nor the Papists, but the Dissenters, & I do not know any Dissenter but yor selfe makes all Accidents a part of Worship. The many things you instance in, as Cupps, & Plates, Flagons & Candlesticks, Tables &c are but accidents to Worship, but you make em part of Worship, you say, That there are Two sorts of externall Worship, and these fall Under one of the Two Sorts. 3. you seeme to Confound false worship and Idolatry whereas there

much false Worship that is not Idolatrous, Unless you take Idolatry in a large sence as some thinke Mr Baxter doth. 4. You say, That you are Confuting those that make Accidents of Worship parts of Worship, & false worship, or Idolatry if they have not a particular divine Institution. Ans. What ever is a part of Worship must be either Naturall, or Instituted, If Naturall, seeing Christ has taken that in, and to it added his Institutions, if you will (as I perceive you do) you may call it Instituted tho not very propperly, & if so the result is this, All Divine Worship & not Naturall is Instituted, now, what doth not fall Under the Institution is false Worship, I do not say it is Idolatry, but false Worship. But then I add 2 That the Accidentalls are not a part of Worship. for altho the very esse of an accident is inesse, or adesse (for adjuncts may be called Accidents) yet Accidens non inest [~~[illegible]~~ adest subjecto] ut pars in toto. But if you will Cloath 'em wth a Ceremonious Nature as you do when you affirme 'em to be direct, or immediate expressions of the Reverence of the heart to God. you make 'em parts of worship and must produce an Institution or such an Use of 'em in the Worship of God is false Worship. Divest them of their Ceremonious Nature, Leave 'em as naked Circumstances necessary in genere to the exercise of any Religious Action as tis an Action, & we Call for no divine Institution. The light of Nature, that shews tis impossible to performe any publique Actions wthout 'em, will justify our Using 'em. I beseech you to observe it, That necessary Circumstances of Action belong to the Religious Action, as tis an Action. and not as tis a Religious Action. and when Dr B. said [That there is nothing accidentall in the Worship of God, every thing that belongs to it is a part of it] he said not that these necessary Circumstances belonged not to the Worship or Religious Action as an Action, but that it belonged not to the Religious Action as tis a Religious Action, for what ever belongs to Worship as such is a part of Worship. Now that this is Dr B's meaning is manifest from the subsequent Words, in that very paragraph you referr to. ~~For~~ sayth he [Outward Circumstances are naturall & Personall, no Accidentall parts of Worship] The Circumstances then are determined extrinsick to the Worship & most properly stiled Appendages or Adjuncts, [illegible] than any thing in the Worship it selfe. And if this be the Drs Meaning as I make no question but it is, have you not mistaken him, and grounded yor Answere on a Mistake & falsely accused the Dean for holding wt they disavow. But 5. you tell us that (besides what I have animadverted on) you only Confute ye Doctrine of them that excommunicate all the Churches of Christ for Unlawfull Ceremonies. Ans. 1. Who are they that excommunicate any Church that use Unlawfull Ceremonies, I professe I know not that Man amongst the Dissenters. 'Tis true we refuse to hold Locall Communion wth the Church of England because we think they make Unlawfull Ceremonies Termes of Communion wth them, but withholding Locall Communion from a Church or such as attend surely is not an excommunicating em. But 2. they excommunicate us, not we them, yet you say that ~~you say they~~ excommunicate all the Churches of Christ, I thought that excommunicating a people had been a throwing em out of the Church of Christ But out of what Church of Christ can any throw all the Churches of Christ, or is it a renunciation of Communion wth all churches wth ~~[illegible]~~ we do not.

12 Inq. 25. You say, I write as if you pleaded for the Crosse in Baptisme, wch you never used in yor Life, nor the Surplice. Ans. 1. I did not say you wrote for the signe of the Crosse in particular. I know you have written agt it. But 2. I said, that if you write in defence of those Ceremonies Mr R. oppos'd, seeing he expressly opposed the popish Ceremonies, of wch the signe of the Crosse is one, you must defend that too, or cease yor opposition to Mr R.

13 Inq. 26. You say That Mr Firmins Words, wch I recite are agt Mr R. and Dr S. I answere I will repeate what I said of Mr F. and desire you to Consider it once againe. " What Mr Firmin saith of the Bp of
" Winchesters Answere to Mr Knewstubs in the Conference
" at Hampton Court will be (I sayd) a sufficient Reply to all
" you have grounded on the Distinction of yors agt Mr R.
" Mr Knewstubs Question was, Whether the Church had
" power to institute an externall significant signe, to wch Question

" amongst other things was answered by the Dr, that
" kneeling on the Ground, knocking the breast, lifting up
" of hands, are Ceremonies significant, and yet are and may
" lawfully bee used. But saith Mr H. the Dr might as
" well have held his peace for tho these bee significant &
" Ceremonies, yet they are not of that Classe of significant
" Ceremonies, wch Nonconformists scruple, for the scrupled
" Ceremonies are such as have humane Institution, ordained
" Signification, Appropriation to Gods Solemne worshipp &
" Service. So farre Mr Hickman. Now Let us examine
whether this be agt Mr B. or against Mr L & Dr C. Mr L.
and Dr C do not scruple kneeling on the Ground in prayer,
nor knocking the Breast, nor lifting up the hands, the
Ceremonies they scruple are of another Classe they are such as have Ordained &
signification, Mysticall signification, Appropriation to Gods
Solemne worshipp & Service grounded on onely humane
Institution. If Mr B will defend the Ceremonies Mr L
and Dr C are agt, he must defend these Ceremonies,
or otherwise all the Quarrell is wth his owne shaddow.
And if he defend these, how is it? I answere he instances in many
such Ceremonies as lifting up the hands, knocking the breast &
necessary Circumstances of Action, and sayes tis lawfull to
use all these tho not instituted, To whom I reply in the words
of Mr H. he might as well have held his peace, for these
are not the Ceremonies in Controversie. Worthy Sr I desire
you to Consider that all you instance in are either
naturall Ceremonies, as kneeling in prayer is, or necessary
naked Circumstances of Action, or such Ceremonies as
wee scruple. If in the Last Sence, then their use is
unlawfull, that is as such Ceremonies, and yor bringing
Christs & the Apostles example is not to the purpose. Christ
did not go to the Mountaine, rather then the other, because
there was religion in the one place more then the other, the
Apostles used none of them as parts of the worship of God,
but if you meane either of the two first Senses, you might
saith Mr H. as well have held yor peace, for they are not of
that Classe of Significant Ceremonies scrupled. Naked
Circumstances are not Ceremonies & the other Ceremonies are
Naturall

Naturall and Leane not meerely on humane Institution.

11 I will now examine the Untruths you Charge me wth

1 Inst. You tell me that its a grosse Untruth to say you spake as an Assaylant, or Plaintiffe agt Us, because we cannot Come to Church. Ans. 1 I do not remember I accused you in particular for being an Assaylant, or Plaintiffe. But 2 I say, That those Dissenters, who are for going to Church, since the Last Execution of Penall Lawes on Us, did write severall Books before we wrote any thing. First Mr Corbet, by yr Book Seller, is printed for Lay-Communion, in wch there are severall Unworthy reflections on Us, 2. Then a Collection of what Mr Nye & Mr Robinson said for hearing the Conformist Ministers is published as an Argument for Lay Communion, A very cheat to gull poore ignorant Souls, that can't distinguish betweene hearing a Sermon, & joyning in their Prayers & Sacramts, & Dr O.s Judgmt about the Lawfullnesse of fformes of prayer in Thesi is brought as an Argumt to justify the present fformes in particular, and Dr Goodwin, who spake of Parochiall Churches that are Congregationall to justify an holding Communion wth such Parish Assemblies as are but partes of a Diocesane Church, that yr party were the Assaylants & the Plaintiffs. But you add, 1. That you never perswaded any one Man of Us to come to Church, but have over & over written that it is One Mans Sin, & anothers duty according to their different Cases & you use not to perswade any whose Case you know not. Ans. 1 Then you can't accuse any of Us as guilty of Sin for not going to Church, for you know not our Case. 2. you cannot Say, That when we suffer for not going to Church, that we suffer

for

for our Sin. 2. You say You write onely as a Defender of your owne practice, & to save those poore weake people whom men would affright, as they did Act. 15. wth [Yee cannot be saved] and the name of Idolatry from that Love & Church Communion, wch Christ hath so greatly bound Us all Unto. Ans. 1. That you defend yor owne practice wthout Censuring our practice troubleth not mee; I am ready to give you the same Liberty I expect for my selfe. 2. What you meane by saving poore weake people whom Men would affright wth [Yee cannot be saved] I Understand not, Neither do I know who they are that would affrighten men thus. We say, that those whose Case is such, that to go to Church is a Sin (wch you say is the Case of some) if they will deliberately Commit such a Sin and allow themselves in it, they cannot be saved. 3. As to the Matter of Idolatry you so very much insist on, I must tell you, 1 That very few of Us make Use of that word, as for my parte I accuse not the Conformists as guilty of it. 2 The Word [Idolatry] as well as [Worship] is Used in Scripture in a more Comprehensive Sense Than we ordinarily take it. not only for the worshipping false Gods, but for worshipping the true God in a false way, wch some call Superstition, & wch is so called in the New Testamt. But I think the Old Testamt calls it Idolatry. & Mr. R. I think Uses it in this sense & so doth not curiously distinguish betweene Superstition & Idolatry, but wth the Old Testamt takes all false wayes of worshipping the true God to be Idolatry, he Useth not the word strictly for the damning Sin of worshipping false Gods. But because in common Use now Idolatry and Superstition are distinguished & the One a Transgression of the First, as the other is of the Second Command; I think it most prudent to Lay aside the Use of the word [Idolatry] and not to Contend de Nomine & if you would have written profitably you should have explained yor selfe on this point.

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2 In § 2. you say It is an Untruth wthout any Cloake to say you perswaded mee to Conforme. Ans. There are two sorts of Conformity, Clergie Conformity, & Lay Conformity & Indeed such you

you did perswade me to Conforme as a Clergie Man it I never said any such thing in my Letter. Why did you not mention the words that expresse so much. 2. The whole Drift of my Letter was touching Communion or Lay Conformity, for wch you doe write.

3 In p 5. It is an Untruth (you say) wthout a Reason to Charge you wth the Justifying our afflicters. Ans. I did not say you did it designedly, but 2. you doe it as really, & as effectually as if you intended it. ffor you say Mr R. suffers for his Sinning, and that he fathers his Sin on God. and you add, That his Doctrine (wch you Unveile) is a Doctrine, that maketh Christ an Idolater. p. 14. and that Mr R. maketh the Apostles Idolatrous, and the primitive Churches Idolatrous, and the Scriptures to Approve it, That he Condemneth as Idolaters all the Churches on Earth for Six hundred, if not One Thousand yeares after the Apostles. &c. you say, That Mr Raphsons doctrine doth so, & that Mr Raphson does so, you say Hee, Hee (ie) Mr R. doth make the Apostles Idolatrous, & he Mr Raphson doth Condemne as Idolaters the Primitive Churches, Hee maketh the Primitive Church Idolatrous, & he maketh the Scriptures to Approve of it. and you doe also Charge all those, who Seperate from the Communion of the Church of England, for say you, [I will Unveile these Mens doctrine of Separation] These expressions shew you speake of such, as do not hold Communion wth the Church of England, and then very humbly propose, whether by Consequence he [~~ie~~ wee] do not deny Christ and all the Gospell and worke of mans Redemption. & in p. 17. you talke as if we did Confidently Rage agt Truth & Duty. Now Sr I appeale to yor owne Conscience, when sober or to any Unbyassed person, whether yor putting these Beares Skin over us doth not tend to our being baited, & whether a Representing us to bee such a sort of people doth not justifie our Afflicters. Verily you are some in Authority instanced in as a person that Condemneth us

No. I do not then say tis an Untruth in me to tell you what is so notoriously true, you have been an Occasion of the Increase of our Calamities & must be humbled for it, and I tell you againe I am sorry to see you soe greatly deceived in a matter of this Moment. what you further add is a Slaunder, and we have a Witnesse even in the Consciences of our Adversaries that, we are like men of Conscience, when our Brethren, who since these late Troubles hold Communion wth the parish Churches are look'd on by them to be inconsistent wth themselves, Time servers & Men of Humour, not of Conscience and the Truth is our afflicters are thereby tempted to thinke us to be as they say our Complying brethren are, witnesse the severall presentmts of Grand Juries as also severall printed Sermons of the Conformists, & if I mistake you not, you yor selfe was alwayes for going to Church, tho' doeing it only in a time of Troubles, you should give us cause to conclude you were a Time Server.

4 Inst. 6. When I said That you deale not wth Us as you would be dealt wth, you tell me that is not true. I Answer You would not take it well that the Conformists should write agt you, when you cannot be permitted to speake for yor selfe & this is our Case. 2. yor talking of our accuseing all the Churches on Earth for 1300 yeares of Idolatry & desiring a Communication of Communions is an abuse.

5 Inst. 12. you tell mee, tis an inexcusable Untruth to say that you have not writ agt the Oxford Oath. Ans. 1 What I sayd was in reference to yor Discourse agt Mr R. you had written over & over & over againe agt what Mr Raphson wrote for Long agoe, & yet must single out ffour or five Lines buryed in a large Booke & animadvert on one, but yet when Mr Corbet & Mr Humfrey wrote for the Oxford Oath, & you know, that what Mr Corbet wrote was not his Judgmt, you published nothing agt them, and I say that if you had not been partiall you would, but You say, what must I write the same things over againe.

89 I Answere

I Answere: I thinke there is no necessity that therefore yor writing agt Mr K. was needlesse. But 2. If notwithstanding yor writing so much agt our Separation, you might yet againe animadvert on every little thing, yea on an Imperfect MS. you are partiall, you are partiall if you do not write agt them, and partiall for yor writing agt them. The Reasons for it are great bec you have been unreasonable in writing agt us.

6 To yor §.14. You accuse me when you say That I intimate as if you published Mr Corbet to tempt men, I never said so, & do admire att what should provoake you to thinke so, I desire the next time you write me an Answere, That you will accuse me of no more then you can prove by producing my words. You deale not fairely when you putt yor owne sence, wch is a mistaken one, on my words & then say I wrote so, or intimated so much, I never accused you of yor Ends. If att any time I suspected you, I only prayed you to looke to yor selfe, but as to the Instance of Mr Corbett I only mentioned what was Reported of you and told you, I beleived not the Report, but yet thought it requisite you should cleare yor selfe & I beleive I can bring divers Reverend witnesses to testifie that Tom Parkhurst yor Bookeseller, has said att last you approved of its publication, but as I then intimated, so I againe say, I doe not beleive you did, but yet that very Report proved a snare to Mr Vincent, and he has insisted on yor liking the publication of Mr Corbett, and therefore my faithfull acquainting you of Reports of this kinde is not unrighteous, as you say it is. ~~[illegible]~~ §.16. nor am I an ~~[illegible]~~ Accuser in making the Report much lesse an Unjust Accuser as you say I am, What, cannot a man affectionately Report to yor selfe what is spoken of you but he must bee an Accuser, if so, then all the Reports you have made of what you heard of Dr C. now dead, to the world is yor accusing him, & why did you not accuse him when alive, & why must you accuse him when dead Quorsum haec? Really I must againe assure you, That I cannot but be grieved to finde you so

so confident in mistakes of this kind

7 In §.15. I am accused as guilty of a very Unexcusable Untruth for saying, That When you heard that when some tooke the Oath for Offices, you were Silent; what Man in London said more agt it, say you, & in §.13 Tis an insinuated Untruth that you bid any goe to Mr Humfrey about it any otherwise than to prove all things &c. I answere. 1 you did not write agt such expressly on that Occasion. 2 when yor advice was desired you sent somebody to Mr Humfrey. For you said you could not offer any thing towards their satisfaction, but Mr H. could and therefore advis'd em to goe to Mr H. For what? That they might bee help'd to take the Oath wth Satisfaction. This thing can bee proved as cleare as the Light, the person, on whose Testimony I insist, can give you severall Intimations (were it expedient) to Refresh yor Memory. Don't you remember what was done when one or Two Worthy Gentlemen, Men of tender Consciences desir'd to know the whole Truth in this Matter (but were then stood in neede of good advice,) when you were addressed unto, you sent em not yor Reasons agt it, but directed em to Mr H. for you yor selfe told my Author, you could not give em Satisfaction as to the taking it, But Mr H. had studdyed this point more than most, & if any could give em satisfying Reasons for the taking it, it must be Mr H. & therefore advised them unto him. All this is true & I thinke att that time you were more obliged to send those worthy Gentlemen wt you had to say agt it, (that so they might the better prove all things) then write agt Mr H.

But these things being personall & private I only whisper em in yor Eare for yor good, never designing to make em publique.

8 In §.3. you say, I intimate as If I [illegible] not you were on the Suffering Side, and then tell us, how much you have suffered for Non Conformity. Ans. 1. As to yor sufferings for Non Conformity, I lessen em not, yet must say, that excepting what you have suffered from some Pens, yor sufferings are not to be Compared wth those of many of yor Brethren, who have been exposed to great Wants & Streights, and would be glad of the Crumbs that fall from yor Table many a time. I could give you a Catalogue of Dolefull Instances of this kind, Enough to shame yor Boast when

you

you say, How many of Us have sufferd more than you,
Alas S:r you have not knowne what 'tis to want bread
and ffriends and Money, and to have ffour or ffive Children
or more looking wistly on you, You have not been forc'd
to Labour wth yor hands to save yor ffamily from
perrishing, but some of yor Brethren who have had
a delicate Education, have been Compell'd to work -
them. You know not wt 'tis to have a numerous
ffamily, & not any Beere nothing but some bread & water & milk in yor house, for some
weeks for relief, but so have some of yor Brethren,
Alas Deare Sr yor sufferings are not to be mention'd
wth that of some of yor Brethren, & you have very
little Cause to Challenge Us to shew the Man that
has sufferd more then you. But 2. How comes it to
passe that you must force into yor Letter the
History of yor Sufferings, who gave you the occasion
surely I did not, for I never said that in the point of Clergie
Conformitie you were not on the Suffering Side, but as
to the point in Controversie, About Coming to Church,
wee & not you are on the Suffering Side. 'Tis wee, not
you that are lyable to Excommunication, to Confinement
on the Writt de Excommunicato Capiendo, to the Lawe of
the 23 Eliz wch is 20li p Mensem for not Coming to Church
& to the 35th of Eliz. wch ends in abjuring the Realme
or the Death of a ffelon. in all these Instances wee, not
you are on the Suffering Side, besides in Writing a Defence
you are in no danger, you may write as much agt Us as
you will without ffeare, but if wee write & tell you all our
Reasons wee are in danger of being Newgated & Pillored, Is
not this true? are not Mr B. & De Laun knowne instances
of the truth hereof? and Sr If you say that yor writing
agt persecution will expose you & you are willing to publish
it & owne it if any Book Seller will venture to print it,
I say if it be so, send it me & I will get it printed & acknowledg
that if you come into any trouble for it you are on the suffering
Side

Side as well as wee; But so long as you Confine yor Writings agt Us, 'tis wee and not you, That in this Case are on the Suffering Side, But to do you right I must add, I do not thinke you go to Church On any such Account as is intimated, I beleive yor practise has been Uniforme as to this point, and If Mr Wands arraignes you for a Change of yor Judgmt I think he wrongs you.

9 In §.8 yor Charge is, That I insinuate as if you perswaded men of the lawfullness of the Ceremonies, wch you say is not true, and Also, That for kneeling you never scrupled it but perswaded not men to it. Ans. 1. As to what I sayd you have an Account more fully in my Answere to §25. 2. If you perswade Us not to kneeling att the Receiption of the Sacramt 'tis because you think our not Communicating wth the Church in that Ceremonie is not in our Case a Sin, if so then what answers all this to that of Mr C. who opposd kneeling in his Booke.

10 Yor 27 § is fully spoken Unto in Answere to §. 24. and yor 28. § is answered in what I said to yor 5th §.

Thus Sr I have been att the paines of giving a distinct Answere to yor Letter, and if you will shake off old prejudices, and impartially Consider what I Urge in my Owne Defence, You may see where yor Mistakes doe lye; and that you may be Convinced that you are lyable to Mistake, I will give you one Uncontroulable Instance. You write as If I had told you, that I had larger papers of Dr Owens by mee wch I promised to send you, but all I said was this, That Dr O. did draw Up some heads of Argument to bee Improved for the Defence of the Dissenters, wch tho not as yet prepard by any One for the Designe, and have been spread abroade in MS. and I desird you would stay the publishing yor Answere Untill I send for those papers, wch in pursuance of the Drs designe, are preparing for the presse. I said not, That any papers of the Drs were preparing for the presse. But some papers drawne Up in pursuance of

the

the Dis Designe, in wch the Diss Notions were more fully explaind, and what hee did but Suggest in Stating the — Controversie largely insisted on, and proved, But yet you write as if I had promised you some larger papers of the Dis wch is a great Mistake.

'Tis true there are larger papers of the Diss in MS wch I have seene & to wch the MS yor Answere is but an Appendix and not clearly enough Understood by it selfe, and therefore yor Catching at this Draught & publishing it with Triumph when you had no sufficient Reason for it is Unjustifiable, & this I thinke is a sufficient Answere to yor Letter, only I must beseech you not to sett yor head a Worcking to squeeze out of my Writings wt is not in them, nor publish to the World a Sense of my Words; wch I never intended but disavow. and then accuse me, as if yor extorted Sense, was mine, and then Charge me for about Twenty Untruths when you cannot make good yor Charge in one Instance. Ma Sr this is but to Trifle in a Serious Matter & spend precious time Idly and Unprofitably

But Sr in Confidence you will guard agt all unnecessary digressions, and keepe to the Controversie, to what is purely Argumentative I did send you in MS a Just State of or Judgmt. about Communicating wth the parish Assemblies as established by Law, and will most Unfeignedly thanke you, for what helpe you will afford Us in this Matter and will take no more notice of yor published Breviate than what is done in what I sent you.

I thinke it requisite to bury my Letter to you, yor Answere to mee, & this my Reply; and Confine our selves to a friendly, and Amicable debating this point, that it may prove advantageous to the Church in the giving Releife Unto tender Consciences of all perswasions, that instead of these heats, & Animosities amongst the

all

all things may bee done in Love and in the ffeare of God, as it becomes Christians suffring for the Truths of our Comon Lord. I am

Yo[ur]s.

No. 1

28

Yours in answer to my last Letter I received: So much of it as I
can find any light in, for instruction or conviction, I hope
I shall endeavour thankfully to improve: So much as
I find to be the meere confident utterance of your mistakes
I shall passe over, no more presuming to tell you of
them, lest I seeme yet more injurious to you, & lest some
one should come to see it, & so I should be taken for
uncivil: I find we are like men that dispute in severall lan-
guages, that understand not one another; You understand
not me, nor I you: And what good will it do to wast time
& offend the selfconfident, by telling that we understand
not one another: whatever the cause be, I am satisfyed it
is at present uncurable. If I tell you that it is a small
thing with me to be censured by many: You suppose I meane
that my censurable sin is a small thing to me, & so you pitty
my impenitence: As if I sinned in all things that all sects do
censure me for, & so I sinned for not being of many contrary
mens minds. If I tell you that you have no cause to suppose
me to be none of the suffering side, in comparison of you,
you seeme to take what I say of the Act of the Afflicters & the
quantity of the punishment, ex parte agentium, to be meant
of the quantity of the suffering ex parte patientium, & tell
me how glad other other men would be of my crums: I
thanke God I never wanted bread or necessary food in my
life: But that makes not the prosecutors execution to be
lesse against me than you. I have suffered so very little from
man that I have little cause with Paul to glory in such infir-
mityes: But (to make this one instance the measure of my
answer to you in homely more) 1° I was twice prosecuted for
my life before the warrs, under the Bps as a Nonconformist
upon occasion of the begining divisions in those times:
2° I was by the insurrection of a rabble that with clubs sought
to kill me, driven from Kederminster into a Garrison. 3° I en-
dured more in the two first yeares warre than I will tell
you of. 4° In the two last yeares I endured more in Cromwells
army by striving in vaine to have prevented our over-
turnings: many a painfull night & day & tiresome wranglings
& at last a feaver, & after the losse of sixscore ounces
of blood. 5° I was under a Law of sequestration for not
taking the Engagement. 6° And under another for not fasting
praying & giving thanks for the bloodshed at Dunbarr &
such other. 7° I have lived in allmost constant paine
night & day (tho tollerable) by the debility I contracted
specially by the forsaid losse of blood: And I should take
living uppon the poorest scraps with health, to be a princely
life or a voluptuous in comparison of above 27 yeares ex-
traordinary constant paine & languor. 7° I lay in teares
in deepest sorrow when our [illegible] had done their worke, in
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] (to the amazemt & consterna-
I know [illegible], who [illegible] the instruments of all our griefe. I know
tion of my soule) the chiefe [illegible] that brought uppon us
wt I say, & [illegible] we all suffer but wth more false confidences (this
to all things & the efficacy [illegible]
if all [illegible] your [illegible]). 8° I suppose you will thinke yt
is only betweene you [illegible]
my refusall of a Bprike & ye salary of ye Kings Chaplaines place
could not this 23 yeares amount to much lesse than twenty
thousand pound. 9° I have bin put to ye charge of removing
my dwelling ten times. 10 I was ye first man in England, I think,
yt was silenced (by Bp Morley in 1661) 11° I was

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cast out of my own place 1660 before most others: & was refused to preach
to ye people there for nothing. 12 I never had a [illegible] to maintaine
me, nor any Salary for my preaching these 24 yeares.
bin laid in Gaile, & received there not a farthing toward 13 I have
from any person living save these. 14 I have had all my Charge(s)
taken from me & sold: 11 warrants signed agt me (5 or six at once) Books
being never called to speake for my selfe or know who accused me
16 I have had about twenty books written agt me by Seekers, Quakers
Libertines, Anabaptists, Separatists, Papists, Prelatists, Presbyterians; & some
of yor party, have perswaded ye world yt I was like to be a Jesuite
or as Dr Owen insinuated, a Socinian, or at best an Arminian, &
15 wt they say of me now if you know not you may learne (by) ye wall
Le Strange, of Dr Mortons late Book, Dr Parkers, Mr Edw. Pelling
abundance more such, besides ye Oxford Convocations books. 16
And truly brother if you are one of those yt would be glad of ye
crumbs yt fall from my table, if you had no better you might
long looke as thin as I. I thanke God I have had (by Charity of
others at least) enough for my selfe & yt helped (perhaps) of as
many as you have helped. But I hope few of yor body take lesse
than mine. I have before I was aware run on in this one instance
to shew how yours answer in many others. Its said Mr Brightman
dyed with feare when he heard of a Pursuivant coming to appre-
hend him: He suffered ye paine patiently more than I: And so may
many of your party by accident, tho none should persecute
ym, if you are so uncharitable as not to relieve them. But
I speake only of ye Masters inflicted by ye persecutors. And if any
one of you have lost more thousand pounds by nonconformity
I had more books written agt them &c than I, I pray you name
him to me. If you say Its long of my selfe, its nothing wch question
you suppose yt I thinke so of you. But if it be ye paine patiently
if you make ye comparison, I confesse yt ye most unbelieving li-
nervous feeble soules suffer most. And for bodily suffering how
gladly should I exchange with healthfull beggars. I will hold
you wth no answer to yor paper, since its likely yt ye Vindication
of Mr Raphson wch you give me notice of, may if I live &
be able, occasion ~~any~~ such a Reply as may also answer your
argumentation, without ye incivility of publishing your letters.
And for you yt are so charitable as yor reproofs of my other
faults intimate, you would not have me such a sot as at ye door
of my transition, to wast my time in answering as many as will
write private Letters to me on condition no one els may see it
nor am I so vaine as to expect yt any thing I say should change
your judgment. If you have any more to say to change mine
I shall at any time receive it, though I cannot promise you yt
ye hearafter I shall answer your desire. I rest

Yor servt R. B.

Jun. 9. 1684 Upon ye receipt of yor second Letter, I adde yt I perceive we are uncapable
of writing to each others Edification, & so of [illegible] without doing you
wrong or [illegible]. I conjecture you to be a Minister (though its possible you
may [illegible] first conjecture) Therefore it is not seemly or [illegible] to tell you how
to talke to you as I would do to a Schoolboy [illegible] speake to you as
grossly you mistake both words & matter [illegible] before he judge. I confesse
teacher who must be taught to understand [illegible] give you no answer [illegible] infallible
I had rather receive yor reproofs [illegible] of the [illegible]
my selfe lyable to error: But I thinke [illegible] ye [illegible] of [illegible] who thinke
who canot beare another to [illegible] publike contradictors [illegible] their judgment
tell me why ye publike Contradicters [illegible] & separate from them [illegible]
[illegible] who contradict all ye Christian world [illegible] notice of any answer to
they contradict, whilst I know not how to give you any [illegible] thought was contradicted
[illegible] I wronged you by mentioning it [illegible] against any dishonour. If 10 or
letter [illegible] sufficient security agt any dishonour. If 10 or
Your name had bin yor sufficient security agt any dishonour.
of you do but agree to put such termes on me

as to answer I know not whom as long as they will write, they may
forbid me to read or pray or talke to any one, but ye, & at last accuse
me for being sick & dying before I answered them. I am fully sa
tisfyed yt almost all yor papers are erroneous, wch an ordinary witt
might discerne if impartiall. You are as fully satisfyed yt mine are
erroneous & worse. I will no more tempt you to invocate ye name
of ye God & Father of or Lord Jesus Christ, or occasion of yor grosse
presumptions; & therfore meane no more to provoke you to such prophanenes
Could not a Rusticke witt have judged better of yt wch you use so
confidently urge about my Holy Comonwealth. I tell you I repent of
ever I wrote it; I consent yt it be burnt. By wt obligation am I
bound to tell you all ye reasons of this. I have told you I retract
not all things in it: I have told ye Oxford Convocation in wt
I judge they misaccuse it: Doth ye rest & confirme now of ye
judicious a man as you seeme to be take this to be inconsistent wth
all ye ~~of~~ injuries I receive about it. May it not be injurious to ac
cuse it of yt wch is undoubted truth. And to take occasion twenty two
years after ye Act of oblivion to publish ye defamations of him
as a rebell & traytor yt hath retracted ye booke. Has not all in its
Is Augustine thus judged of for his retractations. Is it desirable yt
men should make it their comon designe for preferment to preach & print
their flaming outcryes agt ye author of ye booke, & yt any should
damne it for ye comon principles of humanity. Sr are you acquainted
with all my reasons for its retractation. & why I quickly wishd
I had never wrote it. Sr do you invocate God in yor reproofe
wch you understand not. Henceforth I disswade you not from
reproving me, but I purpose if you put 20 & 20 more untruths
in yor letters to tell you no word of them, till you are more
capable of understanding & repentance. Its like yor publike
accusations may occasion such answers of wch other more
impartiall may be judges; wch in yor way yor selfe
alone must be. R. B.

Jun. 16. 1684

Sir I know not whom

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Reverend Sr:

The Candid entertainment you gave my Letter greatly obliged me unto you. I rejoyce exceedingly to find you an Approver of an amicable and friendly debating the controverted points, but am as much grieved at the negligence of the Messenger, why he called not for yor Answere I cannot Imagine, but I assure you I retract not the Motion I made you. I think there is a providence in it, However I am greatly satisfied in wt I writt, and the more so because 'twas so gratefull unto you, and that you would stick at no Cost to suppresse yor Answere to Dr O. if on our more free, and impartiall Disquisition into this matter you should find good reasons for yor doing so.

This in my Judgmt is a great Vindication of you, and what ought to stopp the Mouthes of our Brethren for I hereby perceive that the publishing yor Answere is long of our selves, for if any other beside myselfe had written to you as I did you would I presume have given the same Answere.

But on a perusall of yor Letter I am abundantly convinced of the prudence of this more private Way of managing Controversies of publique Importance. Nothing is more comon than for Us to mistake one another and insist on 'em, but by this way mistakes may be easily rectified.

You have in severall Instances misapprehended me, wch I will shew in another Paper. In this I designe the Confinemt of my selfe to what is most materiall & momentous, I'l not encumber this discourse wth unnecessary Animadversions, but will wave a Direct Reply to yor Answeare to Dr O, for it is immixed wth so much that is personall that it cannot be spoken unto as it deserves wthout some smart reparties that may be interpreted by some too reflective.

Onely in this place my Essay must bee to sett you right about what I said of the M.S. 1. I take the M.S. wch goes under the name of Dr O. to be onely a Rudge Draught or Some Minutes of what he thought necessary to be insisted on in stating the Controversie betweene those Dissenters who cannot hold Locall Communion wth the Parish Churches as by Law established, and their opposites, wth some heads of Argumt that

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that might be improved for the Defence of those Dissenters. I
thinke I have heard the Dr reade some such thing for the
designe I mention. 2 There is one, who has taken some
paines about it, and has enlarg'd on some of those Numbers
intimated in the Drs premisses. I spake not of larger
writings the Dr had left, but what was written by another,
whether I shall be able to procure you a sight of it, now I
cannot tell, but if 't will be gratefull Unto you I will endeavour
it. 3 I had no hand in the spreading this MS. neither do I
know, who had, I knew nothing of it some Months after. and
when I call to minde how dificult 'twas for any to reade
the Drs hand & observed some expressions in it, I cannot
but thinke that the MS came to you Under the disadvantage
of a mistaking Transcriber, and that those that spread it
in MS did the truth & the Dr wrong, and that you who
have made it most publique are most faulty.

What Arch Bpp Bramhall sayes concerning Doctor
Bernards publishing some Posthumous workes of Arch Bpp
Usher about the Sabath wth a little alteration may be applyed
Unto the spreaders and publishers of this MS. If I had
been present I should have disswaded you from it, out of
these prudentiall Considerations. First, The Dr is dead, in the 2
honourable esteeme of all honest Men, both for his Learning
and Piety. And on the one side as it is an exposing of his
justly acquired honour to the hazard of a diminution, especially
considering the MS was not designed for the
Presse, So on the other side it is an Uncomely thing for
any Man who rests Unsatisfied wth what is Urged as his
Judgment to contend wth a person of his Eminency after
his death (wch should make friends wary in publishing
Posthumous workes) Hee who is secured from taking blowes
ought not to give blowes. This is my Sense of the thing.
4. I thinke you might have answered every Objection you
found in the MS. wthout a reference to the Dr, or wthout any
personall Reflections, on so excellent a person now dead. &
besides I thinke you were not Under any Necessity of
publishing to the World some occasionall Discourses you
had wth him in private Conversation. This I looke on as a 3
wrong to humane Societies & I beleive you would take it very
ill, if all yor private Converses should be made publique.

But

But no more of this here, for the great thing I aime att now is the giving you my Sense of this Controversie, whereby you will see that what you have said agt our practise touches us not; And I think it is the same wth Dr Owen.

18 In giving a just State of our Judgement I must give an Historicall Account of Matter of ffact relating unto the Reformation. what measures our Reformers took, what Stepps, what progresse they made and wt is the present frame & Constitution of those Churches to wch the Dissenters belong. All wch I offer to yor Consideration wth a desire you would give mee yor coole & deliberate thoughts in a milde returne.

1 Our ffaith concerning the Catholique Church visible may be seene in the Assemblies Confession, as also in that att the Savoy. We believe that ever since the ffirst plantation of Gospell Churches in the Apostles dayes Christian Doctrines have been professed and Christian Worship and Sacramts have been kept up in the World throughout all Ages hitherto, but in some times & places more purely then other.

2 The Error soon Crept into the Churches, and in divers times and places strangely prevailed yet for the ffirst two or three Centuries a Deviation from the Rule was not so great as in after Ages, for the Church of God was every Age more & more Corrupted and att last a very strange Darknes covered the face thereof, all things out of Order, wch continued so for severall hundred yeares, but God of his Infinite Mercy remembred his Churches, and in this Western part of the Empire raised up the Waldenses in ffrance, and after them Wickliffe in England, John Hus and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, and after these Luther in Germany, who were all so successfull in their endeavouring a Reformation as to erect and build severall particular Churches after a forme more agreeable to the word of God than had been for severall hundred yeares before.

3 The Corruptions wth which the Church was infected were great and the Contagion spreading for not only the frame of their Churches, their Ministry, Worship & Discipline

partly

greatly disordered but their very Doctrines strangely tainted and accordingly the Essayes of our great Reformers were for the bringing all things to the sacred Scripture, the only and compleate Rule of the Christian Religion./

4 The Successe of these Reformers was in severall Countries diverse, some went further then others, and the Transmarine Reformed Churches for the most part, did lay aside the Corrupt Doctrines, frame of Particular Churches, Ministry, Discipline and way of Worshipp that was retained in the Roman Church.

5 In England after the Strugglings of Tindall, Barnes, Frith, & Lambert, Henry 8th shaking off the Popes usurped supremacy, the great Cranmer and many others, even the whole Convocation of the Clergie made great Alterations for the better, & fix'd on the true Basis for a thorough Reformation, wch was to Admiration carryed on in the dayes of Edward the Sixth, they asserted the Divine Right of the Presbyters Office, that is of the ancient and most primitive Episcopacy wch is Parochiall or Congregationall, and declared that all those Superiorities wch one Preist or Elder had over another to be held by the Ordinance of Man only, and had the Noble young Prince Edward lived in all probability the Reformation would have bin as great as Mr B. or Dr Owen or any other Learned and Judicious Non Conformist could reasonably desire. The Measures they tooke were such that Dr Heylin declares he lookes not on King Edwards death to be an Infelicity to the Church of England, for saith he, if this young Prince had lived he would have Strip'd the Church of all her externall Glory. i.e. he would have reduc'd her to her primitive Simplicity and had those Worthyes that dyed in Q Maries dayes survived that bloody persecution, they would have gone on wth the Reformation as appeares by their blaming themselves that they went not on further wth it in that short time./

6 In Q Elizabeths dayes there was a strong partie against a further Reformation, but many Learned and pious Men, great Sufferers under Q Mary struggled mightily tho humbly for the bringing all things neerer to the Word. and ever since the beginning of Q Elizabeths dayes these two parties have continued in the Church, the Opposers of Reformation prevailing in most

of

of time they strictly required all to rest satisfied in wt was done and obliged the Clergie first to Use, and at last to Approve of those very things that needed Reformation on wch occasion many were necessitated to leave their places and become Non=Conformists.

7 These Non conformists being still convinced in Conscience that in their places they must humbly endeavour Reformation, write & petitioned for it. Two Admonitions to the Parliamt. severall Petitions & Complaints of the People published. Dr Whitgift, afterwards Archbp of Canterbury, answere the Admonition wch was defended by Mr Cartwright, and then there was severall other things written on both sides.

8 The things pleaded for by the Non Conformists was a Reforming the Ministry, Worshipp and Discipline of the Church. Tho Diocesane Episcopacy was not then by Law established, as of Divine Right yet the Parish Minister, who was acknowledged to bee a Pastor had not that full exercise of his Pastorall Office allowed him wch was earnestly contended for.

9 It must bee acknowledged that amongst the Non Conformists there were men of different apprehensions about the way and manner of obtaining a far the Reformation, some but not many were very extravagant in their Attempts, and amongst the more judicious, some were for the managing all things wth the greatest temper hoping by their patient enduring what they could not approve of they might gaine the better opinion amongst their Superiors wch might be attended wth the longed for Success, others thought it their duty to waite no longer, but to congregate themselves together according to those Rules they beleived were Scripturall.

10 But

The more the Non Conformists pleaded for Reformation the more they were opposed, and after Whitgift was seated in the Chaire att Canterbury, he did by his Three Articles make the termes of Clergie Conformitie, more strict than the Law of the Land had donne and proceeded

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against all those who Conformed not, even to suspension deprivation &c. His proceedings were so very severe and sharpe agt the Nonconformists, that it moved the Nobility to take Compassion on em, yea Her Maties Councill wrote in favour of them, ffor this Consult a parte of the Register, & those Letters that are in the Harmony of the Principles of the old and present Nonconformists. that past between that excellent person the Lord Burleigh and the Arch Bp

11 On the entrance of King James into the Throne and the death of Whitgift, Bancroft a severe Man agt all farther progresses in the Reformation being for the Divine Right of a Diocesane Episcopacy did his Utmost to divert his Maty from all Designes of an Alteration in the Governmt for the better, onely some things the King would have done, but for the most part by the Kings giving Life to the Canons agreed on in the Convocation, 1o Jacobi the Reformation went backwards, and the number of Nonconformists encreased as may bee seene, in the Lincolneshire Abridgment.

12 After Bancrofts death Under Abbott who succeeded him the Nonconformists had some releife and grew more considerable, but by Laud who, as Heylin saith inclined more to favour the Papists then these NonConformists (who were Nickenamed Puritanes) the Nonconformists were greatly oppressed in the High Commission Court and otherwise. But yet at last it so fell out that the whole Kingdome had shaken off the frame of Diocesane Churches, Ministry, Discipline and Way of Worshipp & were by a Solemne Oath bound in their places to endeavour a Reformation according to the Word of God & the best reformed Churches./

13 The Hierarchy being laid aside, many worthy Learned & Judicious Divines endeavored in their places a Reformation as by Oath they were bound, amongst whom the Reverend Mr B. may bee termed the Cheife, who in Worcester and adjacent Counties made a large progresse. Mr Baxters Bookes against Episcopacy & agt Mr Blake ~~about~~ what Faith was necessary to entitle

entitle to the Sacramt were of great Use, but his Gildas Salvianus was extraordinary, for wch Booke I am Obliged to blesse God and thanke Mr Baxter & wish wth all my heart all young Ministers on their entrance on the Ministry wod diligently and frequently peruse it & doe desire Mr B. to give us the Second parte he promised.

14 Mr B. was very successfull in establishing the Divine Right of Parochiall or Congregationall Churches restoring to the Presbiters the whole of their Pastorall Office, and to the Church the exercise of Discipline, in like manner so did the Congregationall Men in the City of London & many other places of the Kingdome, The Presbiterians indeede Attempted the setting Upp a Nationall Church Governmt on the Basis of a Divine Right, but wth out effect, and since that time this notion has been exploded by most that are of that name.

15 In 1662 this Reformation was by Act of Parliamt destroyed, by all the Clergie abjured, the Diocesan Church frame, Ministry & Discipline settled as of Divine Right and all the Clergie and principall Officers in Cities, Corporations & Militia, yea even the Vestries in every Parish sworne to abide by this Diocesane Constitution & to rest satisfied in it, whence the Case of Non Conformity is quite another thing then it was before the warr.

For

1 the Diocesan Constitution was Removed and buryed and Christs Institutions had possession, and the Ministers in pursuance of the Solemne Oath & Covenant applyed themselves to the building Up of the Churches according to the Rule of the Word, and therefore by doing any thing that putts the worke back do Contribute to the pulling downe what they once built Up & so make themselves Transgressors 98

Tis Observable that the the Apostles did beare with many of the Jewish Customes when they were building & planting Gospell Churches before the Jewish Church state was Utterly removed & buryed yet when once the Jewish Church was removed & buryed the primitive Christians

would not

would not Symbolize wth them in any thing they would not
touch nor handle one Ceremonie. So that altho the Old
Non conformists did beare wth much in the Church of England
before the Removall of that ffraude, yet, wee may well
presume that if they had been now alive they would not
have any thing to doe wth them.

2 Now the Parish Churches according to the Law are
not particular Churches of Christ as they were at first.
Before the Warr a parish Church had its Pastor, but
now it hath not. But to the Constitution of a particular
Church there are necessary severall things, wch in Parish Assemblies, ~~there~~ are wanting
1 The Covenant of Consent, for as Mr E B. tells us, to bee a
Church wthout the Covenant of Consent is impossible.
(Eir Cathol Concord p 23.) " If many bee forced in to a Comunion
" not Consenting it is a prison, and they are not a Church or
" for some Occasionall Act of Religion, it is not thereby
" made a Church, if they be Comanded to Consent & do not,
" and if it only be their Duty, it maketh them not a Church
" but only proves, that they ought to be one. But 1st the
Parish Assemblies as by Law established meete not by
Consent to be a Church, they meete on other Occasions
of Religion as a part of a Church. 2 The Minister
Consenteth not to bee their Pastor, but is sworne to
the Contrary, and the Vestry the principall part of the
Parish Consent not, but are sworne to the Diocesane
Governmt.

2 The Parish Assemblie want a Pastor, & tho the
Pastor and the Flock are an essentiall Constitutive
parte of a particular Church, as Mr E B. observes, when
he saith it may be a Comunity wthout a Pastor, but not a
Politie, not an Ecclesiasticall Society. But the Parish
Minister is not a Pastor, he is but the Bps Curate, he's
sworne agt a being a Pastor as he is a parish Minister &
'tis impossible for any Man to Make him a Pastor agt
his Will.

3 The Parish Assemblie is not vested wth that power wch
belongs to a particular Church of Christ, it doth not lye in them
to choose a Pastor, nor can Minister & People exercise any
Discipline

Discipline, they are not to judge who is meete to be baptiz'd who not, who is meete to bee Receiued in to Communion who not, who is meete to Continue or to be excluded, the parish Minister cannot Act as a Pastor amongst his parishioners, the Pastorall Office is peculiarly appropriated and Confined Unto the Bpp who is the Sole Pastor of the particular Diocesane Church of wch the Parish is but a Parte as a family may bee. In all or most of these Instances wch are momentous, and important there is a difference betweene the Old Parish Churches & the present and what Argumts were of force to Oblige men to Communicate wth the Parish Churches of Old are not so now, wee may as well Urge the same Argumts for a Master of a familys exercising the Pastorall Office in his family and for the people of the house to receive the Lords Supper at his hands as Urge them to hay Communion wth the parish Assemblie wch is not a particular Church, nor has a Pastor in it, any more then a Pious family

3 Now Parish Assemblies as by Law established are in their frame & Constitution destructive of the Old sort of Parish Churches, yea destructive of the Church Species, Ministry and Discipline of Christs Institution. for they are established as partes of a Diocesane particular Church, wch they say is of the Lowest sort or Ranke of particular Churches, and to Communicate wth them, as by Law required is to Communicate wth them as partes of a Diocesane Church, that is, tis to Communicate wth them as they are destructive of Christs Churches Ministry, and discipline, for as they are partes of a particular Church, their frame is destructive of those institutions of Christ.

The frame of the present Parish Assemblies is Diocesane, and who ever is a member wth them is United Unto the Bpp as their head, who ever is a member of any particular Church he takes the Pastor of it for his Pastor and Consents to Submitt Unto him in the exercise of the Government and Discipline of that Church, who ever fix their Communion wth the Church of England must be interpreted

to

to owne that kinde of Ministry & Discipline, that is in it. So saith Mr B. he that will have Communion wth the Church must Consent to the Ministry, Worshipp and Discipline of the Church.

To Apply this. To have Communion wth the Parish Church as established by Law is to have Communion wth her as shee is a parte of a Diocesane Church and 'tis to take the Pastor who is the Bpp for their Pastor, & to Consent to bee under him in the Exercise of his Discipline, 'tis to Approve, not only of their Worshipp but moreover of their Church frame, Ministry and Governmt.

This is the true State of our Case and the true Grounds of our wthholding Communion from the Parish Assemblies lye here.

1 The Parish Assemblies are but parte of a Diocesane particular Church of the lowest Ranke in wch wee cannot fix but by owning that frame or Species of Churches, taking the Pastor of it, namely the Bpp for our Pastor, Consenting to their Ministry Worshipp & Discipline. But

2. Wee being Convinced that this Diocesane frame is destructive of the Church Species that is of Christs institution, of his Ministry & Discipline, we cannot, we durst not fix our Communion there. So that

16 Wee ground not our wthholding Communion wth the Church of England on any thing that is Common to all the Churches in the World. For

1 Wee Seperate from no Churches further then they Seperate from the Churches of Christ in the most primitive times, and wherein the Churches for severall hundred yeares since have seperated from the primitive Churches ~~times~~ wee dare not follow em.

2 We Unchurch no true Church of Christ, but acknowledge them to be what indeede they are, so farr as they are

found

Sound wee acknowledge 'em to bee so, and so far wee hold Communion wth them, tho not locally (wch is impossible) yet mentally, All those Churches that retaine the Catholike faith and Sacramts wee owne them as Sound partes of the Catholique Church.

3 Wee Separate not from any Church meerly on the Account of their Using formes of prayers, If there be nothing to bee Offer'd agt the Prayers themselves, or the Ceremonies or the Imposition of somewhat as Termes of Communion wch wee Cannot lawfully do wee insist not on it.

4 Wee do not separate from the Church of England on the Account of any Tollerable Miscarriages in their Ministers or People. Wee know there are too many sinfull practices amongst our Selves and in our owne persons, and therefore must take heede wee lay not the Stresse of our Separation on what would oblige Us to Separate from our Selves as well as from our owne or other Churches.

5. Wee do not ground our Separation on the Supposition that the Church of England is not a sound parte of the Catholique Church. Wee looke Upon her to bee very Sound in her Doctrines of ffaith & Sacraments for the most parte. Wee beleive Salvation may be had in her Communion by those, who do not agt the manifest Convictions of their owne Conscience Comply wth what is sinfull. Those who are fully perswaded that they must approve of some Sin if they Conforme and yet will Conforme cannot Obtaine Salvation in her Communion, but Others, who are not Under such Convictions but are satisfied in their Conscience that they may lawfully Communicate wth her, they do well and what I trust God will accept.

6 Wee say that if we could wth a good Conscience Communicate wth the Church of England in her parish Assemblies as by Law required, we should thinke it our Duty

to

to fix our Communion as Mr B. and Mr Humfrey do.
ffor wee thinke we must do all wee lawfully can in
Obedience to the higher powers, for the peace of the
Church, wch might conduce to the Salvation of a
thousands of Souls. the establishing the protestant
Religion in Europe & the Subversion of Popery &
ruine of all their Plotts. But

7 Wee are Convinced that there is somewhat
Sinfull in Conformity I meane in Lay Conformity,
the termes of her Communion are Sinfull, And wt
particular Church soever imposes any things necessary
to Communion wth her, wch are Sinfull we cannot hold
Locall Communion wth that particular Church. But
yet so farr, as they hold Communion wth the Catholique
Church, so farr we do hold mentall Catholique Communion
wth them. And this in thesi Mr B. approves of.
So then.

17 Wee ground our Separation from the Church of
England on what is peculiar unto her as shee is by
Law established, as shee is of a different fframe &
Constitution from herselfe before the Warr. or att
least in all Q: Elizabeths dayes.

Lett us reflect againe on the History of Matter of
ffact relating to this Matter and wee shall finde.

1 That as the fruite of the Laborious and pious en-
deavors of the Old NonConformists, as the ffruite of
their prayers & teares & grevious Sufferings, it pleased
the Lord in his providence to remove the Diocesane
Constitution of Churches, their Ministry Worshipp &
Discipline, ~~& to give them to Congregationall~~ Churches
their Ministry Worshipp & Discipline, wch are of
Christs owne Institution the possession, tis their duty
to keepe it.

Wee doe but keepe to those Priviledges we have as
Christians & Right unto & wth wch wee were possessed. Ne
kum and

humane Lawes can justly dispossesse us, and if wee should parte wth them, wee betray that trust Jesus Christ has Comitted Unto Us: As we received it from the Lord so must we deliver it Unto our posterity. To this many of Us are engaged by Solemne Oath, and all by speciall Comand from the Lord, we must hold it fast, what ever wee endure, what ever wee suffer, or Undergoe, we must not Consent to parte wth it, but wt in Us lyes we must do to preserve and keepe it.

The Reasons for this are Many, but for the present I wave the Consideration of them, onely desiring the Reader to Consider, That what was a Cogent Argumt to Oblige Us before the yeare 1662 to erect Congregationall Churches, Ministry & Discipline, is still of fforce on our Consciences now, what wee ought to have done then wee must do now. But

2 The Parish Assemblies as now by Law established namely as partes of a Diocesane Church & declared to be jure divino is in its owne Nature destructive of and by Law sett Upp in Opposition Unto the Churches & Ministry & Discipline of Christe. The Divine Right of Congregationall Churches is destructive of the Divine Right of Diocesane. They can never fix together. 'tis naturally impossible they should, and therefore to Countenance, Encourage and Support the One is to discountenance Discourage & destroy the Other. Especially when the one is sett Upp to suppresse the Other. Congregationall Churches were in possession, there comes a Law to damne them & to sett Up a species of Churches and Ministry & Discipline wth glorious pretences to a Divine Right, But really an Humane Invention onely instead of wt is of Christs Appointmts. Besides

3 Who ever of Us in Obedience Unto Christs Comandmts shall presume to Assert the Divine Right of parochiall or Congregationall Churches or any thing against the Diocesane fframe he is by the Canons an excommunicate Person, And who is declared ~~to be~~ ipso facto Cutt off from

their

their Communion and tho we are not bound to bee our owne Executioners, yet wee cannot thinke that 'tis the Will of God wee should force our selves amongst them, & Incorporate wth them, even when they are in a Bottome destructive of what wee beleive is of God, wee cannot embarque wth them, who are avowed Enemies to Christs Churches Ministrye & Discipline, and are for the most parte sworne against it. Especially considering

4 That if we should fix amongst em we must reste satisfied in a Church State wthout being Under the pastorall Care of any that can possibly looke after Us, Or Use Christs Ordinances for the furtherance of our Salvation. Wee know it to bee our Duty to be fixed Members of some particular Church, but it must bee in such a Church where there is a pastor, who can in person looke after Us. But this cannot bee in the Church of England.

All these Considerations are appropriate to the Church of England, and the Reasons insisted on are not Comon to Other Churches, Our Case is a Singular Case.

The Whole then that lyes on Us to prove in Justifying our wthholding Communion from the Church of England is this

1 That wee are bound in Conscience to do our Utmost in our places to bee for and adheare Unto those Churches wch are of Christs Institution.

2 That the present Diocesane Constitution is destructive of it and

3 That the falling in or Communicating with the Church of England is inconsistent wth the duty of Adhearing Unto the Churches of Christs Institutions.

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Sir,

I have received yrs of Nov: 30th; in ye first and last line whereof I m
with a doubled wonder. The first, yt you should receive my letter
late: The second yt you should answer it so soone. I cannot but
mervaile, where my letter should lie hid for ye space of 3 moneths,
then at last come to your Handes. But yt you should returne so large
swer to it in lesse than 3 Dayes (especially ye intermediate Day being Sun
wherein, I presume, you were taken up with ye publick Service of yt Lord
whose Name it beares) is a far greater mervaile to mee, you have deserv
ye Repute of a Person very ready at your Pen. But this, I thinke, exce
all yt ever you did before.

But to come to ye substance of your Reply. In ye first place, I am to thanke
for your Civilities, wch you scatter here & there throughout your letter
undeserved Elogies of my Person, & Booke. In ye next, for yt particular Acc
which you have taken so much paines to give mee, of ye Passages in my Boo
whereon you ground those Censures in your Appendix. But I could heartily w
yt you had spared those Elogies, so yt you had spared your Reproaches too, wch
heape anew upon mee. For I hope to make it appeare to you, yt I have
lesse deserved these, yn those. I could wish also yt you had reviewed my Bo
with a more carefull & indifferent Eye; for yn I have good reason to thinke
would have found more Cause to have studied an Apology for your mistakes
harsh language, (as you have heretofore done in ye like case) yn to charge
afresh with your former Accusations, and those aggravated, with more odiou
termes, yn you ever used before.

As you free mee from any Injury yt ever I did you, so you would have mee
free from any Suspicion, yt malice or any dislike of any Person, or Judgment
in other matters, was ye Cause of those Passages yt offend mee, seing wee are
alike Strangers to each other. But as my Charity will not suffer mee to
charge you with malice, so you have given mee too great occasion to thin
yt ye dislike of my Judgment in this, & some other matters, (with ye dislike
yt party, whereof you conceive mee to be, & wch you can hardly mention
writings, without an hard Censure) hath induced you to deale more harsh
with mee, yn otherwise you would have done; since I doe not find yt you
others so hardly, who will differ from you in opinion. I am afraid, yt this
prejudice hath not a little perverted your Judgment, and made you as gre
Stranger to ye true Sense of my Booke, as you were to ye Authour.

Next you acquaint mee with ye occasion, wch moved you to censure mee &
Discourse, in your Appendix; viz: yt some Ministers (none of ye godly Reve
or Altereformers yt I deale with, for wch I like ym never ye worse) & others
ur persuasion cast my Booke in your way, as an Hindrance to Catechiz
& personall Instruction, wch you were setting up in your County. But how
concernes mee, or can justify you in those Censures, I am yet to learne.
I was so far from setting on or incouraging in ye Designe, yt I was alto
a Stranger to ye whole Business, and never heard a syllable of it, before you
acquainted mee with it in this your letter. And as great a Stranger
to ye persons of those sequestred Ministers whom you so odiously characte
for powrers in of Drinke, in ye company of your looser People, & powrers ou
Scornes agt your Self-denying & industrious Ministery, who were so zealou
Edify, & save their Peoples Soules. I could wish, you were as great a Strang
to ym, in ye latter part of ye Character. Neither is my Booke, for ought I c
see, any whit more guilty yn ye Authour, wch speakes not one word by ye dis
ragemt, or hinderance of yt wch you call so necessary a worke, but rathe
commends, & countenanceth it. My Ep: Ded: will tell you yt ye first Rudim
thereof were drawen in a Catechisticall Lecture. I have alwayes esteemed Cat
zing, & personall Instruction (as occasion is offered) so they be piously & prud
managed, more apt & effectuall meanes towards ye saving of Soules, yn prea
at large, wch is too often practised in this world, & vainglorious
for ostentation, ye rest, as wee have too great reason to feare. And I have
accordingly put ym in practise, where ever I have yet come. It is true, indee
I entitle ye Creed to ye Apostles, whose name it hath alwayes borne, as fa
I can find, neither doe you deny yt it belonges to those Authours. And as
ye Descent of Xt into Hell, I leave it in ye Creed, as I found it, so doe you
I medled not at all with interpreting ye Sense of it, as neither doe you in y
Paraphrase. So yt I wonder, how you came to quarrell with mee upon
of these 2 Grounds. Perhaps, an indifferent Stander by will rather lay ye
of those Tumults & Disturbances you so much complaine of, on those who
needlessly startled ye People by a new Christning of ye old Creed, & by le
out ye Exposition of Christs Descent into Hell, when they explained
ye other Articles more at large. If you thought ~~any~~ such an one
yt it was not put into ye Creed by ye Apostles, nor signified any Thing
for wt was before exprest in clearer Termes, why did you not cut it
from ye Body of ye Creed as a superfluous Branch? But if you tho
it put in by them, & yt it hath a distinct sense of its owne, why di
not explaine it to your People as you did ye rest? why
you leave them [illegible] children [illegible]
[illegible]

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x

As for ye language, wch you are pleased to bestow upon mee; I leave it wholly
to ye impartiall Reader (as you would have mee) to judge of, whether it be
scornfull, & contumelious, or no: but even to your selfe. And you seeme to
acknowledge as much in ye following words, wherein you plead for your ex-
cuse, yt if another were guilty of ye Crimes you charge mee with, you
would not take ym for Scorne & Contumely etc: because deserved by them.
But yt, if you unjustly accuse mee of them, I may justly say, yt your Igno-
rance, & Temerity were ye cause. How unjustly you accuse mee of these
Crimes, will appeare by & by. As for ye latter, I understand not ye way of
applying those Antidotes & Preservatives you talke of, agt ye supposed poi-
son of my Booke, by spitting Reproaches in ye face of ye Writer; or how, such
Reflections upon any Person, as you are pleased to style them in ye close of your Letter,
are ye unavoidable Results of ye Confutation of his Doctrine. I never could
see as yet how ye reviling of ye Authour, did conduce to ye rectifying of Errours
or ye reclaiming of any sober Reader. Our best & most Eminent Divines,
who have writt agt ye dangerous Errours of old Rome, or ye destructive Fancies
of new-sprung Sectaries, have proceeded in another Method, & made it ye
Business, to confute ye Sophisticall Proofes of their Adversaries, not to calum-
niate, or abuse their Persons. This also was S. Austens way of old, who of
all ye Fathers, was most exercised in Polemicall Discourses, agt ye Hereticks
of his Times; & yet hee got not his renowned Title of Malleus Haereticorum
by harsh words, but by hard Arguments. You bore very unwillingly ye
Load of such Slanderous Reproaches, & you saw by experience, yt hee was far
from advantaging ye Cause hee undertooke by laying ym upon you. I could
wish, you had made better use of this Experiment, by applying it unto
your owne Practise; for yn, I conceive, you might have spared ye labour
of so many Apologies, as your mistakes & undeserved Provocations have
drawn from you. I am sure, you might have saved both your selfe & mee
ye labour of these Replies. This reviling & contemptuous Language I
find used by ye Ancient Pagan Philosophers & ye Hereticks of ye Primitive
Times, agt ye orthodoxe Professours of Xianity; by ye Popish writers of ye
latter Dayes, & by Martin Mar-prelate, & some others of his stampe, in ye
Dayes of our Fathers. But, I am sorry to find it imitated by any sober
minister of ye Gospell, who is so humble as to professe himselfe a worme,
& so charitable, as to professe himselfe a Reconciler of dissenting Parties
when hee can hardly mention ye Episcopall, without an hard Censure. You
tell mee, for excuse yt you meant mee no scorne; which is but to mocke mee
in your use of scornfull language. You tell mee also, yt my Booke was publi-
shed, so no private Antidote would serve. But a private Letter to mee, before
ye coming forth of your Appendix would have served, & saved you ye paines
of compounding yt Antidote, for there had beene no need of it, if ye right mea-
ning had beene knowne. If you had beene pleased to acquaint mee with your
Exceptions, you might have spared your Preservatives, whereas you told
others of my supposed Crimes, by publishing ym in Print without acquainting
mee. So yt I dare appeale to your selfe, whether you have candidly dealt
with mee, by making my case your owne, & asking your selfe in earnest,
whether you would be so handled? S. Paul thus lessons Timothy. The Ser-
Tim: 2. 24, 25. vant of ye Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach,
patient, in meekness instructing those yt oppose ymselves. Doe not you for-
get this Precept, wn you cannot use him gently, who never opposed you?
9. St. Jude also informes us, That Michael ye Archangel when contending with
ye Devil, hee disputed about ye Body of Moses, durst not bring agt him a
railing Accusation. Did you not forget this Patterne when you so odi-
ously charged mee with spitting contempt in ye face of ye Scriptures? Sure-
ly you did, except you thinke your selfe better yn ye Archangell, or mee
worse yn ye Devil.

After this justifying of your ill Language, instead of acknowledging these mis-
takes wch occasioned it, you charge mee with utterly mistaking ye reason of
your Doings, whereas it is not, you tell mee, my differing from you in 2 or 3
Particulars wch offended you so much, but ye overvaluing of Scripture, and
and Xianity, & my exceeding Impatience towards those yt differ from mee.
How guilty I am of this feeble heavy Charge, I shall make appeare
to you, when I come to examine those Instances wch you produce agt
mee. In ye meane time, I see not how your Similitude of reproaching,
those whome chiding, or fighting in ye streets, concernes mee at all in
this matter. The Argument of my Discourse was Positive, not Pole-
micall. I answere indeed those Objections, wch I found brought agt the
Tenent I maintained, but I doe not so much as name ye Authours whose
I answer their Objections, yea, I expressly say yt I have no quarrell to
them. p. 198. I mention ym in generall Termes in my Epist: Ded., but
it is with a civill acknowledgment of their Learning. And Elsewhere
in severall Places, I occasionally name ye chiefest of ym, ye renowned
Vossius, but still with regard & honour.

I am very glad yt you professe to joyne with mee heartily in honouring
of ye Creed in this forme of words, & yt you daily use it in Baptysm
in ye Assembly. I could wish it were as constantly used in ye publick
Service also, in all Church-Assemblies, where there is no Baptisme, as
it hath beene anciently used in all Liturgies, yt I ever yet met with.
But I am much gladder, yt you concurre with mee in Judgment, about

3.

written, & unwritten Traditions; and, yt you doubt not but ye Articles of ye Faith were delivered by ye Apostles, some of ym in ye same words, & ye rest in words to ye same sense & purpose. But after such an acknowledgment, I very much wonder how you should looke upon mee as your adversary, when I agree with you in ye maine: or, yt you should be so forward to take mee for Popish, as you afterwards doe, when you complaine of being commonly defamed for such an one upon ye very same Reason. As for any over-doing, & Excesses, any Defect, & Contradiction of Evidence, wch you impute to mee, I hope to quit my selfe of, when I come to Particulars.

After this generall Prefacing wch serves as a Velitation before the maine Battle, you come to charge mee in earnest with those heinous Crimes, wch you but touch't on in your Appendix, in generall Termes.

The first, is want of moderation; wch you much wonder yt I see not, whereas any one yt is wholly impartiall, who reads over my Epistle, Preface & Booke, will be like to say much more, yn you have done, viz. yt I powre Reproach & Contempt upon Dissenters, as if it were my Designe to make ym odious to ye world. And for proofe hereof, you cite severall Passages which you very boldly charge upon mee; and make mee a Reproacher (not only of Sanford & Parker (whom you honour with ye Elogy of as godly & learned, as most ever England bred) but of Bp Usher also, & most of ye Church of England formerly; withall, you make mee a Favourer of Papists & Socinians. But all these hot Charges will soone vanish in ye Aire when I have shewen you ye mistakes, upon wch you proceed: & wch you might have seene your selfe, if Passion & Prejudice had not blinded your Eyes. For 1. I call not those learned men (Donne, Vossius, Ep: Dod) plaine Pagans, & Apostates, as you out of a blind rage accuse mee. I say only, yt such Endeavours as theirs, wch by their severall Arguments in disproofe of ye received Authours of ye Creed (& consequently in derogation of its Authority) are apt to occasion a falling away from Faith & from God, who is ye Authour of it: as those Xtians in ye Church of Corinth who abusing their knowledge & Xtian liberty, sate at meat in ye Idols [illegible] scandalized their weaker Brethren, who thought it done in honour of ye Idol, & thereupon turned Idolaters in earnest. 2. Whereas you say I make [illegible] Seconds to ye Socinians, agt whom I powre out most of my Zeale, only for being Adversaries to my opinion, yt so I may bring its other Adversaries to be [illegible] them, & partake of ye same odious Titles — is a most odious Calumny. [illegible] indeed p. 18. yt ye denial of ye Authours of ye Creed makes ye Socinians in all likelihood, ye bolder in their [illegible] of it. And Pref: p. 13. yt they who deny, & doubt of ye received Authours of ye Creed unawares make way for Socinianisme; as they doe also, who deny, or debilitate ye authority of ye Church, and Fathers. But in ye very same place I say, yt I dare not be so rash as to taxe them of it. Whereas I charge ye Socinians every where with corrupting & overthrowing ye anciently rec'd Faith & subverting ye very foundations of Xtianity. What if they magnify ye Apostles Creed, & extoll ye sufficiency of it? So doe all sober Divines, ye testimonies of many of whom I have produced Chap: 9th. And so doe you selfe in this Letter, when you say, yt you have provoked many to blame you for blaming ye too large Creeds of many, & for wishing a restauration of ye ancient Apostolick Simplicity. Yet you would be loth to be taken for a Second of theirs. The same men magnify ye Scripture also, & extoll its Sufficiency as much, or more yn you, or ye best of Protestants. Yet they are never ye better Xtians for yt, because they doe it upon an ill Designe, to shelter ymselves & their Errours, under ye generality & ambiguousnes of its Expressions, by corrupting ye true Sense thereof. Neither on ye contrary are they ye worse Xtians, who proclaime its Sufficiency in opposition to ye groundles Traditions of ye Church of Rome. 3. Where-ever I declaime agt Novellists, or Schismaticks, or idolized Innovatours, or those who broach heretical Tenents, you construe my words, as if I meant all those who differ from mee in this particular of ye Authours of ye Creed. Whereas, if you had consulted those Places, with ye Equity & Candour of an impartiall Reader, you would have found yt I meane all Sectaries in generall, whether in our owne Country, or elsewhere, who either overthrow ye old fundamentals, or bid men, under paine of Damnation, to embrace their new, upstart Opinions. And, among ym I chiefly taxe ye Socinians, whose Abettour notwithstanding you are pleased to make mee; when, upon as good reason, you might have call'd mee a Jew, or a Turk. 4. When I taxe some of those, who would be counted ye most orthodoxe Reformers, for dashing out ye Article of Xts Descent into Hell, either in words, or ye ancient rec'd Sense, though generally attested by ye verdict of Antiquity: you aske mee, how Bp Usher & ye most of ye Ch: of Engld formerly deserve this of mee? Nay, how did yt Rd Bp deserve this of you, to acknowledge yt hee dashed out ye Article either way, who was so profest an Honourer of Antiquity? Sure you ought, in honour of his Memory, as well as of Antiquity, to have presumed yt if hee forsooke ye ancient rec'd Sense, hee did it not purposely, but upon mistake. As for ye Ch: of Engld (ye most whereof you make my Adversaries in this Point) shee hath publickly declared her Sense thereof, conformably to yt of Antiquity, in 3 severall Places; wch I am so far from opposing, yt I have more than once subscribed to her Judgement, and am still of ye same mind. Though as I told you before, you most unjustly quarrell with mee about this, who meddle not at all with expounding ye Sense thereof. As for ye antiquity of ye Article, when you find other Deliverers of it, I shall thanke you for the Discovery. In ye interim, I must crave your Pardon, if I leave it as I found it, and ascribe it to ye same Apostles, to whom ye rest of ye Creed hath hitherto intitled, and is yet denied by your Selfe. 5. But ye grossest mistake of all is, yt you will needs make all those my Adversaries on whom I lay ye load of all these Reproaches you reckon up, & particularly, of subverting Xtianity, and drawing ye world to Infidelity, who thinke not, ye Apostles composed this very forme of wordes; when (besides wt I have already said) I am so farr from making them guilty of such high & heavy Charges, yt I charge ym not at all with ye least Crime though I have here maintaind ye contrary opinion. All yt I contend for throughout my whole Discourse is, yt ye Aples, before ye N. Test: was written, or (wch comes all to one) before they dispersed ymselves into their severall Provinces, composed this Summary of Fundamentals, in ye same number of Articles, set downe in the same Method, & in ye same or equivalent Termes, and so delivered it to ye Church by an orall Tradition. This very same opinion, for ought I can see, yt yo Selfe hold both in yo Appendix & this Letter. And if you had not, either wilfully shut your Eyes, or most oscitantly past over severall Passages in my Booke, you might easily have seene as much. Consult to this purpose p. 199. 188. 97, 98. 26. 48, 49, 50, 52.

But you were angry & had an itch to picke a quarrell with mee, because my Booke was unhappily cast in ye way of yor Reformation. And this caused you to lay hold very greedily on every Passage, wch you thought might iustify yor quarrell, but neglectfully to passe by those, wch might set mee right in your Opinion, or iustify mee unto those whom you have laboured to incense agt mee, under pretence of composing Preservatives for your Readers. Yet I hope, yt upon this Discovery of your Mistakes, you will doe mee ye right to acquit mee of those supposed Crimes, if not to confesse in your owne wordes, That you have sinfully spit Reproaches in my face, by blaming mee for it.

As for my reproachfull speaking of such Catechismes, as have flowen abroad in those Times (wch you taxe mee by ye By) I only censure such as are erroneous, or defective or stuft with uncertainties, & inconsistencies. And for such, I hope you are as averse to them as I; I am sure, you ought to be. But for ye rest, I expressly except ym, & speake of ym with Regard. And yet I could heartily wish, yt even those Catechismes of ye better Sort had not bene published in such Numbers, to ye derogation & disuse of those set forth by Authority. I know not any of ye Reformed Churches, wch allowes ye like Liberty.

The Second Crime you charge mee agen with, is yt heinous one of spitting contempt in ye face of ye Scriptures; wch you blame mee not for being offended at if I be Innocent. And when I have proved my Innocency, I hope to find so much Ingenuity in you, as to acquit mee of ye Guilt, & lay ye Blame upon your Selfe, for so odious a Slander, wch I leave to yor calme Consideration.

And to make this supposed Crime ye more odious, you aggravate, & set it of by comparing it with your Zeale for ye honour of ye Scriptures; telling mee, yt had it not bene dearer to you, yn all ye world, & your Life, I might have more freely accused your Zeale for it. You know, who bragged in ye Gospell, I am not as other men are, or even as this Publicane. And yt vainglorious Reformer under ye Law, Come, see my Zeale for ye Lord of Hosts. And yet upon tryall, hee proved himselfe never ye better for such Brags. As for my owne particular, though I dare boast nothing of my Selfe, who confesse my Selfe nothing; yet I so farr trust in ye Grace of God, yt if ye honour of ye Scripture came in competition with either of those, or both together, hee would encline & enable mee to preferr it before ym, how abominable soever you would make mee appeare unto ye world. And if I know my owne Heart, this is my present Resolution. You may brag of your Zeale as you please, but in this particular it seemes rather Jewish, yn Xtian, as being neither according to knowledge, nor Charity; neither knowledge of ye Passages you cite, nor Charity to my Person.

k: 18.11.
King: 10.16.

And to make this appeare to you; as you have taken great paines to search out such Passages throughout my whole Discourse, wch you could possibly draw in to beare witnes agt mee, & to make good your Accusation: so, I shall desire you to take some paines, in consulting those Places, wch I now point out to you, for ye understanding my true Sense & Judgmt in this matter, & withall, to take my Exposition of those Passages, wch you produce agt mee. And I hope, you will esteeme it a reasonable Request, yt ye Authour of a Booke should best know his owne meaning.

The first & chiefe Place wch you urge agt mee, to prove this heavy Charge, is p. 148, 14 But if you had weighed it aright & compared it with some other Passages of my Discourse (as Xtian Charity would have taught you) you would have bene so farr from finding any iust Ground for these odious Inferences, yt you would have found ye cleare contrary. For 1. I acknowledge ye holy Scripture for an abundantly sufficient Ground of our Beleefe, & Rule of manners. Pref: p. 2. for a perfect Rule, not only of our Faith, but also of our Hope, & Life. p. 206. 2. I acknowledge ye more cleare in all necessary Points & more copious by farr yn ye Creed. p. 184. 3. Out of ye testimony of Jo: Gerardus, cited & approved of by mee. p. 218. I give ye title of ye Rule of Faith, as well to yor Scripture, as to ye Creed. I acknowledge an exact harmony or concord betweene ym; yea, I looke on ye H. Scripture as ye fountaine, & on ye Creed, as ye Streame thence derived, withall adding, yt in this latter Age of ours, wherin ye mindes of men are very farr withdrawen from ye Apostolick Simplicity, by ye subtility of Satan, ye shortnes of ye Creed is to be explained more at large out of ye fulnes of Scripture, and thereby fortified agt ye corruptions of Hereticks; yt so wee may faithfully preserve in our owne Persons, & derive over to Posterity, ye sacred Deposition of the Xtian Faith. 4. I endeavour to my utmost, to preserve ye H. Scripture from yt contempt, and abuse, wch ye Papists, Socinians, Enthusiasts &c: cast upon it by their severall pretences to Infallibility of Judgmt, right Reason, and ye Dictates of a private Spirit, in ye Exposition thereof; their altering at pleasure of Points, Letters, words, dashing out whole verses, & torturing ye poore Remainder, they have forced it to beare witnes on their Side, and speake wt they would have it, in maintenance of their erroneous Opinions. In particular, I say of ye Germans (whose Abettour you are pleased to make mee) yt ye Devils craft makes use of those to undermine & subvert H. Scripture, who seeme most to stand for it. And, to remedy these Abuses, I propose a 2ble meanes, both delivered by Tradition from ye Apostolick Times, viz: ye Creed, as explained more at large by ye succeeding ones; & ye Testimony of ye ancient Fathers, whose single writings, & Conciliary Decrees, deliver ye true Sense of Scripture wch they recd from ye Apostles, as to ye most weighty, & materiall Points of Religion. Pref: p. 2, 7, 8, 9. Disc: p. 9, 10. 199. 216. And more especially in this very place, wch you urge against mee, as any unprejudiced Reader would have seene. 5. In ye Place thus urged by you, I joyne with ye Apostles Creed ye succeeding Creeds, which have explained it in some Points, by assigning ye true Sense in opposition to hereticall Glosses, viz: ye Nicene, Athan:, Chalced: &c:/ withall I adde, the consentient Judgment of Antiquity. Neither of wch you are pleased to take notice of, when you come to severall of your Inferences. 6. By ye Creed, I understand not this exact forme of wordes, without ye least alteration; but the Articles, or Essentials of ye Xtian Faith, delivered in ye same or equivalent Termes; as I told you before. I call ye Creed a Foundation, & the maine Groundworke of our Religion. So doe ye ancient Fathers, & ye latter Protestant Divines, [illegible] conformably to ye wordes of Scripture. 1 Cor: 3. 10. Eph: 2. 20. Rev: 21. 14. And, in allusion also to this metaphore, I say yt if wee take away ye Creed, ye whole Frame, or Superstructure of Xtianity falls instantly to ye Ground, as an House doth wn ye foundation is removed. Not, but yt all ye fundamentals thereof are contained in H. writ, & may be made good out of it to any sober, & unprejudiced Christian; but because 1. many thousand Christians have ye Creed taught ym, with ye other Principles of Christianity, who either have not ye Scriptures to consult, or cannot read ym, if they had ym at hand. Yea Irenæus expressly tels us of ye Times wherein hee lived, That many of those Barbarous Nations, who believed in Xt, had ye Doctrine of Salvation written by ye Spirit in their Hearts, veterem Traditionem diligenter custodientes, In unum Deum credentes, fabricatorem Cœli et Terræ &c: And, a little before, Quid si neque Apostoli Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi Traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis, quibus committebant Ecclesias? If ye Creed be taken away from such as these wt would become of their Religion? 2. Others, who have ye liberty & leisure to consult ye H. Scriptures, & some competent Ability to understand ym, yet cannot distinguish betweene fundamentall points, & such as are not fundamentall (wch ye Scripture no where doth, as to all particulars, for ought I could ever find) and so may probably come short of the knowledge, & due esteeme of such Points, wch are necessary to Salvation, for want of such a Discovery. 3. As for those who are better studied in ye Scriptures, & better informed concerning fundamentals, although they may satisfy themselves, & other sober Xtians, concerning those points, & evidence them from thence; yet they will not be able to cleare yt evidence for ye conviction of obstinate Hereticks, prepossest with contrary Opinions, some of whom have scarce left any Article of ye Creed entire, & uncorrupt. Experience hath shewen, both in ye primitive, & latter Times, yt there is no Scripture so cleare agt their Errours, the stroke whereof they will not divert by some wile, or other; or oppose as a Buckler agt it, some other Place of Scripture, wch is seemingly contradictory. Whosoever is but meanly versed in ye polemicall writings of ye Fathers, or ye numerous Controversies of our moderne Divines with ye Papists, Socinians, &c: must needs see as much. Upon this confidence it is, yt all Hereticks, & Sects, have not only acknowledged Scripture as ye Rule of their Faith, but appealed to it as ye only Rule, yea entitled their Errours to it, & heaped up Testimonies from thence, to confirme ym, & confute ye orthodoxe Professours. None so frequent in their Citations of Scripture, as They who most abuse it. So Vinc: Lir: long agoe observed, & daily experience beares witnes. Hence it is therefore, yt ye Fathers still urged Tradition as ye best Interpreter of Scripture in those weighty Points, to stop their mouthes, as wee may see in Iren: Tert: August: & others who wrote agt ym. Hence is it also yt they [illegible] composed those exegeticall Creeds in their Synods, to explaine yt ancient one of ye Apostles, by ye same Rule of Tradition in such Articles, the Sense whereof was perverted by Them. Now, yt both old & new Hereticks still opposed this Tradition, & rejected those Creeds when They received ye Scriptures and appealed to it, evidently shewes yt They thought not ye bare letter thereof without such meanes of Exposition, to beare cleere evidence agt ym, but rather for ym. And in this respect chiefly it is, yt I use those expressions, which you labour to make so odious, whereas you should have rather approved & commended ym, as shewing ye way how to drive ym from those subterfuges, and to preserve ye Scripture from Abuse, if you would have rightly understood ym. Especially seing your selfe in effect acknowledge as much, when you say, That by these two Handes, written & unwritten Tradition, ye Summe of Christianity hath bene brought downe from ye Apostles.

If you had bene pleased to have laid all this together, and considered it in coole Blood, you would have found as little Ground whereon to build those Inferences, as you imagine mee to have had for wronging Scripture & Xtianity, wherewith you most wrongfully charge mee. So yt, it is not Christianity wch falles to ye ground upon my Principles; but your false Conclusions, upon ye Discovery of so grosse mistakes.

Though this, I conceive were enough to satisfy you, & cleare mee from those foule Aspersions, yet to doe both more fully, I shall passe some Animadversions on certaine Passages of your invective Discourse, yt so you may ye more plainly see your owne Mistakes, & Errours, whilst you are so sharply taxing my supposed ones. 1. you say, The Body of ye Councils & Decretals, with ye Pope & Councils present Sentences is ye Rule of ye Papists Faith; as ye Scripture is, of ye Protestants. I would faine know, wt Papists make these ye Rule of their Faith. Those whom I have read, make ye Decrees of Councils, & ye Popes Decretals, ye Rules of Expounding their Faith in ye points questiond by ye old Hereticks, & ye Rules of yr practise in Ecclesiasticall Cases. The Pope, or Councill, or both together, they make ye Judge of Controversies in Religion, not ye Rule. The Rule of their Faith, they make to be Scripture, & Tradition, as farr as I have yet learned. So a little after you tell mee, yt ye Socinians say Xt died as a meere Example of Patience, Self-denial &c: I am much mistaken, if Crellius, & others of ym, affirme not, yt hee died as a Sacrifice to confirme ye new Covenant. They are Both of ym too bad already, or contrary extreames; you need not make ym worse yn they are.

2. I am not so mad, or foolish as to thinke, yt Xianity lies upon ye Evidence of my Booke; for yn there could have bene no Xianity before yt came forth: nor any now, where it is not knowen and read, & assented to. yet I thinke I may say upon better Ground yn you, yt millions of Xians would thinke their Religion in a deploreable condition, if all ye Creeds were taken away, & Scripture only left in ye Church, ye use whereof so many Thousands are debard of, not by ye Tyranny & Negligence of Superiours; but by their owne Poverty & Ignorance.

3. ~~As~~ To those words of mine — the whole frame of Xianity fals instantly to ye Ground — you adde, — as being a groundles Thing, or a Fable: which if it be blasphemy, it is yours, & not mine. I abhorre ye words as much as you, or any other. My intent there is to support Christianity upon ye right foundation, viz: on ye Creed, & ye Scripture (as conteining ye same Truths) according as they are expounded by ye succeeding Creeds, & the consentient judgment of Antiquity; not upon ye Evidence of my Booke, as you vainly suppose. And who so takes away these two, does ye ready way, for ought I can see, to expose the whole Building unto ye destructive fury of Those, whom I mention p. 7, 8.

4. you thinke, I speake an Untruth, & consequently an aggravated contempt of Scripture, when I say yt all ye Pieces thereof were not generally reced till ye end of ye 4th Century; wch, you say, I can never prove. But before you give over [illegible] in earnest, you may doe well to consult ye following witnesses, who lived about yt time, & should in all reason better know wt Books ye Church in their Age generally receaved for Canonicall, & wt not, than you who live at so many 100 yeeres distance. For, besides ye Decree of ye Laodicean Councill, Can: 59. which prohibiting, libros, qui sunt extra Canonem, legere in Ecclesiis, nisi solos Canonicos Novi, et Veteris Testamti — when it comes to reckon up ye Books of ye New Testament, omits ye Revelation. And besides severall old Syriack copies of ye New Testament wch also leave it out with severall of ye 7 Catholick Epistles, wch shewes they were not aunciently receaved, & read in ye Churches of Syria; Hierom not Amphilochius saith thereof, in Catal: lib: Can: — Apocalypsin Joannis aliqui iis inserunt, sed longe plurimi ut adulterinam respuunt. & St Jer: Ep: ad Dardanum Graecorum Ecclesiae Apocalypsin non recipiunt. And of ye Epistle to ye Heb: Paulus Apls in Epla ad Hebraeos, quam Latina consuetudo non recepit &c: so Jer: in Isa: 6. Idem in cap: 8um cum citasset hanc Eplam, adjecit — licet eam Latina consuetudo inter Canonicas Scrpturas non recipiat. Et in Ezek: c: 28. — Siquis tamen Eplam suscipit. And for ye 2d Ep: of S. Peter, Didymus, St Jeromes Contemporary, & Tutour in Divinity, having finisht his short Exposition on it, concludes thus — Non est igitur ignorandum, praesentem Eplam esse falsatam, quae licet publicetur, non tamen in Canone est.

What ill use Clemens writes, & ye new Infidels you speake of, make of such passages as these, I know not. It's no newes, for a Spider to draw poison from ye most innocent flowers. yet, I presume, hee tooke no hint from this parenthesis of my Discourse. But hee is not like to make an Infidel of mee, who receive these Books, though formerly denied, or doubted of, with ye same faith & veneration, as I doe ye Rest; yea, if it be possible for mee, with somewhat an higher Degree of Assurance; since no rationall man can imagine, yt those Churches who formerly doubted of ye Authours & Authority of such Books, would afterwards generally receive them, but upon very strict Examination, & ye conviction of ye clearest Evidence. No man hath a firmer Title to his Estate, yn hee who hath undergone a severe Triall at Law, & cleared it agt ye [illegible] claimes of all Pretenders. In ye Interim, I am afraid yt ye way to reclaime these new Infidels, is not to except agt their witnesses (if they bring such as These) without just Ground, but to shew ye invalidity of wt these witnesses say, towards ye maintaining of yr impious Tenents.

5. I readily graunt, yt ye Creed is explained more at large, in severall particulars, out of ye Bibles of ye Scripture. But withall, you cannot deny yt the 3 Exegeticall Creeds, wch I joyne with yt of ye Apostles, & prefixe to my Booke, doe explaine ye Scripture in those weighty Points of ye Deity of Xt & ye H. Ghost, ye mysteries of ye Trinity, & Incarnation, ye remission of Sins by Baptisme &c: (which were oppugned by ye Hereticks of old, by ye Socinians, & others, of late) so clearly explaine them, yt they who receive ye Authority of ye Scriptures, yet appeale to them for ye countenancing of their Errours, doe openly reject the Authority of These. Which sufficiently evidenceth, yt these Creeds are more cleare to ym in these materiall Points, yn ye Scriptures; at least, in their judgment. So yt, I hope, Those doe no such contemptible Service to ye Christian Church, who vindicate ye Authority of these Creeds, & endeavoure to shew, yt they Premises adde nothing to ye Apostles Creed in substance, but only explaine it in ye controverted Points, by delivering yt sense unto Posterity, wch they reced from the Apostles, either immediatly, or by ye handes of their intermediate Auncestours.

6. When you tell mee, yt ye Creed hath its seeming Contradictions, as well as ye Scripture, & instance in ye Trinity, wch is, you say, a contradiction to a carnall Eye-

you strangely mistake ye plaine Sense of my wordes, wch speake of seeming Con
dictions to it selfe, not to a carnall Reader, as you might easily have seene; & ye
same you acknowledge presently after, when you instance in Chronologicall Points.
But I could heartily wish, there were no more materiall ones, yn those; for yn ye mo-
& ye most weighty of our Controversies, would be soone at an end. Whereas, daily Exp-
erience shewes us, yt in all our Contentions about Religion (many of wch are con-
cerning weighty matters) Scripture is brought on both sides, for ye maintaining of
contrary opinions, thus bandying one place agt another; wch could not possibly
be, unles ye places, wch they so alleage, were seemingly contradictory. Papists, Ana-
baptists, Socinians &c:/ make use of these sacred weapons, wherewith to wound
ye truth, & its Patrons. Not to mention ye controverted Points betweene the
Remonstrants, & Contra=remonstrants. See Crellius Booke, De vnico Deo
Patre, & you will find I know not how many places urged agt ye Trinity, &
particularly agt ye Deity of Christ, wch is so largely vindicated, as you tell
mee, by Placeus. And sure, you count not this a slight Controversy.

By this, I hope, I have satisfied you in ye maine, yet to cleare my selfe of your objecti-
ons ye more fully, I shall adde some light strictures to certaine passages. 1. The Creed
was never clipt, or changed in ye substance of any one Article; as some whole Bookes of
Scripture have beene denied by Hereticks, & doubted of by ye Orthodoxe for some
Ages. See p. 166. 2. I never said, ye Creed was sufficient to convince all Er=
rours, but yt (as it is explained by ye succeeding ones) it is sufficiently cleare, as to the
confutation of ye most materiall ones, wch were broached by ye Hereticks condemned
in ye 4 first Gen: Cls, & revived of late. 3. I would faine know, where
S. Hilary checks ye Nicene Creed, for leading ye way to ye succeeding ones, as well
of ye Arians, as Orthodoxe. I have some reason to thinke, yt hee more honoured
yt Councill, whose decrees hee so stiffly maintained. 4. For answering Pilates
question, wt is truth? I oppose not ye Creed to ye Scripture, but would have the
Scripture & ye Creeds taken together, as mutually expounding each other.
5. I urge not this precise forme of wordes, but ye matter of ye Creed; wch, you say, is
in ye mindes of all ye Sanctifyed. yet I suppose it was conveyed in thither by the
same, or some equivalent forme of wordes; since, faith comes by hearing. The
contrary opinion borders upon Enthusiasme. 6. The succeeding Creeds were
framed by ye successours of ye Apostles, & explained yt Creed wch was framed by
ye Apostles themselves in those Articles wch were corrupted by ye Hereticks of their
times. In wch composures, they added nothing in substance to their forme, but
only cleared yt sense wch they delivered to ym. See p. 132. 142. &c: 182. &c:
229. &c:/ 7. When you say, ye same truths are plainer in Scripture in
most Points; you implicitly acknowledge yt in some Points they are clearlyer
exprest in ye Creeds (as I told you before) & those Points very materiall ones.
8. you shew little reverence to Antiquity (wt ever preface you make to your
Assertion) wn you say, yt even a small part of ye Church can quickly collect out
of ye Scriptures as usefull a Creed, as any of those succeeding ones. Sure, the
Xtian Churches since ye framing of those Creeds have shewen more modesty, wch
never ventured upon such a worke, notwithstanding ye provocation of Here-
ticks, but contented ymselves with those wch were so well framed to their hands.
And a little after, you confesse ye great advantage wch those first Churches had
to plead Tradition (wch helped them to make those Creeds) as living so neere
ye Apostles times. 9. I take ye Apostles Creed, as explained by ye succeeding
ones, for a sufficient Test, as to matter of faith, of those I would hold Church=com-
munion with. And thereby I sufficiently exclude ye Socinians. 10. I like
ye expresse asserting of ye Godhead of ye H. Ghost, as well as you. But yt is exprest
in Terminis, in ye Athanasian Creed; & sufficiently cleare in ye Constantinopolitan.
otherwise you must suppose ye 150 Fathers of yt Councill to have very simple, or
very negligent, in expressing of their sense, when they were to assert & explaine
ye faith in yt very point, agt Macedonius, whose heresy they [illegible], & there met to
condemne. yea you will condemne Damasus, & ye western Bps, of ye same failing
who approved of wt they did in yt matter, with ye Xtian Church ever since those times.
11. Whether Tert: wordes, wch I alleage p. 149. tend to ye injury of ye Scrip-
ture, let others iudge. I am sure, I wrong not Tert: in ye Citation. The whole
Designe of yt Booke of his, De Praesc: adv: Haeret: is to vindicate ye Truth agt
all Heresies in generall, agt whom hee there produceth ye Rule of Faith c: 13.
not to oppose any one Heresy in particular. And ye meanes of confuting them
wch hee insists on, viz: Tradition, is no peculiar fancy of his, but ye very same
which Irenaeus taught before him lib: 3. c: 3. &c:/ wch Aug: & others, after him,
put in practise agt ye Hereticks they contended with; but especially Vinc: Lir:
in his Commonitory. And if ye Churches of those times had ye advantage to
plead Tradition, wee of these times have ye same, if wee will consult the
writings of those Fathers, in wch yt Tradition is preserved. That passage
of his wch you cite agt mee, Credunt sine Scripturis, ut credant contra Scrip-
wch hee hath, cap: 23. you somewt mis=alleage, as to ye wordes, for it is — sed cre-
dunt sine — but more, as to ye sense, & scope. For Tert: there answers an
Objection wch those Hereticks alleaged out of Scripture, viz: yt S. Peter, and
those with him, were ignorant of some considerable matters, and therefore
reprehended by S. Paul, wch they endeavoured to make good out of Gal: 2. And
this makes for wt I say, not for wt you obiect agt mee.

you aske mee, wt yt Church is, whose Authority I so oft set up in competition
with ye Scripture, for deciding of Controversies? I answer, none at all. What-
soever Authority ye Church hath, I acknowledge as derived from God, and de-
clared in ye Scripture. The Scripture, where it speakes plaine, is to direct ye
Church, in her beliefe. But where ye sense of Scripture is obscure, or ambigu-
ous, ye Church, I humbly conceive, is to declare ye true meaning. But you still
aske mee againe, wt Church? The Pope, you say, I disavow, as you understand
mee. And hee must have very little understanding, who saith yt ye [illegible]
hee hath perused my Discourse, as you have done. A generall Councill tru

so cald, you cannot imagine how I can possibly hope to see. And I am much of yo mind
Although for ought I know, there may be such an one, as those former Gen:, before ye world end.
But in ye interim, a Nationall Councill shall satisfy mee, or any considerable Church, wch
proceeds according to ye Rules of ye auncient Councils, & holdes ye traditionall Doctrines,
& Customes, Governmt & Discipline, delivered downe to vs from ye Primitive Fathers, in
ye 6 first Centuryes, before ye Church Catholick unhappily broke in peices, & made a
wide Gap, by ye division of East & West, for errour to enter. When Unity was lost, Ve-
rity soone decayed, by Degrees. The Decisions of ye most weighty Controversies are
made to our hands in ye Decrees of those auncient Councils, & in ye writings of those
Fathers, wch are generally acknowledged, & received. Now, whosoever Church contra-
dicts not wt they have determined & delivered; nor makes any Thing De Fide, or
necessary to Salvation, wch they did not, I shall looke upon as a fitt Determiner
of Controversies, & declarer of ye Sense of Scripture in ye controverted places, & accor-
dingly to be obeyed by all her Children. And such an one (if not ye best of all such)
I hold ye Church of England to have bene, as it stood established by Lawe & Canon
before our late unhappy Divisions. As for discerning wt ye Councils determine
De Fide, & wt not, it will easily appeare, either from ye matter of ye Decree, if it be
concerning a fundamentall, or Article of faith, or, by ye wordes wherein it is exprest
and ye Anathema annext. And for understanding ye meaning of their Decrees, you
must needs thinke ye Fathers of ye Councill very weake, or grosse-witted, if they could
not find fit wordes to expresse their Sense in. The Prelates of Trent, in whom you
instance, are cleare enough in their Decrees agt ye supposed errours of ye Protestants
although in some points controverted among themselves, they purposely cloud their
Sense, or expresse it in such generall Termes, as neither Party might be offended.
Vide Nic:, Constant: & Chalced: Cls are universally acknowledged for Generall. Wt
one particular Church therefore, as that of Rome, either falsifyes, or excepts against
as to some particular Canons, is not considerable, wn ye rest of ye Xtian world are
so farr from abetting ym in those exceptions & falsifyings, yt they openly opposed her.
The rest of your Instances come not home, as being not Gen: Councils. But I agree
heartily with you, wn you say, yt if there were never so truly Generall, nevertheless ye
Judge & ye Law might well stand together, & each be sufficient for its' proper offi-
ce. The Scripture is ye Law; ye Councill, ye Judge in doubtfull Cases; wch I make not oppo-
sites, but Assistants to each other, for ye deciding of Controversies.
You thinke, yt these wordes of mine Pref: p. 3. imply a contempt of Scripture; when I
say yt ye Apostles had in vaine delivered ye wordes of Scripture, if they had not withall
delivered ye Sense, whereby to stop ye mouthes of Hereticks. Sure if I know my owne
meaning, I intended thereby to preserve ye Scripture from yt contempt and abuse
wch ye misinterpretation of Hereticks would put upon it. And another man would
have found my meaning. That ye letter of Scripture is obnoxious, not only to variety
but contrariety of Senses, our huge volumes, & almost infinite variety of Controver-
siall Treatises, too clearly demonstrate. Sure ye it was good providence in the
Aples, to deliver a Rule of faith, according to wch ye Scriptures were to be expound-
ed; (so yt place of S. Paul. Rom: 12. 6. is understood by Beza, & many others. See p. 30.)
wch ye expoon & applying of yt Rule, wch is left vs in ye writings of ye Fathers
& ye Decrees of ye auncient Councils. For though no sober man ever dreamt of fin-
ding an exact & full Commentary on ye Scriptures, in ye writings of ye Fathers, deri-
ved to ym from ye mouthes of ye Apostles, yet I make no question, but they deli-
vered to ye ye maine Principles of Xtianity, both touching ye Credenda & Agenda, to-
gether with ye maine Rules of Governmt, & Discipline, wch they also putt in prac-
tise in their life time, where they planted Churches. And this is commended
to vs in ye writings of ye Auncients, under ye names of Depositum, Catholica fides,
Apost: traditio, fides Ecclesiæ &c:) And according to this they interpreted Scrip-
ture, where it spake of those points; & confuted ye novell opinions, & practises of
ye Hereticks. So yt you speake too rashly, wn you say, There is not one Text of
5000, wch any Councill, or ye Fathers by Consent, or any one Father in one Age, hath
given vs an expoon of, as recd from ye Aples. An Examination of ye Records they
have left vs, will shew you ye contrary. Besides, you cannot in reason thinke, but
yt ye Aples, in preaching more at large to ye People & in their more familiar Confe-
rences with those, to wm they left ye Regimt of ye Churches wch they founded, ex-
plained their mindes more clearly in some points, of wch they gave but ge-
nerall hints in their writings, when they came occasionally in their way. Yea, we
may well presume, yt they preached many considerable Things, wch they mentiond
not in their Epistles, as having no occasion to speake of ym, or thinking not fit to
publish ym. See 2 Tim: 2. 2. 2 Thess: 2. 5, 6; 15. Then, there be not a few places
of Scripture, wch allude to historicall Passages & Customes ym in use, wch were suffi-
ciently knowen to ye Churches of ye Primitive Times, but in tract of time have bene
forgotten, & disused. Now, whither shall we have recourse for ye right understanding
of these, but to ye writings of ye Fathers, who lived neere those Times, wherein
those Passages happend, & those Customes were used. But to satisfy yo selfe more fully
in this point, you may doe well to consult yt Passage of S. Peter 2, Ep: 3. 16. where
hee expressly tells vs, yt not only in S. Pauls Eples (wch yet make a considerable part
of ye N. Testat) there are some Things hard to be understood, wch ye unlearned,
unstable wrest, but also yt they deale with ye other Scriptures in like manner,
as being liable to ye same mis-interpretation. And this not in smaller Points,
but in such materiall ones, ye mis-interpreting whereof causeth ye destruction of
ye Interpreters. Yea S. Paul tells vs as much in effect, touching ye Doctrine of free
Grace, wch some grossely misunderstood. Rom: 3. 8. & 6. 1. & preaching of Circumcision
Gal: 5. 11. Now, if ye Aples Doctrine were obnoxious to mis-interpretation in ye
life time, when they were at hand to cleare & vindicate ye true meaning, how
much more, after their Death. wch layes a necessity on ye present Church, to
take its Decrees & resolution of Doubts, by yt traditionall Expoon, & those undoub-
ted Rules thereof, wch ye Aples left with their Successours, & are yet to be found
upon Record. As for such an infallible Judge, as ye Romanists speake of, I know
none; and I could wish, yt among those who have renounced their Errours,

there were none idolized in yt kind. As for thinking Scripture vaine, without som Commentary, or Judge, I as much detest it, as yor selfe; as I have told you before. But yt wch most troubles you, you tell mee, is yt wch you find Pref: p. 6, 7. wch I have reviewed as well as I can, & upon Review, wonder why it should trouble you at all. And perhaps you will be of my minde, if you will but trouble your selfe a little more, to read wt I heere adde towards ye cleering of my meaning. For 1. whatsoever is in ye Scripture, in ye same, or equipollent Termes, I acknowledge to have ye same Authority, as it hath in ye Creed, as proceeding from ye same Authoures. 2. But I deny yt all ye Articles of ye Creed are found in Scripture, in ye same, or equipollent Expressions. And you confesse as much a little after, wn you grant yt one Article at least will admit of dispute, as to this particular. When you are at leisure, I pray find mee these 2 Articles, I beleive in ye H. Gt, ye Holy Catholick Church – in expresse, or equipollent Termes, in any determinate place of Scripture. I conceive, you will be forced to drawing of Consequences. 3. you mis-quote my words, wn you say yt I affirme, none but divinely inspired men can know, wch is an Article of Faith, & necessary to Salvation, by ye Scripture. For I readily acknowledge, yt ye Scripture sets an expresse Character of necessity on some Points. That wch I affirme is only this: that such Articles of ye Creed, as depend on Consequences from ye Scripture, require an unerring & divinely guided hand: first, because none else can know, wch is an Article of Faith, wch is a fundamentall or point necessary to Salvation, who is not divinely informed of Gods will & pleasure in this matter. 2ly, because ye Judge of ye Consequence must be infallible. To these words you make a pittifull exception, when you say, Is ye Scripture so dark, so insufficient even in ye fundamentals? whereas, ye question is not, whether ye Scripture containe these fundamentals (wch I grant in ye very same place) but how wee shall exactly distinguish ym from such points, as are not fundamentall? you tell mee, yt no man can distinguish ym without ye Scripture, for all ye Creed. I wonder, wt ye Creed was framed for, but to be a summary of these fundamentals? or, wt place of Scripture it is, that exactly distinguisheth these points from such as are not fundamentall? you would doe mee & many others a signall favour, if you could point us to it. For, wt will become of all those Christians, of wm Irenæus speakes in ye forecited place (besides millions more since) who had nothing to guide ym in this weighty matter, but ye light of ye Creed, as having no Scriptures among ym, or being debarred ye use of them? But for this particular, you may please to consult ye 9th Chap. of my Book; wherein ye sufficiency of ye Creed, to this purpose, is asserted & proved. 4. As for nature, & materiall Tradition, wch you will have to be Guides in this Business, I know not well wt you meane. This ye first time I heard, yt ye light of nature was sufficient to discern, wch is an Article of Faith, & wch not. If I had said so, you would have cal'd mee, perhaps, a Socinian. And for materiall Tradition, I as little know how such matter can be delivered without some forme of words, except by immediate Inspiration; & you before confesse, yt ye matter of ye Creed was delivered, either in ye same words, or in others to ye same sence, & purpose, as wee now have it. If I had said this, perhaps you would have cal'd mee an Enthusiast. But you may say any thing, & I must say nothing. 5. you tell mee, I can never prove yt all in ye Creed is of necessity to be explicitly beleeved. If you meane, every Clause, Branch or circumstantiall Appendix of an Article, I agree with you. you instance in the name of ye Bd Virgin, & ye Judge, Pontius Pilate. But for ye substance of ye Articles, it hath beene hitherto generally held, yt ye Beleife of ym all is required ordinarily, of every Xtian to Salvation, as being yt Faith wch into wch hee is baptized, and wherby hee obligeth himselfe to hold firme unto his lives end, & ye Character wch distinguisheth him from all other Religions. See Chap. 9 & 10. yet I am not so rigid & peremptory, as to damne all Xtians who explicitly beleeve not every Article thereof. The Ignorance of some is very great, for want of ye ordinary meanes, & Gods mercies are great in such Cases. See p. 207. 6. As to your Instance of Xts Descent into Hell, I looke on it, not as an entire Article, but as a Branch, or part of one; viz: involved in, or presupposed by ye following words – The 3d Day hee rose againe from ye Dead. As I told you, p. 193. yet I hold it a materiall Branch of ye Creed, taken out of Scripture, & generally acknowledged by ye auncient fathers; & ye beleife thereof of no small concernment to our Salvation. Neither shall ye opinion of Suarez, or any other Jesuit, divert mee from it, unless hee bring better reason for his Assertion, yn I see as yet. 7. But I am somewt amazed at your other Instance, wn you tell mee, yt it is not necessary to Salvation to beleeve, yt ye mother of our Sr was a Virgin. If you had said – that shee was alwayes a Virgin had beene bad enough. mr Perkins acknowledgeth ye tradition of her perpetuall Virginity; & ye contrary opinion was of old condemned in Helvidius, Jovinian, & ye Antidicomarianites. But such an indefinite expression as this would induce one to thinke (if hee had not much more Candour, & Charity, yn you shew towards mee) yt you supposed it not necessary to beleeve shee was a Virgin, when our Sr was borne of her. A thing so generally knowen, & beleeved by all Xtians; so expressly set downe in holy writ, both in ye Prophecy. Isa: 7. 14. & ye History. Matt: 1. 25. & ye memoriall thereof commended to all posterity by so eminent a Feast as yt of ye Nativity, yt it is hardly possible to imagine, how any Xtian can be ignorant of it. I cannot thinke this to be your sence, however you expresse it. Especially seing you tell mee some few lines after, yt you dare not promise Salvation to a man, who beleeveth not, yt J. Xt was without originall sin, yt his Nature was Holy, & without spot; wch could not be, except his humane nature were supernaturally sanctifyed in ye wombe of a Virgin, according to wt wee read. Luk: 1. 34, 35. And upon ye same ground, you might have added, conceived by ye H. Gt, as necessary to be knowen & beleeved. But ye opinion of Helvidius, wch ascribed to her other Children, after ye Birth of our Sr, is too too bad, & alwayes abhorred by ye Cath: Church. You yt are so apt to taxe others for supposed errours, and use such tragicall exclamations upon slight or mistaken grounds, should have done well, to have beene more wary in your Instances, and expressions. 8. That some Clauses have beene added to ye Creed, yt is, affixt to some Articles for the fuller explication, I will not absolutely deny, though I doe not find it so

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clearly proved. But I utterly deny, yt any entire Article hath beene added, wch no man yet hath proved, nor, I believe, can prove. The Articles, wch are ye Essentials of Faith, all wch you confesse to have beene delivered by ye Apostles, before ye writing of ye N. Test. And therefore you seeme to me, to contradict yor selfe, wn you say, yt ye Scripture addeth these Articles, without wch ye Essentials can hardly be deceived. As for ye Instances you make, I conceive, under favour, yt some of em are not of necessity to be knowen, & believed. As for ye rest, they are included in some Article or other, & consequently made knowen out of Scripture by ye ~~[illegible]~~ Bishop, or Catechist, to those of his Charge. For I have told you in severall Passages of my Disc:, yt ye Creed was not barely delivered to ye Catechumeny, but explained out of Scripture, & Tradition, for ye fuller understanding of it, & ye preserving of ye Faith uncorrupt in oppoon to Hereticall Glosses. For ye Catechist is presumed to have studied ye Scripture, as well as ye Creed, yt hee may be able to compare em together, for ye mutuall Illustration of each other.

As to ye infallible discerning of a consequence from Scripture, in ye Articles of Faith (wch is the matter in question) I cannot as yet see, how it can be done without Inspiration, & extraordinary Assistance. The Instances wch I there give, are sufficient Evidences thereof. For how many Persons, who have ye light of ye Scripture to guide them, yet being left to their owne wit, & ye Assistances afforded by humane Arts, have bene so far from deducing out of Scripture ye mysteries of ye Trinity, & Incarnation, yt they have drawen ye cleane contrary, & overthrowen (so far as lay in em) those Deductions, wch appeared so absurd to their Reason, & so repugnant to ye Principles of Nature. Your selfe confest but a little before, yt it is a contradiction to naturall light, yt there should be 3 Persons, & but one God. But you make mee to wonder much more, wn you declare presently after, That if unsanctifyed Reason be not able to gather a Consequence infallibly from plaine Premisses, ye Scripture speaks not Sense. I suppose you speake of ye analysis of ye Xtian Faith, or else you say nothing to ye present purpose. Now, how unsanctifyed Reason, yt is, not illuminated from above, can draw Consequences in such matters as these, wn it cannot understand ye matters themselves, is as yet
Cor: 2.14. a Riddle to mee. For ye Aple tels us in plaine termes, That ye naturall man receiveth
1. 23. not ye Things of ye Spirit of God, for they are foolishnes unto him. And yt ye preaching of
L: 24.45. ye Crosse, was, to ye Greeks, foolishnes. Yea our Sr was faine to open his owne Apostles Understanding, before they could understand ye Scriptures; wch yet speake more plainly of him, yn they doe in some of ye forementioned points. The Scripture may speake Sense (as it alwayes doth) & yet yt Sense not understood by All. See 2 Cor: 3.15. If I had a mind to returne your Reproaches, I might easily take occasion from hence to censure you for a Favourer of ye Socinians, even in yt maine Principle, wch is ye Groundworke of all their Errours & Blasphemies. But I forbeare. Then, for raising of consequences from ye Creed, I have no need to be put to it, seing they are drawen to my hand in ye succeeding Creeds, wch I joyne to yt of ye Apostles. I readily yeeld, yt much of ye Integrals of Christianity are to be found expressly in ye Scriptures. But, for all ye Essentials (if you except the two forenamed Mysteries among em, as I suppose you doe) I cannot see, as I told you before, yt there should be so many Disputes about em among those who all acknowledge ye truth of ye Scriptures, if they were to be found there in such expresse, & intelligible Termes, as you would beare mee in hand. Lastly, for pointing out ye Church, ~~wch~~ wch hath Apostolicall, or propheticall Inspiration wch you would so gladly make me do, if you knew where to find it. I know none at present, wch can warrantably challenge the Priviledge of Infallibility, in all Points of Religion. Yet I suppose, you may have your wish, & save your Journey; for wee need not such an one, as to ye matters wee speake of. All ye fundamentals are sufficiently cleared by ye succeeding Creeds, & ye Canons of those ancient Councils, wch are generally received by ye present Churches, & were framed answerably to yt Tradition, wch they received from ye Apostles. But for deciding of all inferiour Doubts, it is in vaine to expect it. As ye Doubts are endles, so an infallible Decision by ye Church, is unnecessary. Every Church, nay every Churchman, may abound in their owne Sense. This was ye modesty & Charity of ye primitive Times, & I could wish it were revived in ours. We should not ye have so many private opinions urged & imposed, as necessary to Salvation. Truth would be better cleared, & Peace better conserved.

Your Third Charge agt mee, is my perverting ye Articles of ye Church of England (wch you mention not in your Appendix) wn I expound ye 21 Art: as not speaking of matters of Faith. But if you looke on ye place againe, Pref: p. 9. you will find, I say only, The Ch. of Engl. doth not say, yt Gen: Cls have erred in matters of Faith. There be many Points of Government, Discipline, besides matters of fact, as Censures, excom:, Depositions &c: wch belong to Ecclesiasticall Cognizance, wherein Gen: Cls may erre, upon misinformation, or mistake, & yet preserve ye Xtian Faith entire. It speaks, indeed afterwards, of Things necessary to Salvation, but it affirmes not, yt they have erred in such matters. The wordes are these. Things ordained by em, as necessary to Salvation, have neither strength nor Authority, unles it may be declared yt they be taken out of holy Scripture. yt is, It concludes em fallible in determining of Things necessary to Salvation, if they proceed without ye Rule of Gods word (in which all those necessaries are exprest or implyed) & impose such Decrees on ye faith of Christians, by their sole Authority. But yt Gen: Cls have so proceeded, & consequently erred in ye resolving of such weighty matters, ye Art: affirmes not, neither have you demonstrated by any one Instance, & I believe, you cannot. For though it cannot be well supposed (as ye Art: tels us) yt All in ye Councill should be governed with ye Spirit & word of God, yet a greater Part may, & sway ye Rest, as it was in ye Nic: Cl. And This is very agreeable to yt good Providence of God, wch watcheth in more speciall manner over his Church, not to suffer her to faile, or erre in Things necessary to Salvation. & to yt double Promise of our Saviour Matt: 16.18 & 28.20. For if a Gen. Cl, wch is ye Representative of ye Church Catholick, should erre in such Points, wee may strongly presume yt ye whole Church would follow. Besides, ye Art: seemes to speake of Cls in this Age, to be convened for reforming ye present State of ye Church. Now most of ye Bps of ye Westerne Churches, being engaged by Oath, or otherwise to ye See of Rome, in all likelyhood They would be partiall, or, at least, overpowred by ye votes of a major Part, as it fell out in ye Cl of Trent, wch ye Art: seemes particularly to aime at. This also you seeme to intimate in yt Parenthesis of yours (wch will all Princes, Heathen, Mahometane, & Xtian agree, to gather a Gen: Cl?) out of which you might have well left ye 2 former sort of Princes, at least, which no man in his right

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wch can thinke will agree in such a worke, to promote Christian Religion.

Art: 19. Faith, As ye Ch: of Jer:, Alex:, Anti: hath erred, so hath ye Ch: of Rome erred also in matters of Faith. But how followes it from hence, yt Gen: Cls haue erred in such matters? The Art: speakes of Patriarchall Churches taken singly, not of Gen: Cls wch consist of ye Bps of all those Churches, gathered together in one, & determining in ye name of ye whole. Besides, all matters of Faith are not absolutely necessary to Salvation; For if ye Ch: of Rome haue erred in such Necessaries, you must make the Ch: of Engd, in this her Art:, to passe ye Sentence of Condemnation on all yt adhere to her, & hold her Doctrines; wch shee never as yet did, for ought I can find, nor ye more sober, & learned of her Clergy.

By this, I hope, it will appeare to you, yt I haue not perverted ye Sense of ye Article. But you tax mee of perverting it more grossely by those words of mine [By whom are these Things (necessary to Salvation,) to be declared? viz: if they be taken out of Holy Scripture? Sure, by ye Fathers assembled in a Gen: Cll] whereas, say you, if it were an Authoritative Declaration by ye Cll, to be taken in [illegible] ye words, yt ye Art: meant, it would rather haue affirmed them fallible, & said, They haue no strength, nor Authority &c:; we might as well beleeve ym immediately without declaring, yt they haue it from Scripture. But, under favour, I thinke it is you yt mistake ye Sense of ye Article, and ye Ground on wch it proceeds. For though Gen: Cls, consisting of men, who of ymselves are fallible, haue no absolute Authority to frame new Articles of Faith, sithence they were framed to their hands by ye Apostles, who founded ye Xtian Church, and were supernaturally assisted in this worke; wch are to be found, partly in their Creed, partly in ye Gospels & Epistles, yt serue as a Comment to ye Creed, where they treat of these Points; yet in declaring ye Sense of these Articles, where they happen to be controverted, ye Sentence of a Gen: Cll is Authoritative, & obligatory, when ye Fathers of ye Cll apply themselves to ye undoubted Rule of Scripture, & primitive Tradition wch was derived to ym with ye Scriptures, for such an Explication. So is it also, where ye Sense of Scripture is dubious, & admits of contrary Interpretations. This ye Art: plainly enough imports. So yt I wonder how you can suppose it speakes of declaring by way of Collation or Proofe by any single Person; wch declaration you cannot sure in reason thinke to be of such force & authority, as yt of a Gen: Cll, or yt ye Xtian Church should be obliged to follow it. Consider this Glosse of yours, [wherefore Things ordeined by ym, as nec: to Salvation, haue neither str: nor auth:ty, unless it may be declared yt they be taken out of Scripture, by way of Collation, or Proofe, by any single Person] & tell mee in coole bloud, whether it be not a grosse perverting of ye Article. I had rather you should be your owne Judge in this matter, yn to take ye Office upon my Selfe, though you haue fair enough provoked mee to passe ye Censure by laying ye same fault so unjustly to my charge, whereof your Selfe are guilty. But to cleare my selfe more fully, & put ye Sense of ye Art: quite out of doubt, I shall desire you to looke but some few lines further, & there you will find ye Ch: of Engd declare her meaning, as I doe viz: Syn: Lond: A.D. 1571. Tit: 19. de Conc: wherein shee not only makes ye Catholick Fathers, & ancient Bps of ye Church, ye Collectours of all such Points out of Scripture, yt Preachers would haue ye People religiously hold, & beleeve; but ye sole Collectours of such Points. yea, shee ranks such Collections, for ought I can judge, with ye letter it selfe. wch evidently shewes, yt shee values ym very highly, and doubts not at all of ye Truth of such Collections. If you had pleased to consult & impartially weigh this Canon, wch I there cite, I suppose you would haue forborne your former censure. But this is not ye first, nor only Particular, wherein you mistake my Sense, & misinterpret Here. As if it were your Designe to catch & cavill at such Passages in my Booke wch you thought might yeeld you matter of Accusation, without taking any notice of ye Antecedents & Consequents, of ye maine scope of ye Place, or comparing it with other Passages of my Disc:, wch would haue sufficiently cleared my meaning. If any Reader of yours should use your Bookes so, you would not overmuch commend him for his Candour & Ingenuity. But when you aske mee, when shall wee haue Gen: Cls make such Declarations? I cannot tell you. In ye interim, you are to receive those wch ye ancient ones haue already made. And they I conceive, haue sufficiently declared ymselves in Points necessary to Salvation.

Your 4th Charge agt mee is ye Censure I passe on bold Sectaries, p: 10. But you cite my words by halves, as you doe elsewhere, yt ye you may infer from ym wt you please. Looke once againe, & you will find their full Character to be such, as you would be loth should be stampt upon you, how earnest so ever you be to be one of ye Number. They are such, who broach false, hereticall Tenents; who arrogate ye name of ye truth, and of ye true Church unto ymselves; who urge all to beleeve such Tenents, wch are not only besides, but even quite contrary to the Creed of ye Apostles; who promise Salvation to their owne Disciples, but denounce damnation, not only agt their opposers, but agt all those too, who concurre not with ym in every tittle & jota, whether negative, errours damned, or positive, Doctrines asserted; who appropriate Salvation to ymselves; who take upon ym to be Popes, & seat ymselves in his usurped Chaire, as infallible Judges, guided by ye Dictates of ye Spirit. You cannot be ignorant how Volkelius entitles his System of Socinianisme, De vera Religione, as if all Doctrines disagreeing therewith, were false. Sure, you cannot be so much taken with such Company as this, as you pretend, otherwise you speake in a rash Heat. As for my taxing ym for urging all to beleeve some Tenents wch are besides this Creed of ye Apostles, you might easily haue seene, yt I speake not of all Tenents in generall, but of ye Doctrinalls, or fundamentall Points of Faith, all wch are comprehended in ye Apostles Creed as expounded by ye succeeding Creeds, as I haue proved by sufficient Reasons & Testimonies. Chap: 9th. And your Selfe confessed as much in ye following words, where you wish a restauration of ye old, Apostolick Simplicity. yea, your Worcest: Agreement seemes to import as much, where you make it ye Test of your Communion (as there explained by you) in matter of Faith. This also is my Sense of the following words [requiring no more] yt is, requiring no more to be imposed on all Xtians, as necessary to Salvation, in genere Credendorum. And for this, no Socinian or other Heretick will thanke mee, whose errours are sufficiently condemned by ye Creed so explained.

after so severe an examining of so many Passages in my Discourse, you have at last pointed to some few of ye Places yt offended you, but omit many more, least you trouble mee too much. Whereas my greatest trouble is, yt you have so far troubled your selfe, first in your many mistakes, & groundles exceptions, wch you have taken so much paines [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible]: Then, in ye great likelyhood you are to trouble yor selfe yet farther, by ye reading of these Papers, wch I have now returned to you, for my owne Vindication & your Satisfaction. wch if you doe, I shall be in good part quit with you for making those Exceptions. However, if those Places you cite in your Letter be not all yt offended you, I presume they are ye cheife. And I am glad, upon this Review, to find ym no worse: And so, I hope, will you.

The Fifth, & last Fault, is my Self-contradictions, wch you are pleased so tauntingly to charge mee with in your Appendix, one while being ready to shake your Head at them, another while, to make ye Reader wonder at ym. But if you aske mee there, wt I thought of my Readers, wn I offered ym such Proofes? I suppose, with better reason I may aske you, as you make such exceptions, wt did you thinke of mee? [illegible] you could thinke mee so sottishly stupid & grosse-witted, as not to see, yt ye severall formes wch I bring, did not agree word for word with yt forme, wch wee now generally intitle to ye Apostles? especially when I compare ye cheife of them with it, Article with Article? But by your favour, there be more come neere to it [illegible] have you mention, as you may see in ye Collation. Yea, most of ye formes I set downe, agree with it in ye Method, & in equivalent expressions of the Articles they containe, if not in ye same words. The Question I undertake to discusse was this, whether ye Apostles, before they dispersed [illegible], composed a Summary of ye Xtian Faith, consisting of such a number of Articles, digested in an orderly Method, wch now have ye, and delivered it to those Xtian Churches wch they planted in severall Nations, in ye same or equipollent Termes, & this tradition continued [illegible] ye Scriptures [illegible] of it, wch they afterwards committed to writing, at severall times, & upon severall occasions, & serve in good part as an Exposition of it? Or whether this forme were gathered afterwards out of ye Apostles writings, by ye [illegible] & Clergy of ye Rom: Church, or by some other, wee know not who, nor when? For this last opinion ye [illegible] learned Vossius, & our Countryman Mr Downe, whose Arguments I have endeavoured to confute. Wch if I have not done, & confirmed ye contrary opinion by sufficient proofes, I desire to be informed wherein I have failed, & I shall either adde more strength to my proofes, or retract my opinion. The Aples when they planted Churches among people of severall Languages, delivered ye Creed to ym as ye Rule of their profession at Baptisme [illegible] deliver it in diversity of Termes. And possibly severall Apostles might deliver it with some small variation, by expressing an Article in more, or fewer words, But still ye substance of ye Article remained intire, & ye whole Composure proceeded in ye same Method, wch is most properly styled ye Forme, or Frame. As for yt Copy of ye Creed wch is now generally received in ye Western Churches, I suppose it was deposited with ym by those 2 great Aples, Peter & Paul, who partly by ymselves, & partly by their Disciples & Assistants, were ye Co-founders of ye Romane, & other principall Churches in these parts; for wch wee have [illegible] warrant both from Scripture & Church-history. And this I may justly call ye Aples Creed, which had those two for ye Deliverers. And this Copy I have proved to have come to our Hands in its originall purity & simplicity. Whereas ye East Churches (wherein Heresies sprang up betimes, & spread apace, among those subtle Philosophicall wits of ye Greeks, according to yt of Tert. Philosophi Patriarchae haereticorum) were unhappily forced to adde certaine exegeticall Clauses, to declare ye [illegible] sence of some Article, & some [illegible] tooke ye liberty to alter ye forme, by taking away, or adding [illegible]. See p. 50. 97. 143. 182. 184. 186. 188. That ye Nicene & other following Creeds, were but Expositions of ye Aples Creed I have proved, p. 132. 143 &c. I say not so expressly of ye Creed of Jer: Tert. Orig: &c.; because they had not ye same occasion to expound it, as ye Fathers had in those Synodicall Creeds; nor could doe it with ye same Authority. As for ye title of ye Aples Creed, wch ye 8th Art: seemes to speake of but doubtingly, & to receive ye Creed it selfe merely upon Scripture proofes, I referre you, for an answer, partly to my Disc: p. 115. partly to your Selfe in this Letter, where you acknowledge all ye essentialls of ye faith to have bene delivered by ye Apostles, in ye same, or equivalent termes, & yt, before ever ye Scriptures of ye N. Test. was written.

You conclude with an Apology, for ye impendence of your mind, & ye unmannerlynes of your style. I am not over forward to charge you with either, especially, being prevented by so ingenuous a Confession. But I could heartily wish yt your zeale, wch is so apt to flye out upon every [illegible] occasion, & transport you into excesses, were more constantly guided by ye Rule of Charity; for yn you might have saved this, & some other Apologies, & have saved mee ye labour of composing this. I am very sensible of our common frailty, & as ready to pardon it in others, as to crave ye same favour for my Selfe. Perhaps, you may thinke mee too [illegible] in some Passages of this Reply, a little sharper yn I needed. But if you find your Choler at any time stirre, I pray allay it with this double Consideration, 1. [illegible] upon a very sharpe provocation. 2ly, yt I deale with you here in private, whereas you traduced mee to ye whole world in Print, before ever you acquainted mee with your exceptions. I cannot blame you to be serious, if I had bene guilty of wt you have charged mee with; but now yt you see, you have mis-understood mee, I hope, you will be as forward to acquit mee, as you were before to accuse mee. And this I rather desire, yt I may not be necessitated to a publick Vindication of my Selfe, wch I should willingly spare, if I handsomely could. But next to my Conscience, I am to regard my Credit, especially when I find it so foully aspersed by a Person of your Reputation. Those words of yours wch you plead for excuse [There's no remedy, I must beare to displease Those yt I had rather please] I understand not: except you would have mee thinke yt you hold the [illegible] of ye Stoicks, or yt you had cast your Nativity, & upon search found yt the austere [illegible] of Saturne, or yt [illegible] one of Mars, had such a strong Influence thereon, as [illegible] your Power to resist & vanquish. But to be serious, I shall heartily joyne with you in a right promoting of ye Xtian Faith, & whatsoever else tends to ye advancement of ye common Cause of Religion, & ye Salvation of Soules. As for maintaining ye just [illegible] of ye Creed, on ye grounds exprest in ye Appendix, for ought I can see my [illegible] are ye same, or very neere ye same, as I have already told you. Sir, though I could wish our acquaintance had risen upon a more acceptable occasion, yet now it is so [illegible] I shall desire it may be maintained with all Candour & Charity. If ever a good Providence bring mee neere you, I shall not faile, God willing, to give you a visit, & confer with you of ye common Cause of Religion. And I [illegible] upon such a Conference, to have more cause to esteeme you, & to be better thought of by you. God blesse you in all your endeavours for Truth & Peace. I am, your unworthy fellow-labourer in ye [illegible] of ye same Lord, Geo: Ashwell

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of ye Church. at words. wt bonds can hold men who will thus play with
Oathes. But p. 40 you say [This is a fundamentall liberty &c] It is no part of
the liberty yt they may overturne & alter Monarchy! And if they thinke meet to give away
their liberty of altering Prelacy will you say they have it still &c. If you
would know how to understand these matters, looke backe where we were
slept ~~[illegible]~~, to ye Oath called [&c] in Can: an. 1640. Where you
sware (as I remember) never to consent to ye change of ye Governmt of the
Church as now setled, by Archbps, Bps, Deanes, Deane & Chapters &c] The Co-
venant was sworne in opposition to this: You will conjecture yt this Oath is again
(as ye Declaration is) in opposition to ye Covent or Vow. And do you thinke yt con-
vocation men may endeavor there in their places, or people by petitioning
or Ministers by preaching, or Parliamt men by voting, to change Archbps, Bps
Deanes, Chancellors &c, if they had taken yt oath never so much as to consent
to it]. And how sillily ibid. do you infer yt this is not ye sense because
it is not lawfull so to keepe it, if you take it. wch some will interpret q.d. take
any oath yt's offered whatever. For if ye sense be good, its lawfull. If bad you must
suppose its not ye sense indeed, or need not keepe it.||
P.42. you will not at all convince them by such reasoning [The imposers & some others
did endeavour it out of their place & calling: ergo all yt swore to do it but in
their place & calling, did sweare to do it out of their place & calling, & so swore
contradictions]. You must be plaine & large here in proving ye consequence. And
I perceive yor way will be to prove yt endeavour is no endeavour, if it be otherwise
than by an act of Governmt (& yt of Soveraignty too): wch is a new way.||
P.43. Here prove well yt ye Oath only meaneth seditious endeavours. And yt because two
men preached on [Curse ye Meroz] (perhaps you knew of more): therefore ye rest meant
[we will seditiously in our place & calling endeavor &c]. And yt because no
alteration of Governmt can be made without K & Parlt. ergo none can be endeavoured
without them or by them.] I need not many words to you.||
P.44. It is better silence Mr Lawsons booke, lest it tempt men to read it to their hurt.
And yt passages instanced being ye most desperate agt ye K. you do most dangerously
put some countenance on it, as if you could not deny it! yea with so pittifull a
shift, to say [This was not ye plea. we were not then so knowing]; when it was ye
most common plea of ye Cromwellians & those yt were not learned in ye Law, & of
of many others. (& they going then on severall principles: some pretending Law
& some Naturall right only.) you will be thought here to prevaricate & be agt yor cause!
And ibid. You will shew yt ye Covent was without Asa; Bring it home in good sadnes, &
shew them yt it was also without Asa's 2d. & then let them defend ye actum iurandi
if they can. Convince them also yt [all endeavor] was antecedently unlawfull.||
P.45. Againe you have [by his providence] like a Cromwellian; when yor meaning is [by his com-
mand to submit] But to whom? not to Usurpers!||
P.47. ~~wonderfull~~! Dare you tell a man yt hath taken ye Oath yt he may preach in private
meetings agt ye Governmt of ye Church. Then we shall have sweet work. Is yt no en-
deavor? Shall Universalls in an oath be turned into Particulars, without Authority
or any proofe. you say, we promise no endeavor wch is subjection: But is disobedience
subjection. when yor Rulers sweare you not to [consent, or endeavor] is it subjection
to do it. They intend by yt Oath, to restraine yor liberty in this particular: As ye K. restrain-
eth his power in his Coronation Oath, in wch he sweareth to defend the rights of
ye Church. Now ye K. as K hath power to take away much wch is there meant by those
Rights] Doth it follow yt therefore his Oath reacheth not to those Rights.
As if Lawes & Oathes could not limit our liberties. By this Rule let Oathes be
as expresse as wit can devise, agt changing Prelacie & you will still prove they
are nothing, because ye K hath power, & we had liberty to petition before. &c.||
P.45. [absolve him not from wt he hath sworne] Here you harden men agt ye Declaration, that
[illegible] meaning [illegible]
[illegible] 1600 [illegible] agen For they were not to rise till ye coming of [illegible], And
they [illegible] as speedily as ye rest.||

There is no obligation on any other [Person] ||
P. 53. You confound Orders ad officium with ordinatio or institutio ad exercitium officiale.
And you will bring ye Church Orders into Contempt, by talking of taking them so oft. And are
too confident in saying [I despaire of proving any thing &c.] And really it is past my skill
to excuse many words in yt transaction from being a lie, (especially when you are to be
ordained Deacon first wch is requisite), if really you were a presbyter before. ||
P. 54. You give up ye Cause, in thinking yt you cannot say [Nor any other] unless you may
adde [in a private capacity] &c. And you should prove yt yt res jurata is evill [to endea-
vour in a private capacity in ones place & calling]
P. 55. You are too quick wth ye Scripture to conclude so confidently [One must needs be false]
Have you read how Bp Usher in his Annals, both towards ye end reconciling them. by Jehorams being
Viceroy to Jehosaphat. And others, yt 2 Chr. 22 speaks of ye years of Omri's stock.
But yor instance will do no good: For ye nonsubscribers say, yt if you speake of
ye Bible as Gods word, the corrupt translations are no part of it. If of ye Transla-
tion as such, they dare not sweare nor say yt they Assent to all contained in
it. But wt meane you by [Assent to ye Reading it]. Assent is to ye verity of ye thing read.
You say [Assent to ye use is improper] Do you intend yt agt yor selfe. And would you have
them subscribe to Athanas: Creed yt believe it not. But once for all to wt followeth about
yor limitation [to ye use] I It is no releife: Because every part of it was intended
as usefull. The doctrinall part & ye Calender have their use, as well as ye prayers.
2o yea hereby you increase ye burden: For ye use of ye Rubricks is oft preceptive, &
containeth ye very actum imponendi, & ye use of ye Ordination is for ye Bp &
ordained. And so you make them subscribe to ye Imposition. 3o It is contrary to the
most expresse words, wch distinguish of [all things contained in] & [prescribed by].
And require Assent to all contained, as well as Consent to all prescribed] And
shall we then tell ye subscribers yt they are not obliged thereby to Assent to ye truth
of any thing contained in the three books. 4o You speake agt ye open sense
of ye Parliament: when ye Lords motioned yt it might be explained as limited
[to use], ye Comons at a Conference gave Reasons agt it, wch satisfyed them. ||
P. 56. It's said by ye dissenters, yt wch teacheth ye grand dutys & benefits of ye Coven. & binde
to them, is with grace operationi morali. And yt to establish a Dedicating signe
in ye Covenant is to invent a new Sacramentall part of ours, at least. And yt a Sacram.
primarily signifyeth our part (our military vow) I pray consult Dr Jer. Taylor
Cases Consc. l. 3. c. 4. p. 325. 326. agt significant Ceremonies. And how ye Comon people
agt Images in worship. For they say ye Crosse is a transient Image (& they Confesse
simple ye signing of it on doors & high ways for a remembrance or badge &c.) ||
P. 57. [Not as Articles of faith, but matters of concord]. Do you Assent yt they are all true as matters
of concord, or do you Assent yt they are matters of concord though not true. Read in
Dr Taylor l. 3. c. 4. p. 290 ye Oath of ye Presidents of Sena, who sweare agt taking bribes
& yet usually do it, & custome makes ye oath but a forme. Is yt ye meaning of it. ||
P. 57. Though it be never so true, blot out [I am a person yt above all things do hate lying] ||
For it will occasion their jeasting at you, & say yt it is because it amounteth not to
Per. & yt to write a booke for swearing thus, with no better satisfaction, is not
congruous to yt word, & they should not go together. It's lying yt they fram.
E. g. to say I consent to read allmost two months in ye Church ye Books of Judith,
Tobit, Susanna, Bel & ye Dragon & other Apocr. much of wch Protestants comonly
write agt as lyes & fictions. To Assent to ye truth of ye translation of Psal. 105.
28 [They rebelled for they rebelled not] And to ye salvation of Infants baptized
whether they be ye seed of Christians or Jewes if they have but Godfathers. And yt
Godfathers accept all ye children as their owne for whom they are Sponsors, or els
can give them right to Baptism & salvation without making them their owne.
That there are three Orders, (& not Degrees only) plaine in Scripture, Bp, Priest
& Deacon, as in ye Pref. to ye B. of Ordin. (And this some have told me they

subscribe because they are of Mr Stillingfl: minds yt no Church-forme is jure divino) Abundance of such I passe over, wch they scruple on ye account //

p. 66. The Oath plainly asserts yt Petition to be traytorous, & you would make yt distinguishing wch is but stigmatizing & asseveration, as if there were some such taking Armes by Sheriffs &c wch is not traytorous. And you jealously read in the adversaries, who pretended to Law for their Armes, & intimate yt such a thing may be. stand here seeme quite to crosse ye Oath & ye Militia act, & to spoile ye clause.

So p. 70. 71. 72. I have spoke before. It is not lawfull for subiects to petition, nor Parliament men to speake for ye Alteration of Monarchy; It's reason. And if ye Church thinks yt ye Coronation Oath hath allready tyed ye K. from altering Episcopacy (as K. Ch. 1. pleaded), & therfore its great reason yt all others be tyed in their places also (as ye forsaid Oath called Et caetera 1640 intimated); will you now come & loose all these sacred bonds, by no other reason, but that it was antecedently in ye power of ye K. & Parlt, & liberty of ye people to do otherwise. // I had a great deale more to note, but I suppose you will be a weary of this much. The adversary will think, yt all ye rest of yor satisfaction almost (as about Alteration &c) are meer forced senses or quibbles, [illegible] common use of speech; & yt on such termes, of equivocation & mentall reservation, no Prince or state can devise an oath yt shall hold such slippery consciences, & wch any man may not take. But as you adjure ye doubting to forbeare, & say no more to cure their doubts, so you will by this way in my opinion, but blow the sparks yt seeme at ye present somewt quietted.

Therfore if you are satisfyed to conforme, I think as I said, an Explicatory page, or nothing is more usefull than this, wch when ever any enemy please may endanger yor life; & will be thought to wrong ye King. //

As for any motions or termes of Accomodation or Indulgence, it is most easy to offer yt wch shall secure both Monarchy & Episcopacy, agt Rebellion & Schisme, without ~~the~~ these oathes or subscriptions: But I have tryed so much yt way allready as satisfyeth my conscience till I see greater probability of successe. If Authority call us to offer such Proposalls we shall quickly do it. But you prohibit me yorselfe when you tell me, yt two such worthy learned pious men as Dr Fell & Dr Allestry are agt all Indulgence & Accomodation: If so, who can we hope will be for it, to any good effect. If it be not their duty to seek it, it is none of mine. The Lord deliver his Church from ye plague of faction & all the errors, slanders, uncharitablenes, cruelty, & divisions wch it hath caused. I rest

Yor unworthy brother ——

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The whole Duty of Man. p. 99. [Nay if I sweare to ye truth of yt whereof I am only doubtfull, though ye thing should happen to be true, yet it brings upon me ye guilt of Perjury; for I sweare at a venture, & ye thing might for ought I know be as well false as true: whereas I ought never to sweare to any thing ye truth of wch I do not certainly know. — Pag. 100. But there is nothing puts us under a greater degree of this unhappy necessity, than when we sweare two Oathes, whereof ye one is directly crosse & contradictory to ye other.] //

Sr I had many more things to have said, & you may see my folly in putting this much into yor hand, when I know not who may see it, or what use may be made of it. The difficulty is great yt you have put me upon; when yor book is so neer print must I be blamed to occasion you to stop it. But I have not so farre [illegible] my witts as to do all yt you desire in yor letter. And I trust you with this only on this condition yt no man know wthout my consent yt you [illegible]

For my Reverend Brother
Mr John [redacted]
this

I thinke there is nothing in this MS. but wt by a charitable interpretation may be affirmed true: But in that ordinary sense wch the words in ye comon acception do hold forth, I thinke of it far otherwise. And at best, not warily nor distinctly delivered.

Here is handled 2 propositions: Concerning the first, I distinguish betweene ye Administration of the Law or word wch is done by vertue of the ministeriall comission & is prop to yt function, & yt wch is comon to them wth others: The later may be performed by Masters in their families or any Xtian occasionally, ye other not so: How far this extends is another Q. wch I shall not be unwilling to joyne in the discussing of. If this 1st proposition doe (as the generall termes seeme to import) containe both these, I Judge it false & agt apparent comande of God, & destructive to Xianity: Els not. 2o I should distinguish betweene an ordinary case & 2 an extraordinary in necessity. as if a private Xian learned & able were cast amongst the Indians, who doubtes but he may teach daily & publiquely: The like necessity in some degree may fall out neerer home.

The 2d proposition (if applyed to or Gospell times) is true in a large sense. for God may be said to appoint a peculiar place 1o directly himselfe determining it. So was the temple; so are not ours 2o In ye generall of order only, allowing the ~~Ch~~ Christian magistrate to determine. So ours are determined. Therefore all those scripture concerning the Jewish temple are forced, it being ceremonious, & the difference removed when the separation wall was taken downe, though still it may be used as ours, but not otherwise. If the ~~Aut~~ Author of this MS. 1o intend (as he seemes) another sense than I mention of these 2 propositions 2o & write it by way of controversy 3o & chuse me for his Adversary: let him subscribe his name yt I may know who I deale wth & I shall endeavour a full answeare. But it seemes it is only a forced confession of his owne faith.

R: Baxter

what a designing man was J. R. B. all this while! well but I am [illegible]
why because I take so much paines & am so zealous in discovering & [illegible]

I have received a long Letter from thee which I shall answer with brevity I can, The first part of it contains an Evasion of Meeting, the a repetition of thy old refuted Clamours and both wrapt up in termes only fitt for the Divill, such is the sweetnesse of thy nature, and the great Charity of thy new modell'd Religion. but to the first part thy words are these I shall stand to ~~my~~ ye offer I made of another dayes conference but not at your time nor Rates. but who concluded thee? not I, tis true I offer'd these things, but so as I left roome for exceptions: yet why should not I have the giveing the Lawes of the second when thou hadst the giveing of the Lawes of the first Conference was my turne in Equity. But thou art weake and full of paine, if so God help thee: I can't say soe of thy Cause though it's more infirme, well but thou canst not meet me this weeke because of preaching the next Lords day; when then? after it I shall be ready; what day? the first opportunity; who shall judge of that? it is not at my command; nor mine thou hast told me already; who may I aske for Richard Baxter? where may I find him? when will he be at leisure to make good his false Insinuations agt the poore Quakers? In this wood he leaves us or rather hides from us; and then tells the lamentable story of being driven from bookes, house, goods O Richard Baxter, and is this a tyme to draw diabolicall pictures of the poore Quakers to render them hatefull and their Religion accursed, and that in the face of Magistracy, whilst thou complainest of persecution for thy dissent from others; where's sweetnesse, meeknesse and charity now? however if I were Richard Baxter no man should goe to prison for me, as one he sayes hath done for him; nor should it be a troubled pulpit, but a troubled Conscience that should make me fly. Goe to London & goe to Gaole, if that must be the Consequence and learne ~~and learne~~ charity by bonds & thou wilt perhaps practice it better when at Liberty. Well but thou saist I have a designeing wrathfull, persecuteing Spirit in me: how am I designeing by comeing so neer to dinner time as thinkeing I could not have held out fasting till night: what a prodigious designe was this to blow up poore R. Baxter. but did he really thinke I could stand him so long? doubtlesse his disciples (especially above other gifts In that of patience) fancied nothing lesse, then that we like poore selfe condemned mortalls should cry out, Men and Brethren what shall we doe to be saved? But to help R. Baxters mem that is as dim here, as his eyes, or his notes were tother night; I well informe him, that I came late from London the night before the Conference & kn no more of the hour then the unborne Child; nay in the Letter from London about the meeting, no tyme was so much as menti what a designeing man was I. R. B. all this while? well but I am cru why? because I take so much paines & am so zealous in discovering &

his & his Brethrens Cruelty to us. and in what persecuteing: I w
bolder agt it (without vanity I say it) then any man In England witn
my severall peeres to the parliament, & that impartially, while R. B
and his Brethren are for casting vs & others to the doggs by a compro
leaveing vs vnder the Clutches of mercilesse men. thus much to the f
part of the Letter

To the second which containes two sides and a quarter, and all
this straine, what hope can I have of a man that will say & vnsay, tha
hath a Spirit that judgeth ye Ministry that laboured 20 yeares agoe &
I shall by retortion & Inversion, as also by some additionall excepti
give I hope a full & convinceing returne

What hope can I have of him, that subscribes a booke of foulest charges
agt an whole people, that I have cause to beleive he never read; and yet
justifyes it; He that authorizes quotations he never compared; & justi
Consequences that he never examined; He that says wee deny the holy
Scriptures to be any meanes of good, when we maintain the contrary, that w
set them & the Spirit in opposition, who affirme their exact unity in Testimony,
what shall we say of him & what is he that makes us to deny Christ his manhoo
one while his godhead another while, and that says we despise reject & deny
his transactions at Jerusalem for mans salvation when our writings plentif
mention them wth honour. He that sayes we deny the ministry (because
deny theirs; yea threw over in the debate, though I warned him of it as a gross
abuse) instead of proveing the Ministry of his Us and We the same Gospell
ministry. He that makes us to deny a Gospell church, wch we beleive. He th
charges us with makeing our Souls God, & so our selves God; He that render
us to deny heaven, & hell, rewards & punishments; & gives these things under
his hand, as the doctrines and principles of the Quakers, that are not to be fo
in any of their writeings, nay that are confest to be but consequences of his or hi
friends drawing never consented agreed or acknowledged by us, but detested &
abominated; He that will recommend them after being confuted at least
answered without reading our Justification; wch was either by downe right deni
as In some Cases or cleer distinctions as in other places; He that shall maintain
anothers allegations & citations out of mens bookes, that are plainely false & forged;
Again he that shall begin a dispute betweene, We and You, & shall require what th
you are & refuse to tell what the We are; He that shall charge his opposer with study
beforehand that never thought what to say whilst himselfe had writt his matter, & there
contended for his method, because els he had beene at a losse. He that turnes
disputation into preaching, He that Evades Answers, & runs all into reflections, &
perversions; He that counted vs no Xtians (though he allowed it to papists) yet
neither said in what, nor disprov'd our Confession. He that made us to deny any
Ministry but that of the Spirit in us only to our selves individually though we prov
particularly the contrary, & that never takes notice of it, but persevers with
repetitions; He that made me to say I cared not a farthing for Christs Church
that only said it of a persecuteing mercinary Adulterated divorced Church. He
that represented me to cry downe Christs ~~Church~~ Ministry; that only deny'd
A persecuteing bloodyminded Clergy, full of temporizeing & flattery. He tha

made me accuse Marshall Ward Burgess Edwards &c of fawning upon O.
Cromwell, that only mentioned them as some of those that cryed downe with Baal's
preists &c on the one side & that most bitterly withstood the Independents &c as ~ //
schismaticks on the other: calling upon the Civill Magistrate to sweepe the Land
of them; on purpose to give proofe of some presbyterian Charity; He that charges
schisme upon us & is by his seperate meeting & flying for doeing so a defacto
separatist himselfe: He that cryes US and WE taking in protestants of all
sects & papists too, under some Xtian Qualification but leaving us out;
that hath abetted, the beginning of those troubles that are charg'd with
sedition & schisme; He that had the Confidence to say he & his freinds, had
no hand in separation or persecution, nor daubing of the powers; who writt
an holy Comonwealth to An usurper to practice, & raise his new ~ //
Monarchy upon, & that hath preach't up the use of Civill power to restrain
Consciences. And Countenanced severity upon Tho. Goodier, so as he had
beene kill'd butt for Ld. Salsberry ~ // and whose Brethren said at Manchester
letts blow up this Quaker at G. Boothes riseing & cry'd Banish them, &
for the children doe as the Irish did, witts will beleive my wittnesses are
neere. He that cryes up the Ministry of 1655 for the best in the world
and when put close to it, runs of & quitts the field, & of above 9000 preachers
with 1800. were the 1800 the ministry & not the 9000? & did none of those
call Oliver Moses, the Light of their eyes, & breath of their nostrills. & Richd
the Joshua that was to lead them to the holy Land? did none of those
flatter the powers, persecute dissenters? & force their Maintenance?
He that calls this takeing a Malicious advantage of the tymes when God knows
I was greived to mention it, but driven to it by such extravigant praises of them
as being of the best which I thinke in a sence is corruptest, & to show it must
tell their story. He that calls the Law wch forces maintenance from people
to a Ministry they own not one of those Lawes of the Land that is the Rule of
propertye, & yet denyes the Law that distrains Religious meetings as agt ~
property. He that makes us deny any Christianity at all to be in any butt
our selves, that inferres from our words that all else are Antichristian butt
our selves &c because we acknowledge this way to be more excellent as
that which has given life to our Souls & in which we have found the redeeming
power of Xt in our Soulls; wch we never felt under other ministrys & in other
wayes. He that from our declining the fashions & Customes of the world
in pure Conscience to God, the only token of our esteeming our selves Xtians,
& that sayes we goe out of one Extreame into another. 112 He that chargeth us
wth maintaining popery & yet counts papists Xtians, whilst he denyes
us to be such, at least questions it. He that admitts not particular instances to
conclude against Generalls, & himselfe draw reflections from J. Naylor upon
the whole people called Quakers & their ffaith; He that chargeth me
with beleiveing, & bids me repent, of what I never was, but wt if it were, I
told him I utterly detested, and that after he was told so, yet runs up his discourse
in the same termes without proveing his accusation or takeing any notice of my
abhorrence of any such thing as that he charg'd; & he that can make a people
guilty of such fault as J. N. might committ when they solemnly & in

[illegible] & censure it; He that finds fault with agravateing evill ag^t persons as
way y^t tends to destroy Love, & yet practices it by a dull & envious repetition of
storyes theire over not at that tyme to be perticulerly disproved: He that makes it
marke of a false Church in us that we contradict & write one ag^t another (w^ch is still
false we never did soe) yet justifyes the Episcopalians, presbyterians Independ
& Baptists that have done the like & continue to doe so. He that pretends they
all his Brethren & the papists too for he calls them Xtians (which must be
being borne of one Stocke) yet say that this Spirit of Schisme, this rending
Spirit that leads into these perverse ways began with those that cryed down
with Baalls preists & descended thence into the Sectaryes, y^t is Independ
(for so the presbyterians called them) from them to the Anabaptists so to y^e Rant
and then to y^e Quakers. He that can justifye a man in calling the Quakers
Light within ~~a sinfull sordid & corrupt thing~~ a sinfull sordid and corrupt thing
& yet appeal to it in print & say its but what we have of him & his Brethren. He
that reproves us for Rayling that defends our Woes In Scripture warnings rightly
applyed as we offer to prove, & both use it & abett it in others. He that can
call a man Brother one houre & divill the [illegible] next; first extoll and Hosann
then debase & crucifye bid me gett me behind him & God rebuke me as If I were a Divill
He that can doe all these things, I hope I may say, is so far neither a good man a
charitable man, nor a faire disputant. And whether R. Baxter be not this ve
man I leave it with him seriously to consider as he will answer the great God at the
tribunall. Ah doe not so harshly represent nor cruelly Character a poore
people y^t are given up to follow the leadings of that Jesus, abundance of you
hath long told us, has stood even all night at the doore of our hearts knocking
y^t he might come in, who's pure Spirit & fear we desire to be subject to, & waite
upon God, when together in true silence from all fleshly thoughts, y^t we may
feel our hearts replenisht with his divine Love & life, in which to forgive
our opposers, & those y^t spitefully use us: in w^ch deare Love of God R.
Baxter I doe forgive thee: & desire thy good & felicitye; & when I read thy
Letter the many severityes therein could not divert me from saying y^t I
would freely give thee an apartment in my house, & thy liberty therein
that I could visitt, & yett discourse thee in much tender Love; notwithstanding
this hard entertainment from thee I am without harder words

Thy sincere and Loving
freind W^m Pen

My Master went to London and left me this to Copy
over which I have done I thinke exactly as I could

I shall stand to the offer which I made of another dayes Conference (God willing) but not at yor appoynted time nor at yor rates I suppose I need not tell you that it was an extraordinary case with mee to bee able to hold out seaven howers yesterday & doe you think seriously, that I can doe the like to morrow, an hower in a day is as much as I can expect to bee able to speake or two at the most (though rarely it fall out otherwise) besides that my nights & dayes being chiefly spent in paine, little doe I know before hand which will bee my day of ease, (though I have had more in this place then usuall) I told you I think to remove speedily & hope to preach the next Lords day & dare not disable my selfe by another dayes talke with you before it but after, I shall bee ready at the first opportunity (which is not at my comand,) where I shall bee I know not perhaps in the Common Goale where one now lyes for preaching for mee I am driven to part with house Goods & bookes and am going naked out of the world, as I came naked into it, And if you & the Prelates conjunct could have satisfied mee that I might leave this calling you would greatly accomodate my flesh, when I meete you I must tell you it will bee with lesse hopes of Candor from you or benefitt to you then yesterday, I did for I perceive in you a despising carping spirit and that you know not what manner of spirit you are of was it not like a meere desire to choose to meete soe neere to dinner time as thinking I would not have held out fasting till night that you might have the last word & take that for a victory and say as some did to the Anabaptists they run, is it any better now to call mee to another bout to morrow that my disability to speake as long as you might seeme to bee yor victory & what hope can I have of that man, that will say, & unsay, as you did & of that man that hath within him, a spirit which judgeth the Ministry which laboured twenty yeares agoe to bee the most corrupt & debauching in the world (not excepting the Papists Inquisitors nor (I thinke) the Mahometane and who soe oft pronounceth them noe Ministers of Christ that take tythes or fees which is almost all the Christian world not only of this but of all former Ages these 1300 yeares & from the Apostles dayes also they tooke a constant Maintenance till then though not constrained by Magistrates (because none were Christians) hee that hath a spirit which would rid Christ of almost all his Church & Ministers & say that they are none of his, & would have all people thinke as odiously of them as you by calumny described them hee that would have all men take all those as soe bad, that is as hatefull, and then say that hee speakes for love when there is noe way to preach downe love & preach ~~downe~~ hatred but by perswading men of the hatefull evill of the persons, hee that will soe farre justify, that spirit that at the rise of Quakers soe barbarously rayled at the best of Gods servants that ever I knew in the Land, you that will soe farre justify James Naylor whose tongue was bored for blasphemy you, that can find in yor heart to wish & draw others to wish, that not only all the Ministers of this Age that take tythes but of all former Ages & places had been dishonored & deserted and would have not only the 1800 Nonconformists silenced but all the

setled Ministry of the Land that there might bee none of th
to make opposition to ignorance ungodlynes or Popery but the few
woefull Quakers might bee all the teachers that the Land should
Hee that could soe quietly run over the late warrs usurpations &
rebellions over-turnings & flatterys (of which Strangers who were
of his owne spirit were the great cause) & charge that on the Cl
as a reason to prove them noe Ministers of Christ which not one of
or twenty of the now non Conformists nor one of 40 of the Confor
but such Strangers) had a hand in, yea, that which multitudes of
the reviled Ministers ventured their estates & lives against Hee that
can perswade the People of the Land to soe great theevery as not to p
those Tythes which they never had property in, nor paid rent for but
by the Law are other mens, as much as their Lands & goods & calls it
Persecution to constraine men soe to pay their debts and give every
one his owne yea, and make this requiring of their owne to bee a proof
that they are noe Ministers of Christ & a sufficient cause to desert
& separate from almost all the Christian Churches of the world Hee
that will say that wickednes is more where there is a Clergy then
where there is none (that is among Canniballs & other Heathens) Hee
that can say that the Christian Religion is a Conformity to the spirit
& not to a Catalogue of Doctrines (and soe if that spirit bee the
universall sufficient Light within men that all the Heathen & Infidells
the world are Christians & that there are as many Christian Religions as
there are men of different sizes of the spirit or Light) Hee that can
find in his heart thus to reproach such a suffering Ministry wh
are restraint of all & hunted about for preaching & to joyne them
with ~~those~~ that preach without Tythes or any hire or pay with the rest
reproached, & while hee swimms himselfe in wealth, to insult over th
poore & falsely to professe that hee will give all that hee hath to th
needy if they want it more then hee (which the event I thinke will
prove hypocrisy & untrue, Hee that dares joyne with those that hee calls
Persecutors & yea with Papists drunkards & ungodly men in reviling
decrying this same Ministry night, as they doe, and when God is love
& Christ & his spirit is soe much for unity, is himselfe soe much f
malice & division as to separate from almost all the Christian wo
This man is not one, that I can have any great hopes of a faire or
profitable conference with, But I will once more meete him (if a
only for two houres conference, but cannot doe it to morrow or
weeke, tis like enough, that for want of a better cause hee will tell
poore followers that this is a flight & hee might as honestly challe
mee to try the strength of our Leggs in running a Race with him to k
who is in the right as to doe it by trying the strength of our Lungs
after the rest. But supposing him to continue in his sin, I will o
the spirit which saith a man that is an Heretick after the first an
second admonition avoid, knowing that hee that is such is condem
of himselfe (hee excommunicateth himselfe from the Church & need not
condemned by the Churches excommunicatory Sentence. but it must
heresies arise that they that are approved may bee made manifest
only forsake him, that I greatly doubt that if hee repent not hee

(which is not likely) hee is in great danger of dying a Papist or an Infidell. As to the Reproving [illegible] in your Letter it doth but shew that you are soe much more impatient of plaine Truth & of being contradicted, then other ordinary men, that wee have little reason to beleive that you have more of the Spirit of humility, meeknes & patience then those whose Comunion you condemne, as not being Spirituall, and that they call not for an answer, but for pitty, what you charge my Landlord with, debate it with him, I was sorry you began with him in that with soe provoking incivility, but you dreame not sure that I undertooke for any one but my selfe; tho I told you then what was meete & what was my request: I will say what at ye first meeting I said to you that I suppose you were never acquainted with the Persons whom you revile, otherwise I cannot excuse you from downe right malignity, my great acquaintance with abundance of the reviled Ministers & People did cause mee to perceive that they lived in Mortification of the fflesh & contempt of such riches, as you possesse few of them having more then meere food & raiment and being therewith content the greatest Adversaryes in a way of Sobriety to worldlynes, sensuality, Lordly Pride or lazines in Ministers that ever I knew, frequent & fervent in prayer, watching over the fflocks with love & diligence unweariedly labouring in preaching the antient simple Christianity faith, [illegible], Repentance obedience love & concord humbly stooping to the lowest & doing good to the Soules and Bodyes of all according to their opportunity & Talents & living exemplary in peace among themselves following peace with all, and abhorring usurpations Rebellions heresie & Schisme, and to this day approve for noteing through sufferings with patience I say I know soe much of these, that hee that would perswade mee to hate them or to beleive them to bee as odious as you have described them doth to mee seeme to bee the Messenger of Sathan and if I know Gods Spirit speaking in the Scripture, & in mee it teacheth mee to say Get thee ~~[illegible]~~ behinde mee Sathan the accuser of the Brethren & reviler of the Servants of the living God and the preacher of hatred to the members of Christ

Yor Monitor

Ri: Baxter

Oct 8th 1673

I would you would study what is meant in Scripture by the words [illegible] διαβολοι translated false accusers.

LETTERS

If you knew me & th: writers books, you would not desire that I
should lose so much time as the writing of a confutation of him
I live not idly, nor have any time to spare. Wn I find myselfe
disabliged from greater workes (in my owne apprehension) I promise
you I shall attempt it, & you can reasonably require no more. If
you read impartially my treati: of infidelity you would have found him
answered allready. The Determination was purposely written for such as he
And if you take his notes for a confutation, it is not a confutation of
writings that can satisfy so incapable an intellect. 2o. I have some
els to do, then to write with them that would not be understood, but pur-
posely hide their owne religion. Either he is an Infidell, a papist, or
a sott. If he believe yt no man is bound to believe in Christ, nor ever
was, he is an Infidell. And if so, wt need you call to me for
a confutation. Reade Eusebius, Augustine, Cyrill & the rest of the
ancients that have confuted the Heathens: & Grotius, du Plessis,
Dabsport, Gabel &c. yt have proved Christianity, & you need no more. If
he plead against scripture but as a papist to lead us to the Romane
grounds, I have allready confuted him in two bookes. If he believe
(as he told me he doth) that Christ was to be believed in by those
that saw miracles only, & no more, he hath not the braines of
a man (as I prove in my Determination Treat: agt Infidell.) &
therefore is not fit to be disputed with. To talke of a Christ that
came about 4000 yeares after the creation, to gather & save a few
that saw miracles for a few yeares in so narrow a space, & yet
to leave men to their old Infidelity, & be a head without a body, this
is a Jeast & not a Gospell. And I will not believe that any man
of common wit believes himselfe yt doth professe so foolish a
conceit. He being therefore either an infidell or papist, I have
Answered both & therefore him: but shall find some better imploy-
ment for my little time then to answer the idle words of his parti-
cular pamphlets (any further) till he come to be ashamed of his religion
& will deale barefact. Do you or he give me a confession of your owne
religion, & I will give you one of mine, & then I shall be glad to de-
bate our differences: till then let Juglers play with the things of God.
The eternall light will shortly shame them. I thinke that man hath
no religion that keepeth in darknesse in such daies of liberty as these
& therefore he is unmeet to dispute of Religion. I rest

your friend

June 25. 1659

Richard Baxter

To John Bolt at ye King
on Ludgate hill

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Decembr, ye: 24th: 86:

Sr

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Since I was with you yesterday, though I know of noe reason I had to trouble my Ld, I desired a person that was going to his Lsp to speake to him, by whom I finde that his Lsp is displeased wth I doubt not ~~but~~ was occationed by yor possessing him wth stories & exasperated by yor deeply Complaints. I therefore send this to acquaint you, that I will trouble my Ld noe further in this matter and next, I can not but lett you know that I expect some period in ~~this matter~~ it I must Leave this Towne the begining of ye next weeke & Can not always attend upon this businesse. Therefore I send to know what satisfaction you intend me, whether any or nothing, I am very unwilling to expose yor reputation, by seeking my redresse by course of Law, in regard I have yet some hopes, that he who hath hitherto had soe considerable an Esteeme in the World, will not now lessen it by slighting or undervaluing the reall care & paines, of one that hath been soe diligent in yor businesse as you know I have been, Sr, I can not but (appeale to God) & yor owne Conscience whether I deserve not a reward, & If you thinke that I was att noe expence ~~in that~~ ~~expence~~ in that Quarter of a year, & that soe much time was of noe value to me: Then you are not the man I looke you to be, but I am rather satisfied from what you have formerly sd to me, that you did esteeme my Labour & paines att some rate. That this therefore may conclude this difference amicably, I desire you to be plaine & tell me what you are willing & Content to give for all. I shall take noe advantage att yor offer, but if you are any thing reasonable I will endeavour to Comply if it be not to my Losse, I pray faile not to send me yor positive answere upon sight hereof directed to be left wth yor Porter att Northumberland house in the strand, where I directed you before, where I shall expect it this evening, for I see it to noe purpose to make more Journeys to you without you are resolved to doe something, if you approve not of what I have written, I must Leave it to those to whom it belongs to Judge of matters of this nature, who in a Little time will soon end the Controversie betweene you & me

x

David Williams

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Reverend & much honoured Sr   Questions on Mr Beverleys Millennium

I returne you this 2d thanks for yor book of ye millennium. The subject is of so great weight, & so fit for the deepest thoughts of all Christians, especially of one so neare another world as I am. But as ye dullness of my understanding stopt me from assenting to those two argumts on wch you cast yor Glove for an answer in another book: ~~[illegible]~~ it occasioned many doubts about this Treatise, though ye ~~[illegible]~~ plainness & ye weight of ye matter make the reading of it very pleasant to me: wch provoakes me to addresse my selfe to you as a really humble desirer of yor further helpe; not knowing of any one from whom I may so hopefully expect it: I crave yor answer to these following Questions.

1 Doth ye Revelation mention one 1000 yeares only or two.

2° If but one, doth not yt begin uppon ye fall of Babilon (~~[illegible] believers of Pagan Rome was not Babylon [illegible]~~) //

3° Why say you yt Christs Kingdome begins at ye 1000 yeares; when so many texts tell us of his Kingdome existent long before. Hath he not Governmt by Lawes, & initiall execution long before; yea a Kingdome among us & within us. //

4° Do not ye Spirits of ye perfected just with ye Angels now constitute ye Jerusalem above, & is not yt ye Kingdome of Christ. And doth he not reigne now over earth //

5° Shall these blessed Soules come leave for 1000 yeares & dwell either with Devills or where Devills now dwell in ye aire. If they come thither with Xt at Judgmt shall they dwell there so long. And is it no worse a place than where they are

6 Seeing ye Heavens yt now are must then be burnt, is not ye Air ye lower pt of ye Heaven (or pt at least) And shall Christ & ye New Jerusalem dwell in ye consuming fire. //

7° I cannot possibly find wt Time you allot to ye Conflagration of Heaven: whether it shall continue burning all ye 1000 yrs, or be quickly dispatcht at first. //

8° Nor yet wt Time or measure you set to ye Conflagration of ye Earth; Doth it burne at once or by gradations, as Dr Cressener thinks, begining at Rome & so going on. And is it all ye 1000 yrs proceeding to its dispatch. If so, 1° Is a wonder yt this long fire continually not [illegible] Gog & Magog: 2° And if ye Inhabitants fly from it (as at Aetna) whither do they carry their goods, & where find they roome: both ye Saints & Sinners. ~~Then keeps ye Beloved City~~ //

9° Is it ye New Earth all ye while it is burning. //

10° If it be burnt at once at ye begining, where are ye surviving Saints ye while. //

11° Is there two New Jerusalems or but one. One you place in ye Air: And there is The Beloved City on Earth wch Gog & Magog assault. Is not yt a New Jerusalem. (Or is there three, if yt now above & ye air be one before ye [illegible] //)

12° You avoid many difficultyes by holding but one Resurrection. But wt then becomes of ye bodyes of all ye wicked yt die during ye 1000 yrs. Do Soule & body goe to hell together unburyed. Or do only their Soules suffer, & ye bodyes never rise. //

13° Is there One Conflagration or Two; The Scripture speaks but of one. And then wt becomes of ye New Earth at ye end of ye 1000 yrs. Are not Gog & Magog burnt also

14° Is ye Beloved City on earth in one place (Jerusalem); Or over ye whole Earth. //

15° Is not ye numbers yt cover ye Earth as ye sand of ye sea with Gog & Magog inconsistent with ye description of ye New Earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. & with ye times of Restitution, when ye groaning creation shall be delivered from ye bondage of corruption into a Paradise state; tho ye creatures yt unwillingly suffer.

16° Why say you yt brutes shall be annihilated, yt are said to be subdued in hope.

17° Do ye surviving Saints on earth see ye Kingdome in ye aire. If not, How say you It must be there for Appearance. when in Heaven now & for ever ye Citizens appear to one another.

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18 Is it a Better state to be embodyed in ye air, than to be as ye Saints shall be after ye 1000 yrs. And is not yt ye going of ye spirit to God yt gave it. If it be better, why are Soules brought from it. If worse why returne they to it after ye 1000 yrs. //

19 Is it not plaine force to make Pauls words of Time to make all ye change to be presently uppon ye sound of ye trumpet, to import many hundred yeares delay of ye taking up of ye surviving Saints. Both Paul & Peter seemed to thinke otherwise.

20 And I much admire not ye force of yor answer to this; fetcht from ye distance of [illegible] 1600 yrs agoe. For they were not to rise till ye coming of Xt [illegible] as speedily as ye rest. //

21 If yͤ Judiciary sentence be (as you say) only at yͤ Beginning & Ending
of yͤ 1000 yrs, Are all yͤ wicked unsentenced & unclosed yͭ die During yͤ time
of yͤ 1000 yrs; And wͭ sentence passe on their bodys at last
How is there a great unpassable gulfe between Dives & Lazarus if
22 they dwell in the air together.
those of yͤ Saints be perfected here without yͤ other
23° If (as you say p. 3) from their birth to their death
Are the survivors on Earth all yͤ 1000 yrs
as perfect as those in yͤ air; Or are none about perfect till yͤ 1000 yrs end.
Is it called a New Earth only morally for righteousnesse sake (when Gog
24° & Magog reigne), Or Materially also as altered & refined by yͤ fire. And
if so, comes it New before yͤ fire have done, or in yͤ burning.
Is yͤ Nations bringing their Glory into yͤ New Jerusalem, no more than
25° their acknowledging it to come thence.
26° What is yͤ healing of yͤ Nations by yͤ leaves of yͤ tree of life, if they be before
perfectly healed: or reprobates yͭ will not be healed.
27° How shall I prove yͭ yͤ delivering up yͤ Kingdome to yͤ Father yͭ God may
be all in all, doth end all yͤ Kingdome of Christ (As man & as mediator.) It endeth his
Restoring, healing Government, As a physician yͭ hath cured all his hospitall, ceaseth
to be their physician for further cure; And as a Generall at yͤ End of a warre
is no more a militant Generall; But as a Reward of his successe, one may be
yͤ Lord of those yͭ he hath healed, & yͤ other of those yͭ he hath conquered
& reduced: It is yͤ will of yͤ Father yͭ those yͭ are given him may be with him
where he is, to behold yͤ Glory given to him. This speakes him to be yͤ Mediator
of fruition, when he ceaseth to be yͤ mediator of acquisition. How prove you yͭ
Christs humane nature shall be Glorifyed but 1000 yrs, or yͭ we shall see yͤ Glory
given him but 1000 yrs. Shall not yͤ Church for ever be yͤ body of Christ & he yͤ Head.
28° I thought yͭ Gods being all in all after yͤ delivery had meant yͭ yͤ Father
who Judgeth no man as Innocents by yͤ Law of perfection, but hath Committed all
judgment to yͤ Son as Mediator by a Regiment of Grace to restore them to Innocency
& bring them to perfection, should now when yͤ Restoration is finished, Governe
them againe as Innocent or perfect, without any further care by yͤ mediator
God may be all in all, while Christ is mediator of fruition; Is he not all in all
while yet yͤ whole Creation manifesteth his glory as a resplendent medium.
29° I do with dread read your description of God being All in All & of our state
before & after yͤ Millennium. My dread is yͤ tempting tendency of it, because
of my resemblance of your judgment. The strongest temptation yͭ ever assaulted
me, was to question whether All Spirits be not God, or one universall Spirit
Emaning from God, as Light from yͤ Sun & yͭ Matter only is divisible &
individually & capable of numericall differences. And so whether Matter be not as
yͤ Body of this universall soule, & so yͤ world as soule & body be not God? I find
Dr Henry More (whom I think you follow) maintaine yͭ Christ is yͤ Eternall
Spirit of an Eternall body (which we eate in yͤ sacrament). And John Turner of
St Thomas Hospitall his Colleague, calls this Spirit & body yͤ Son & yͤ
Holy Ghost, & yͤ Creatures [illegible] omits yͤ name of Creatures; but seemes
rather to be for Emanation: But both seeme to take yͤ Trinity to be, 1° The
prime spring of being, The Father, 2° An Eternall universall Spirit, The Son, 3°
Eternall purest matter like Light, The Holy Ghost. You say yͭ yͤ whole Intellectuall
nature in yͭ it might be Reconciled to God with yͤ whole inferior Creation
(which having served yͤ Glory of yͤ Creator by Jesus Christ, they fly back into their
former state of Nothing in yͤ Creatures, but indeed are returned into yͤ Divine
Immensity), & Angels & men be united to God for ever. And p. 18. 19. yͤ high expres-
sion can set no state but of God All in All, Even as he was before yͤ foundation
of yͤ world All in All, & to which state our Lords words to me seeme when all
yͤ Saints are thus One with God in Christ. Then is he All in All as before yͤ world began.
No doubt by yͤ world, you meane All worlds: And you will call it Nothing in yͤ Creatures
For before yͤ world was there was nothing but God: And so to be All in All is to
be All in nothing. For ἐν πᾶσι being plurall in sence signifyeth some Creatures
existent & not God alone. I find Peter Sterry & some other great wits in yͤ

opinion of an universall soule, & yt ye same Eternall word yt was unite[d]
humane nature of Xt as a [illegible] did as our soule animate ye whole materi[all]
Creation: But I imagine yt they rather thought with Aristotle yt ye world was
eternall, than yt from all Eternity till 6000 yrs ago or thereabouts there was no being
but God nor will be againe after ye millennium (when there was no Creature there
was nothing but ye Creator. If our soules were from Eternity, either they were God himselfe,
or they were so many created spirits then made to be after put into bodyes: I will
not trouble you with arguing agt this either as held by Pythagoreans, or by ye [illegible]
[illegible] millions of spirits strangers to ye bodyes wch from Eternity they were created for. And if
soules lose their individuation & created existence & returne into ye being of God, as
Candles extinct into ye illuminated aire or sun, then they are as truly God now as they
were God from Eternity; And is God a sinner or doth he torment himselfe? And it is ye
whole Created Intellectuall nature yt you mention: As if all ye damned & devills also
should become God, as they were before ye world was: Or all Angels at ye last of
So all being ye same God? If you thinke yt God will cause new worlds hereafter
& cease to be All in All, by yor principles you must rather say, He will againe become
himselfe new worlds. No doubt but God is indivisibly & but One: And are all soules so:||
I canot understand how God is now Lesse All in All than he was before ye
world was made. There is now More an All for him to be All in. And he is as neer
to Bodyes as to spirits, & to every Creature as it is to itselfe, immediatione et suppo-
siti et virtualiter; for he is Immense & omnipresent.|| And I deny not a sort of Unition
of all Entity to God as ye prime pregnant Ens: Even of all Naturall Beings (not
excepting Devills) to ye God of Nature. For in Him we Live & move & have our
Being; & we are his offspring. But as I canot thinke yt God is partible, & yt we
are parts of ye Deity, no not partes intelligibiles etiamsi non divisibiles, & so yt Creation
is an increase of Deity; so neither can I thinke yt our union with God or wth Xt
is like ye hypostaticall union of ye Divine & humane nature in Xt Humanity as
one Person (no more than One Substance) with ye Father Son & Holy Spirit.
I thinke yt there is an union of Dependance & contiguity in all ye Creation as from
& of & to ye Creator, as lines from ye Center, & effects from one Cause, though
yt ye said effects be neither in specie vel numero ye same with ye Cause
or one another (commonly): As a crab & a sweet apple grow on One tree, & divers
trees & plants on one ground by land & earth, & yt contiguous to ye same aire,
&c. But when there is no created Entity, there is no Unition to ye Deity of yt
wch is not. [The word Inesse indeed may be improperly used of such; As we
say, yt future effects are in their Causes], & call yt Virtualiter inesse; But
this is but to speake ineptly through want of words: For a future effect is
no effect: And yt Cause is no Cause formaliter till it effect: It is but an inept
denomination a materia disposita or a virtute matrice: but denominatio
propria est a forma. So yt ye union of Nothing with God, can signifie
no more than yt there is nothing but God.|| Indeed if we hold ye Eternity of
ye world, we may say yt It is an Eternall effect of an Eternall Cause, & yt only
variegations are temporall; And yt ye Eternall Spirituall Virtues may be con-
ceived of as an Eternall Cause of universall Substance & motion. But this
will lead towards their opinion yt take ye world to be God, as consisting of
ye universall Spirituall Virtue, & universall matter; Though it will not deny
ye Creation of divers successive worlds, as made by various Alteration.||
I speake all this about yor notion, with ye feare of Misexplication, lest I heare
Who is this yt darkeneth Counsell by words without Knowledge? And say (as subtile Cajetane
[In sola Ignorantia quiescit noster intellectus], & in [illegible] simplicite fait.||
But having been oft assaulted with an argument too hard for me, I will tell
yours wch answer I have given in divers bookes, yt I may beg yor better answer.||
Their argument is, Ens perfectissimum est Deus: Universitas (seu totalitas) Entitatis
existentis est Ens perfectissimum: Ergo universitas Entitatis existentis est Ds
Minorem probant, Quia, [illegible] Pars est esse quid Imperfectum: Totum enim plus habet
entitatis quam Pars: Si mundus est Ens et Aliquid, Entitatis aliquid habebit; et
Entitas Dei et Entitas Mundi, sunt entitatis plus quam Dei solius. Et [illegible]
fratres have more Entity than yt [illegible] alone.|| To this I have oft said, 1o yt ab
ignotis non est disputandum contra nota, imo notissima.|| 2o yt (though Dr
subtilis contradicit it) Ens non dicitur Univoce de Deo et Creaturis: And
therefore ye analogicall Entity of ye Creature is no Addition to ye Entity wch is ye Divine
* 3o But they reply, Either yt Analogicall Entity is quid reale, or els ye whole Creation is
Nothing, but a Chimera: And say yt wch is Nothing, can do nothing & suffer nothing. I say

That though ye Schools say yt Nihil est in Deo praeter Deum; et Deus non [habet] Accidentia; And they distinguish Emanation & Creation; & Creation from Traduction by Generation; Yet I humbly offer to further Enquiry || 1° Whether Emanation & Creation ejusdem be not Consistent: And God do not Create by Emanation, the word signifying, not ye mere extension of his own substance (wch is still Immanent) but a Voluntary (or Arbitrary) efflux of operative Virtue; And whether yt may not be a Creative operation, yt Divine pregnant Eus, volendo. Causing new Entities ex nihilo. (And whether Arbitrarines in this consist not with a necessitas Effectionis) As I have assayed oft (in meditat: Theologia et alibi) to prove yt Creation & Traduction by Generation consisting God as ye ~~[illegible]~~ Pregnant Eus primum communicating of Emaning Virtue wch shall produce ye Soule bothe in genere substantiae et in specie when it is received duly by ye semina parentum & fully by ym carryed towards ye effect (As ye Sun sends forth all ye beams & heat on a burning glasse by which lighted candles, wch without it would not be done) So may not God by a Creative Emanation (Divinae Virtutis) first produce Create Substances (out of nothing); & by ye due various reception & reagency of spirituall Substances, diversify things by alterations & variegation: Yea or by primary Emanation create variety of spirits & Seminall virtues yt yet are not themselves ||

2° And may it not be said yt Deus habet Accidentia? Are not Relations Accidents? And though ye Thomists hold yt It is ye Creature yt is related to God, & not God to ye Creature, yet Albertinus & others confute yt: And who can think yt Creator, Dominus Rector, Amator are not as true Relations as Creatum, Proprium, Subditus. || But because they will say yt Relation hath no real Entity distinct from ye quid absolutum, I say further, wt absurdity followeth if we think yt ye whole world is a Reall Accident of God; And so no Part, & yet no Addition of Entity. Yea though Logicians distinguish Accidents from Parts, whether e.g. a mans hair may not be pars Accidentalis. (though ye question is but de nomine). And wt if a man could voluntarily make it grow, & cut it off at his pleasure. It cannot be said yt Homo & Coma, or Crinis have more of Entity than Homo alone; Because ye Entity of ye Hair is so of ye man as yt it is as an internal Accident of himself. And Homo comprehendeth such kind of Accidents. And so ye world is no such Addition to Divine Entity (though it be not a meer Nothing) as can prove God to be Pars universitatis. ||

30 Pag. 22. I cannot reconcile yor [final & most utter cessation of Action & things wholly consumed] wth [Tormenting Punishment] of ye Beast & others. But I suppose yt you mean yt they are tormented but during ye 1000 yrs ye others dead. And I doubt yor putting ye Saints after ye 1000 yrs into ye Heavens before ye world, is but [illegible] too ([illegible]) ||

31° How doth this stand with all those texts yt tell us yt yt Kingdome is an Everlasting Kingdome, & he reigneth for ever; & yt it is life eternall to know him, & they live because he liveth, & shall see his glory, & be as he is &c? All these doubts make me aske you ||

31 Is yor opinion any safer to us, or more honourable to God & Saints than to hold ||

1° That ye great Sabbatisme shall be more than a thousand years, even everlasting

2° That yt Conflagration & taking up of ye Saints at yt Coming, And shall be all changed in a [illegible], shall be done with speed

3° That tho Judgmt be in ye Aire, yt new Jerusalem Effected shall be in Heaven ||

4° That yt Kingdome of Acquisition or recovery was by various gradations exercised on earth, All power being given him & all judgmt committed to him; & yt final sentence only at ye day of Judgment, & ye execution to Everlasting

5° That yt shall for ever be ye Head of ye Church, & have a Kingdome of Glory, for his Kingdome of Recovery, & shall be by yt Glory a mediator of our Glory, who behold it ||

6° That ye new earth shall be in ye state of Restitution [& better] as an Earthly Paradise possessed by a new Generation yt God will provide, & have Communion with ye Celestiall Kingdome, & be partly governed by them, & this for more than 1000 yrs. ||

7° That ye delivering of ye Kingdome to ye Father as God all in all, is but ye ending of Christs mediatoriall, & military, acquisitive Government, having reduced ye rebellious world to [illegible] will rule things recovered, without a militant & Juridicall regiment

33° I have many great doubts to propose to you about ye Calling of ye Jews: But will not now mention ym, because yor Catechisme passeth by yt matter. And I dare [trouble] you no more, lest I defeat my hope of yor favourable & speedy answer of these [illegible] you to send to him yt hasting to ye unseen world, hath present need of [illegible]

[illegible] as man was still subject to ye Father, but ye Kingdome of Redemption being [illegible] subject glorifyed in ye ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] of perfection; & a Generall after conquest in his Kingdom [illegible] still [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ to be subject, but [illegible] V 33 April 23. 1650

[illegible] Consumed to bring a cessation of Seminall Individuation (as they do not believe) I would rather believe this confusion [illegible] Souls of each possible body, than into ye matter [illegible] God or nothing. But we have great evidence of continued individuation

Septr: 28th 71

38

You can not but much wonder a Perso
e Little Knowne to You as My Selfe (& whom I doe
remember you haue Knowingly Seen more then
e when my Lady Belliarris favour'd me with admit-
nce to you then Sitting at Her Lodgeing for yor Picture
2 or 3 times after at St James's) Should haue the Con-
dence to Usher another with his Business who is yet a
reater Stranger to you then my Selfe; However Sr
ry well Knowing yor Willingness, uppon all Occasions to
leiue & give yor Helpe to People in Distress of any
I take Boldness, uppon his importunity to doe it —
atisffaction in the Case he desires is, what I doubt
you can readily give; Yet Sr Please to take yor owne
& Leasure for it; Since, I am very Sensible how
wise it may prove a very unseasonable interruption
r More Weighty Affaires — and if then you shall please
uchsafe it you will Oblige me more then you can
ly imagine — I doe not know, nor can uppon inquiry
form'd, that any one has Treated uppon the Subject in
t — & it is of Consequence to the Persons Concern'd whi
after may be well Knowne (as they now desire, Specially
entleman) to you, & then I assure my Selfe you will not
t of that trouble you give yor Selfe herein to Oblige them
Brother, the Minister, (& whom I remember you told
as Knowne to you) has bin Discours'd with about it,
leanes Soe much & [illegible]itly to the Plea on her side
entleman is very much dissatisfyed, & Hopes yor
Judgement & Reasons, may convince confute &
[illegible]

have Wayted uppon you myſelfe about it, but my occaſions
at preſent will not conveniently Permitt that, I Begg therefore
yo.^r Pardon for it, as allſoe for this trouble, which I aſsure
you comes from One who very much Values & Honours
you, & on that account further Beggs he may among
the Crowd of thoſe you particularly remember in yo.^r
Prayers be of the Number, & (to trouble you noe more
now) as One, who (whether you thinke fitt to doe any any
thing in this Buſineſs, or not) would be very glad of any
Occaſion, & Opportunity to Expreſs Himſelfe

Honour'd S.^r

Yo.^r most Humble
& most Faithfull Servant
John Hill

These

To the Reverend, & my very
much Honoured Freind Mr Baxter

At Totteridge

~~Att Mr Henry Davy Merc in Mark Lane~~
London: Present

LETTERS

fol.121. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

39

Most dear & reverend Sr

It is a renewed argument of yr very condescending spirit that you yet retain so kind a reme[illegible] of me who am conscious to myselfe never to have deserved any place in yr friendship. Nor could you have expre[illegible] that undeserved friendly respect by any more acceptable or indearing medium, then is the endeavr of yr late letter that I may not in any thing wrong the truth or Church of God, which I am the more concern'd to be tender of by how much I am lesse capa[illegible] ble of doing unto either any reall or considerable service. I did indeed some months since intimate to my friend Mr [illegible] (then in the citie, and by whom I treated wth Mr Thompson) my hope that if he desired it for the better sale of my book, you might be procured to recommend the subject and designe of it & promised (upon that supposition) to write to you to that purpose. But having since received a letter fro Mr Thompson wherein he said nothing of it, I had laid aside those thoughts, judging the affectation of such a testimonie on my account, ought rather to be checkt & supprest then complyd wth. Since I now find he hath applyd himselfe to you, and that you are pleased to discover an inclination unto that charitable office, I shall accept it from you wth gratitude, hoping it may induce some to the reading of it wth the better preconceived opinion, & so wth more advantage.

Yr letter finds me in a journey, whence I cannot very speedily return to my studie, nor have the opportunitie of viewing what I wrote in the passage you refer to. I remember not my words, but am sure those of Mr Gilbert (though if he be the same that wrote the animadversions on Dr Owens diatrib: de justit: dei vindicat: I esteem him a man of much worth) that no sins of the regenerate incurr the guilt of eternall punishment, and that Christ died only to prevent that guilt, not to pardon it actually, are very alien to my settled formed judgmt. And I thinke my visible scope and drift in that part of my discourse will vindicate my words from any such meaning. It was my businss to give some account of that personall inherent righteousness, which qualifies for future blessedness. To do this I thought it necessary to enquire concerning the rule of that righteousness, & concluded it to be not the law of nature or works but that of grace or faith. According to which former though none can be adjudged righteous, yet they may (and therefore must) be judgd guiltie, till that guilt be taken off upon their conforming to that latter superseding and relieving law of Grace. But my scope led me to consider, by what rule the righteousness I was speaking of was to be measured; and determining that to be only the evangelicall law, I speak of three its different parts, and penalties annext 1. That it is in some part constitutive of the termes of Salvation, where its penalty is eternall death. In this part I say it measures the essence of this righteousness, which consists in the meer sincerity of the graces (whether habituall or exercised) it requires. 2. That in some part it is constitutive of all the other dutie required of us beyond and above meer sincerity, even unto perfection, where its penalty is hiding of Gods face (the same thing wth a graduall withdrawing his spirit of which [illegible] speak) and other paternall severities and castigations. And here it measures all the superadded degrees of this righteousness (which [illegible] things that have a mutable foundation admit.) Now I suppose here, in part, the matter of yr exception lies. But methinks it is very evident the law of grace provides no other penaltie, save as is below exprest, for such sins as consist wth sincerity then those I mention. If the relieving law itselfe should punish infirmities wth eternall death, what could relieve against that law? I therefore say not wth Mr Gilbert that the sins of the sincere or regenerate incur not the guilt of eternall punishment, [illegible] they do not by this remedying Law (in that part of it which is remedying, whence the whole hath the denomination) but the law (obligd) takes it off, or supposes it. And am far from thinking Christ died to prevent that guilt, ~~not~~ pardon it; but believe he died to procure & settle that pardoning law by which it might be statedly pardoned. (For I reckon that though pardon strictly and properly be a rectorall act, not a judiciall as justification is, ~~[illegible]~~ and therefore cannot be done by law, if by law we meane the established rule before in being; yet tis quite another thing when the law is itselfe a pardon, as the superadded law of grace is. [illegible] yet, having conditions, of the not doing whereof a person is supposed accusable, and upon the doing whereof he is capable of being treated from that accusation, here is place for the worke & office of a judge, to determine whether the person be innocent or guilty of that charge. And to the same effect may be called a being pardoned, as it relates to the making of the Law which was a rectorall act, and a being justifyd, as it refers to the application of the Law made to the person duely qualifyd; which is a judi[illegible]

Yet I remember that somewhere thereabout (though I remember not in what place and order it comes in) I say to this purpose, that the law of grace requires perfect (though it accept sincere) obedience, and argue thus, that if it did not, the imperfections of believers (not exclusive of sincerity) were no sins, inasmuch as no law in force should make them so; for the Covt of works in that proper forme is not in force, see: it should then oblige to a contradiction or naturall impossibility, a sinner to make himselfe not to have sind. And hence the difficultie will arise how these their imperfections can be the matter of pardon, or have in them yt reatum ~~[illegible]~~, necessary to make them so, antecedently to the pardoning act of the law of grace, when the former law is said not to be in force. Possibly I speak not there directly to the solving of that difficulty, being desirous (as the temper of my mind & my main designe led me) to avoid or hasten out of controversie. I conceive it is not to be [illegible] by unsaying what I then said. For nothing is to me more evid[illegible] then that the Covt of works in that proper forme is [illegible] in force, nor any thing appertaining to it as such, except the commination of the penalty for their apostasie from God who [illegible] not by subjecting themselves to the Governmt of the Mediatr. The promise is acknowledgd forfeited. The precept cannot oblige [illegible] perfect to the naturall impossibilitie of making past sin not past. If it should be said to oblige (as belonging to that Covent) to future continued dutie it must then oblige to it not simply and abstractly by itself, but as a part of the Covt, that is in connexion wth this promise, that is that we ~~[illegible]~~ observe the precept as our rule, wth intuition to the (forfeited) reward as its end, and to act towards that impossible & unattainable end is irrationall and against our nature, & sinfull as even subversive of the Covt of grace. The penalty falls wth the precept, (viz when it can in its own forme no longer oblige) except to those before excepted upon whom it shall be executed. Nor can the precept be understood to oblige by itselfe as belonging to no Covt, for then it should oblige us to act brutishly (as the case may be) without respect to an end, [illegible] expectation of benefit which I conceive essentiall to an humane action as such. I therefore apprehend the case to be thus: the Covt of works after the fall remaining in force only of the punishing rule of mans apostasie [illegible] eternall ruine, [illegible] the Mediatr interposes; upon this his interposition & the merit of his Covt [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] delivered up into his hands, and all power given him in heaven and earth. Invested with [illegible]

X

121

[illegible] the new law of grace. wherein he hath a double care upon him. to salve the hon^r and [illegible]
[illegible] was violated, and to provide for the safety of the penitent offender. Accordingly his law hath two parts
[illegible] be taken from what it ~~chiefly~~ concerns) 1. An establishm^t or revivall of the naturall part of the creato^rs law, by [illegible] legislation i.e. the pre[illegible]
[illegible], that the reasonable creature may not in any thing disobey his creato^rs will, and then that to do so should de[illegible]
death. I say this naturall part, because I take the promissory part to be purely gratuitory, and which the creat^r might not [illegible]
(in which case notwithstanding the reasonable creature continuing innocent might have had hope of benefit, though no [illegible]
[illegible] pretation of eternall wellbeing.) but the other two had naturally resulted from the relation between the Creat^r and the
creature if he had never formed them into any Law or Cov^t. though I conceive the latter had not necessarily infer'd the [illegible]
eternall death in case of delinquency. had not the constitution & threat of the creat^r intervened. These are now both [illegible]
into the redeemers law but to other purposes then they served to in that constitution of the creat^r. 2. The other part of the
law is the Grant of pardon & salvation (notwithstanding) to the penitent beleiving and obedient sinner, continuing so [illegible]
Both which parts make up the one entire law of Grace. so called from its chief end. (for the hon^r of the creat^r had [illegible]
wise vindicated if this law had not been made) So that I conceive the preceptive part of the Cov^t of works stand[illegible]
force as any part of that Cov^t. for the reason forealledged bec: as a part it stands connected w^th the (unattain[illegible]
mised reward, and the case were the same as to lay that law upon the already damned. nor the minatory otherw[illegible]
is expressed. But as part of the Redeemers law, who hath new modelled the whole frame of the Governm^t over
And hath now so closely connected what is naturally due to us. with what is graciously remitted, as that [illegible]
upon both at the same time. and upon the former as a means to dispose us for the latter, which when we are [illegible]
primo instanti (as you aptly expresse it) we are upon any transgression punishable w^th eternall death, in 2^do in[illegible]
we are pardoned and justifyed. both by the same entire law which the forementioned parts compose. And the[illegible]
when I say in my booke that the law of grace doth not fixe the penalty of eternall death upon such [illegible]
consist w^th sincerity I meane the whole entire Law of grace doth not leave them under that penalty [illegible]
(but provide that no other penalty shall ever actually come upon them, though it afflict the [illegible] of the greatest [illegible])
are sincere, whereas the insincere it doth. I conceive the case is not wholly alike as in yo^r in[illegible]
towards the close of yo^r l^re bec: if a person have transgressed the law of the Land by any of the [illegible]
crimes there mentiond, when he is pardond and set right as to what is past, he can for the future keep himself [illegible]
out of ~~those~~ such crimes and thereby become intitled to all the priviledges of an obedient subject, which he may [illegible]
lawfully & rationally propound to himselfe as his end in his after obedience, wherefore there is no need of new [illegible]
the law of the Land in that case. This is an hasty account of my thoughts in this matter. as [illegible]
that was in my book, for I wrote then upon former apprehensions, having heretofore read Grot. de [illegible]
w^th most of what you have published on any such subject, & divers others, but not of ten years before [illegible]
scarce any such book at hand. nor had the opportunity of consulting any such at that time. If there [illegible]
any difference in my apprehensions from yo^rs I conceive 'tis very little momentous. And that the inclos[illegible]
paper subjoyned to my preface may serve to cleare my meaning. I tender you my affectionate tha[illegible]
for this friendly advertisem^t. & yo^r further offered assistance for promoting the ~~[illegible]~~ successe of that [illegible]
labo^r of S^r

Yo^r obliged though very unworthy
fellowserv^t in the work of Christ
J Howe

Plym^o Jun. 2. 1668.

I distinguish the debitum naturale both officij & pœnæ from the Constitution made & setled thereupon. which former is [illegible]
to both Cov^ts. but ~~that~~ delinquency doth not certainly subject to punishm^t w^thout the supervening constitution. That the constitution [illegible]
first Cov^t being necessarily ceased except the termination to never-returning apostasy from God, The latter enacts the [illegible]
officij & pœnæ w^th are naturally due & the same debitum pœnæ which is due only ex pacto. but w^th great additions [illegible]
præmium & pœna, & diminution to the officium intensively considered. though extensively certain necessary additions. [illegible]
adde but the post hastens me.

Mr Rog. L. Strange

Having seen yor observations of July 5. 1682 N. 165 & many
like them, my conscience commanded me to exercise Charity & not re-
venge, & in compassion to yor soule to give you a Christian admonition;
If it be lost I cannot helpe it: & ye losse of my labor is but small.
I see by yor excellent translation of Seneca yt you are not yet
a resolved Enemy to all morality: Why then may I not speake to you
without despaire. I thinke none will be so iniurious agt you as
to thinke yt so aged a man doth not beleeve yt he must die: &
doth not sometime thinke of death; And if you beleeved not yt there
is another life, to wch this is but a preparation, me thinkes you should
quietly let other men enjoy their hopes, when they let you alone in
the liberty of despaire. & should let those yt hope for more
than brutes have, possesse the comfort of their expectations, which
they leave you to satisfie your appetite & lusts. But if you beleeve
a life to come, it is either on the surer principles of nature, or also
of Christianity: wchever it is, both agree in condemning ye three
constitutive principles of Diabolisme, Lying, Malignity (yt is, Hatred be-
yond just cause) & Hurtfullness: And no Christian doubteth but yt True
Love & peace & Doing good, are ye very Nature of Christs disciples.
If ye Devill might speake out, it is Falshood, Hatred of Good, & Destruc-
tion yt he would speake for. It is ye nature of sin so to blind ye sinner
yt he shall see none of his owne, but hate any man yt would save
him from it: while he magnifieth ye moate in anothers eye, he seeth
not nor feeleth ye beame in his owne. Some swearers will sweare yt
they do not sweare. But doubtlesse there is a God: And if he knew not
truth from falshood, & were indifferent to good & evill he were no
God. // The whole scope of ye Doctrine of Christ & his Apostles, is
Love & Peace: Forbearing & forgiving one another as God for Christs
sake forgave us: To know God & Jesus Christ is eternall life: And to know God
is principally to know yt he is LOVE, & he yt dwelleth in Love, dwell-
eth in God, & God in him: And as all Christs disciples are known by Loving
one another, so all ye Devills slaves are known by their Enmity &
opposition to Love: And no man is forgiven yt doth not forgive. //
If this be so, alas, wt a stigma do you marke on yourselfe: And wt a
trade do you spend yor life in. wt is a preachers work but to
preach ye Love to God & man, wch is ye fullfilling of ye whole law:
And wt is yor work, but by ye voice of ye presse ye lowdest voice,
to perswade as many thousands as you can to hate their brethren,
& in preparation to destroy them. Doth either Nature or Christ
direct you to this life. // If there be any others yt provoke you by
abuse, & do to you as you do to ym, I hate their way as well as yours. //
yor perhaps it would warne, & then feed yor daily incentives to
hatred & revenge: And for this you tell me yt I deserved ye Gallows,
& while others call for Retractations, they are wth you but matter
of scorne. But will you strive to be sober a little while, & as
a man yt hath infirmity consider humane imperfection. /// Your learn-
ing is greater than to be ignorant yt God hath not put ye decision
of all politicall controversies among ye Articles of our faith. Christ
himselfe avoided ye decision of ye rightfullnes of some of Cesars
claimes, wch became ye occasion of his false accusers charge agt him.
Paul would not determine whether Cesar or ye Senate was ye higher
power. You cannot but know yt God hath left severall formes of Govern-
ment & degrees of power, lawfull: And he yt would know ye measures
of his obedience in Moscovie, Constantinople, Rome, Venice, Holland,
France, England &c must goe for resolution to humane Contracts & lawes,
& not to ye Bible only: And if ye Bible only were ye Rule for all formes of
Policie, no doubt those who would not have ~~it~~ it translated & commonly read.

you know yt we are agreed on all yt belongs purely to Divinity
every Soule must be subject to ye higher powers, for conscience
sake I must honour ye King, & not resist ye Power yt is ordained as all the
[illegible] ‖ 3º And you know when ye Controversie is all resolved into ye
politicks, yt it is no wonder if many honest Christians yea ministers
should differ, seeing God hath not laid mens Salvation on skill in Politicks
& humane Lawes, as he hath done on ye articles of faith. ‖ 4º And as in Con
troversies of Medicine, you will excuse ye man who followeth ye judgment
of ye Colledge of Physicians, when he knoweth not a better, so you may
excuse those in part who believe wt is Law by ye judgmt of a Parli
amt, when many famous Lawyers are, being conscious of their own ignor
ance, & not knowing of a higher Judicature. ‖ 5º We were affrighted wth
ye report yt ye Irish Papists had murdered two hundred thousand in Ireland
& threatned to do somew like it to us; & we were afraid lest those in Eng
land of ye same Principles would have done ye like: And those Monuments
had told us of Queen Maryes bonfires. If all this be false, they are ex
cusable yt believed ye history wch none denyed. ‖ 6º I confesse wth
them (& I with others) some opinions wch are now disowned by some yt
are agt us: But if they were false, judge whether they were not par
donable: I did think yt ye Law of Nature was ye Law of God: Wise men
thought so before me. I thought yt no single person should resist ye
King, to save his own life, because ye harm is more hurtfull than his
death: But I confesse I thought yt Kingdomes have by ye Law of Nature a right
of selfdefence agst open assaulting enemies; & yt ye Law of Nature cannot be
abrogated by man: And I thought ye Papist is such doth such Approved Gener
all Councils for his Religion, & yt such Councils bind ym on paine of Ex
communication

15

Right worthie Sir,

my very humble respects premised — 41

I reioice with you, and am thankfull to god for your
beloved Consorts recoverie, whatsoever you send from master
Baxter shall be acceptable, who is hereticorum et
schismaticorum malleus. the passages touching Festi-
vals and Responsals were not written by mee, but salvo
meliori iudicio. For his love to our Nation, and
that he would build us a Colledge, by himselfe and
others, he hath and shall have my Orisons. the place
I am likewise pleased with it, because of his prevalent
reasons, though peradventure it were more convenient
~~at~~ in the confines of Southwales and Northwales in
some equidistant towne, that both might repaire to it
without exception, such as Machynlleth or rather any
other place neere you, as Aberystwyth or Cardigan, or [illegible]
so wee might have a Colledge for the trayning of our
youth [illegible] reading. [illegible] granted [illegible]. If
you could have the tithes of the Benefices in Wales
here yearly payd for the maintenance of preachers
(which would be better bestowed than now they are
used, though otherwise pretended) it would help much.
or if by your selfe, master Baxter and others, you could begg
some place, not yet [illegible] as [illegible] towne with
the chappells [illegible] not
yet disposed of [illegible] it would be a great worke, which I
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] it would be
if licence were obtained to erect an Academie, though
wee had but an Auditorium at first, as in divers places
beyond seas, the students lying in towne, wee should
have additions quickly, though at first will be a
detriment. and I should be willing to reade at the first,
till wee could procure assistants in the Scholasticall sciences.

Vertat dnus.

your way of sending copies of Mr Baxters loue
to purpose, I hold to be usefull.

when the dog=dayes are ended, if not before, I shall
be glad to heare of your excellent [illegible]

I pray when haue any Pythagoricall [illegible] J. E.
[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible]
and to consider new conveniences for establishing
of government in Church and State and for
affaires [illegible] to be [illegible]
[illegible]

According as you procure in Southwales by Contribution
or otherwise, I hope, as I shall heare from you, they will
to their power doe heere: but it were needfull that
you begun first. my purpose is, at our ensuing
Assises, to move Mr Vaughan of Kwydiart and others
in this matter, and shortly after, (God willing) you
shall heare from mee. though, when wee have
done all that wee can, the two Universities
I doubt, for their speciall interests, will oppose
it: yet God can make way through all
difficulties. I am perswaded also that the Lord
Protector, so wee had powerfull agents with him
and did tender a petition backed with friends, would
grant our request, and would bestow some substantiall
maintenance for this purpose, he being descended
of the [illegible] ancient Walshe. I know not what to say
but the all sufficient God direct us and helpe us.
I am glad wee have such forward and so good a
man as Mr Vaughan, so really intending our good,
I doe much approve of his answering the Romanists
in a generall way, and when you have his three
late dissertations against them, I desire you to
send them likewise unto mee, for a while. who doe
long to have a sight of them. the treatises you have
of mine, you may keepe them as long as you please, and
when you have done, I shall send you some others. Mr Baxter
by your mentioning may be a good meanes to have Church
government setled, and to stay the persecution of ministry.
You are very happie in your acquaintance with him; and
wee in yours. The Lord ever blesse you and your families,
which is and ever shall be the prayer of

Dolgelley. July the 13th.
1657.

your obliging honourer.
John Elis.

To the Right Worshipfull
John Frewen, Esquire
at his house of [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible]
at [illegible]
I pray
post hast

Worthy Sir

I received yor Judicious & moderate ~~writinge~~ Booke, with yor too favourable Letters to my selfe, wherein you manifest ye great Candor & Charity which can pdon failings, & accept of yt which hath little more yn well-meaninge to commend it to you. // As to yor great motion I must needs say yt it hath cost me many sad thoughts to consider ye broken state of Christians, not only in England but in all ye world: but I could never attaine to ye happynes as to discover any probable way of remedy. The Causes wch my Judgment hath longe fastened on are these two: 1o A mistakinge of ye termes on wch we must unite. 2o The generall weaknes & depravednes of mankind. And to begin wth ye latter I take this to be so incurable, yt I despaire of ever seeinge yt Unity in ye Ch: on Earth, wch I have so long desired & Prayed for. I have beene apt to thinke yt it was long of this Error in Government, or yt Error, yt Peace was banished: but I see it is through an incurable error in or Common nature; & I erred myselfe, while I expected more of a Cure yn was to be expected. Men are generally very Ignorant: few amonge thousands have so much as naturall pts, yt are capable of improvement to a height of Understandinge: many of those yt have, do want advantages for ye improvement: most are perverted by false ends, & their witts prostituted to their lusts: & they thinke he is wisest yt can lay fastest hold on a transitory shaddow. & those yt meane better & yet are of weake incapable Intellects, have comonly this speciall guift entailed upon ym to be Ignorant of their Ignorance, & to be allmost as incapable of knowinge yt they know not as what they know not: few are so selfe conceited & wise in their owne eyes, & obstinate despisers, if not reproachers, of offered light, as ye ignorant yt most need it: Grace cureth this in pt, but it is in so few, & but in pt in those few, yt it canot be expected yt this should sway ye body of ye visible Church into yt Unity wch we desire. I have looked every way for a remedy & can find none. Should we Club ym all into Unity, as ye Romanists doe & keepe ym in Ignorance, or affright ym into silence for feare of heresyes, we have seene allready ye fruits of yt Course, how evidently it tendeth to extinguish faith for ye avoidinge of division, & to unite men in ye darknes of true Infidelity, & make Xtianity odious by Cruelty; & when all done it is effectuall on ye Carnall yt prefer ye world before their hopes of future Glory; but not at all on ye most Conscientious, unles to quicken ym ~~againe~~ to a greater zeale against ye way of those yt persecute ym. On ye other side should we leave all loose, we see what will become of all; & how many severall wayes they will take. The upshott of my thoughts is this, 1o I am resolved yt as pfect holynes, so (by as good reason) pfect Unity, is only to be expected in ye Life to come, wch is ye life of pfection: & yt it is but some smal impfect closure yt may be here expected. 2o But yet as pfect holynes, so pfect Unity & Peace is ye marke yt we must ayme at, & ye things yt we must all esteeme & long after & endeavor with all or power and interests. And so much as is attainable, I thinke must be attained by these meanes followinge. 1o By ye unwearyed industry of Teachers to bringe ye People to more meeknes & moderation, & true mortification, yt those vices beinge overcome yt cause all or disturbances, people may be more disposed to Unity & quietnes. 2o By a true Reformation of ye Pastors of ye Church, yt they may be more knowinge, selfdenyinge, & seriously devoted to ye worke of God; & so may (not by Tyranny constraind, but) by ye power of their guifts, & diligence, & ye lustre of their graces & lives, get interest in their flocks & improve it for these desired ends. I never looke yt an Ignorant Carnall Ministry should be ye Instruments of bringinge ye Church to ye Unity & Peace yt is truly Christian though they may easily unite men in a state of darknes. 3o By a generall discovery of ye true Principles on which we must agree, & ye true termes of ye Churches Unity: & a closinge thereupon; renouncinge all other [illegible] [illegible]. 4o By ye rigorous execution of true Discipline, by [illegible] [illegible] (not medlinge with [illegible]) [illegible]

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By a more effectuall acquaintinge ye people with ye necessity of Church guides, & the
nature of their office & ye extent of their Power, & their owne Duty as related to them
6 And lastly by some prudent gentle coercion of ye Magistrate, yt may only restrayne
wantonnesse in Religion, but not savour of Persecution; but deale tenderly with ye tender
conscienced men. These I thinke must be ye meanes to do so much as may be expected
but when this much will be done God only knoweth. // The thinge yt you fasten upon
is ye 3d of these; & therin whether you & I be of a mind I am uncertaine. If you
doe be satisfyed with those ten sorts of Tradition mentioned pag. 16, with you i
& consent to ye conclusions pag. 17, yn we are agreed. Its one thinge for ye Churches Uni
to find out ye Center & ye unum necessarium: & here I am very zealous for ye suffi
ciency of Scripture, & truly I know not where to fix, if I forsake this bottome. And
its another thinge to restrayne ye petulancye of mistaken men yt will admitt nothin
as lawfull but what is in Scripture. If this be all you desire I am much of yo
mind. And I remember about 12 yeares agoe I began to write a Tractate
shew, How far Scripture is ye rule & how far not: but necessityes interrupted me a
soone as I had begun. I make use of all Traditions yt have sufficient Evidence: but
I make not all such necessary to ye Churches Unity & Peace. And to tell ye world w
those be yt have sufficient notes of (Semper, ubique, et omnibus) is a needles taske:
for those yt are such must needs be in History like Principles per se nota; all me
know ym allready. I thinke we have none of ye need of Traditions added to Scrip
ture as its supplement as ye Papists imagine; nor can I take all for authentike Tradi
one with ye confidence of some men would obtrude upon us under yt name. We mu
Center in Scriptures sufficiency, or we shall never attaine to Unity in this life: yet
we must rectifye their errors yt would have Scripture to be ye Rule in cases yt
God did never intend it to, & would have it sufficient not only in suo genere, but
in omni genere: as if a Taylor must goe to Scripture for his measure, & a shoe=
maker for his last. In a word, Scripture is a sufficient Rule of or Divine
faith & obedience: supposinge ye Law of Nature. But this Scripture commandeth
us many Circumstantialls only in genere, leavinge it to Church Guides to determine
ym in specie, in which case humane prudence must be Judge. Here Christians
must know ye necessity of obeyinge their guides; but this is nothinge to tradition. We
need neither Scripture nor tradition to tell us what day of ye weeke we shall meet
on besides ye Lords day, nor what text to Preach on, nor how longe, nor what
utensills about Gods service to use, nor what translation of Scripture, what ver
sion of Psalmes, by what words or signe to expresse my consent to Gods covenant
with divers ye like. For it belongeth not to ye perfection of a Law to determine
of those Circumstances wch are necessarily mutable & unfit to be determined.
Scripture establisheth & so supposeth Church Governors; but not Law=givers to add
& alter. By this much you may see my opinion, & so whether I be meet to an
swere yor expectation. I thinke if we could perswade ye Papists & other men
of too large a beleife to center in ye Scripture sufficiency (with ye establishment
of Church guides to determine of circumstantialls) it would be ye only way to
ye Churches Unity & Peace. // 2d As for solemnityes not prescribed or exprest in
ye word, I should rather reduce ym to ye matter of Government as ye cases wch
present Rulers may dispose of, yn to necessary traditions. 2o And for Ceremonyes
1o those yt participate of ye nature of Sacraments, I thinke unlawfull additions: 2o
& those yt are but ye determination of Circumstantialls necessary in genere, I
shall reduce ym alsoe to ye matter of present Government. 3o And where you seeme
to thinke yt we want ye essentialls of worship, I should be heartily glad to know
what yt is, wch we so much want. Our ordinary worship is partly more remote, and
less properly called worship, consistinge in readinge Scripture, Preachinge, Catechizinge
&c; & partly more neere, consistinge in Prayer, Confession, ye Prayses of God in prose
& in singinge Psalmes, in renewinge or Covenants, in dedicatinge present to him in Bap=
tisme, in commemoratinge Christs sacrifice in ye Lords supper, & there devotinge ourselves
to him afresh, & receivinge his delivered & obsigned grace: Excommunicatinge, Ab=
solvinge, Blessinge ye people I include in ye first. If you write againe, I pray you
tell me ye essentialls we want, & if you convince me, I will promise you presently to
[illegible] ym, if it be in my Power. // Sr I am very sensible of ye greatnes
[illegible] respects to me, & of ye incapacity I am in of answer

yor Expectations: I must crave yor pardon of my necessitated brevity
yr acceptance of this imperfect returne from

Yor Servant in ye worke of Christ

Ri: Baxter.

June 25th
1656

To the Worshipll [illegible] John Lewis Esq
at his house at Glaskrig in
Cardiganshire

reverend Sir

Thinke it not strange that this ragg of paper comes
soe many miles off unto yo^{u}, & from one wholly unknowne unto you,
it evidence~~te~~ unto you ~~the~~ how farre yo^{r} fame &
goodness hath its extent, I am one that hath
received much satisfaction from an excellent late
peece of yo^{rs} the unreasonablenes of Infidelitie
& I should be ingratefull should I not improve ~~[illegible]~~ it
to the best, both to my self & others, & not blesse
God, to ~~[illegible]~~ know that in ~~such~~ a time of such
need, there is yet amongst us one of such an Admirable
temper of Judgment & Moderation as yo^{r} selfe, I am
my selfe (to my poore capacitie) a sad lamenter of the
errors & Contentions of these times, as those few rude
lines I made bold to present yo^{u} with, can witnesse
I have much often mused, what might be the cause of such
extravagancies in Religion in this age amongst us, that as you
truly say, such a streame of errors, that plainly leades to
the Gulph of Infidelitie, & (I may add) ~~[illegible]~~ carryes us
~~[illegible]~~to degrees beyond the worst pagans & blindest Indians,
by o^{r} desertinge the lawes & light of Nature & my
search (with humble submission to yo^{rs}) terminates all in
in o^{r} mistake & abuse of Scripture, & preachinge, and o^{r}
declininge, or rather o^{r} contemninge (out of passion & prejudice) the light & Traditions of the universall Church as
superstitious, popish & antichristian, & o^{r} endeavouringe to
become Antipodes in every thinge to it, Worthy Sir, if
this be the disease, (as you best can judge,) I know
noe hand better & fitter to apply a Cure & Remedy
then yo^{rs}, & that yet (if you have not allready
in tractats unseen by me) ~~[illegible]~~ you would be pleased
further to lay yo^{r} selfe forth to the Glory of God to
undermine these Tymes; you have allready singular well
stated Tradition, but it would be good paines to point out
& particularize such Traditions as may be well allowed
(besides the Tradition of Scripture)

(A Booke you lent of his writing

prof:

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ag 16
delem:

in the accompt of the universall church, as ~~is~~ the unanimous consent of all churches in all ages in such & such professions & practises, & this beinge donne, I would heartily beg that you state ~~[illegible]~~ the use & necessitie of solemnities, (for Rites & Ceremonies I dare not call them, for the odium at the very names at least among the vulgar) for the settinge forth the reverence of Divine worship, as alsoe to define & state Divine Worship, for I humbly conceive meer ~~preachinge~~ doeth not essentiat it, & I doubt me wee are much at a losse as yet, for right performinge publicke Worship, as to the maine bodie of it, & where I have mentioned solemnities &c I conceive not that excessive gaytie & pageantrie of the Romish Church, but that which Moralists meane by Honestum et Decorum, which naturally should accompany all great & grave actions, together wth that of the Poet ~~or~~ rather of pure nature & universall experience —— Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, — quam quae sunt oculis obiecta fidelibus, all which wee account superstition &c Sir I pray pardon this ~~gre~~ great boldnes, that I instance these particulars, as if soe rare an Artifex as you wants materialls, only because it is the high time & season to open these things unto the world, for former shinesse, and silence hath betrayed the affaires of Religion to this deplorable condition wee now behold it, & it is yo^r^ singular happinesse (as a speciall Blessinge from God) that all parties as distant someever from each other, doe much agree & center in an high opinion of yo^r^ rare judgment & pietie, & questionlesse therefore most probable to be a speciall Instrument of God for reconcilinge the unhappy differences of these dayes, & somethinge in this kind from you would presently (under God) have influence upon some mistaken Pastors, & they once gained, the erringe vulgar (like a herd) would soone be whittled, I have noe more now, but to beseech yor christian ingenuitie to dispence with this boldnes, with my hearts prayers that the divine goodnes grant you such a portion of health & bodily vigor with happinesse, as may be proportionable to yor usefullnesse for his church & glory in this life, & though but a stranger, yet reverend

Sir

yor very reall friend in christian affection & service

John Lewis

at my house in Glaskerigg in
Cardiganshire in Wales 25th
May 1656.

at the mention of yor mistake of ye use of Scriptures, it came to my mind, but about the Karaites among the Saduces in the Jewish Church, called you know, Biblers or Scripturists & their stickinge only unto the Bookes of Moses & Scriptures wherein you know there ~~is~~ but darke & infrequent mention of the state of departed soules, & temporall promises most for obedience, thereupon they denyed the immortalitie & resurrection, because of their rigid rejection of the Talmudicall traditions wch revealed more clearely those principall points with whom whether many of or times hold resemblance you can iudge, & I doubt the like inconveniince may be of slippinge into as grosse errors,

a sad view how Religion stands with us in Wales ~~it cleare~~ is cleare in the preface of Mr W: Nicholson's late substantiall Catechisme.

This of Mr Lewis with many other motives caused me to publish my five Disputations of Church Government, Liturgies & Ceremonies: which Bp Morley & ye Ld Chancellor Hide produced befor ye K & Lords & Dd at Worcester House at or Conferences: Morley then saying this man hath said better of this than Mr Baxter, though he shortly after silenced me, without any change in me alledged. Rich: B.

To the reverend & much
honoured Mr Rich: Baxter
Minister of the Gospell
in Kitherminster

psent

~~[illegible]~~
~~I would not have [illegible]~~ soe large to yor though to
trouble [illegible] that indeed [illegible] current [illegible]
[illegible] soe large [illegible] and as then sadded for [illegible] these
for [illegible] I greatly rejoyce at the Contrary event
of a change but God hath reserved [illegible]
his [illegible] reape some fruite [illegible] prayers [illegible]
for [illegible] the present [illegible] I see you
of myne — [illegible] Moderate thoughts [illegible] Cambridge
some good by the [redacted] asked ye last [illegible]
the Clergy, upon some Army interest with him, & [illegible]
to [illegible] granted ye first letter to [illegible] some [illegible] to Moderation
ther [illegible] with [redacted] touched at [illegible] the rest of [illegible]
with the a stop out of yor freedome [illegible] in peace of the:
parties & ye particularly wish to [illegible] large
Mr [illegible], for tell which if I have [illegible] with I had not done it
unknowne to yor I may pardon [illegible] in passage
dealinge yet [illegible] I hope ye [illegible] will appeare with a fairer
order of the affaires of Religion [illegible] especially in these
aspect, & [illegible] I cannot see [illegible] without a seminary
remoter parts) how it will goe well [illegible] men, as in Episcopall
for supply of Ministers, eyther cast [illegible] as in these times are like to fall
[illegible] springinge [illegible] when Colleges & Monasteries were
to be [illegible] some course [illegible] the supply
in our Countrey (though [redacted] parochiall Churches was more [illegible] still to
of ~~Churches~~ [illegible] & austerer course
they haveinge some education in learninge & Divine worship
of learninge I could alsoe heartily wish [illegible] distinct, & if
& in preachinge [illegible] they would not, the first
possible still to goe together, & ye want of yor [illegible] there
should never be wantinge [illegible] Churches as by the Parke
should not be such [illegible] in these parts, where in some
of consolidation hath happened have suffered to decay & Ruine
places 4 or 5 churches for one [illegible] contempts & irreverence
and I am persuaded this & the rude [illegible] hath not been the
to such places and divine worship [illegible] of the cause of
least cause (amonge other greate sinnes) of those in power
the Lords late signall displeasure agt [illegible] Blastinge of them
amonge us, & the suddaine & strange
& their greatnesse to ye astonishment of ye whole world,

[illegible] Eminent labours

as to these parts

Sir I pray pardon this boldnesse & tacke your [illegible] & [illegible]
[illegible] me amongst those many that [illegible] wisheth yo[r]
health & happinesse Sir

your faithfull friend &
humble Servant [illegible]

I had yo[r] [illegible] to me [illegible] by [illegible]
[illegible] by my [illegible] [illegible] fill
[illegible]

At Glasgow in Cunnyngham
Shire the 13 day of
February 16[illegible]

Sir

Since yor last, I sent 2 letters unto you, & inclosed in ye last an Account from a grave Minister here of the Evidence of ye lights & apparitions; yt the inclosed is from a worthy divine in these parts who had a sight of some of yor passages unto me; you may perceive the value yor worth & vertues beare in these parts: hee is one of the ablest divines I know in Wales & a good Man, I desire the returne of his letter by ye next opportunitie, hee is very zealous alsoe for some such thinge as a Colledge amongst us as I stated in my Booke; & I acquainted him (as Mr Humfrey told me) that yorselfe minded it, & I pray Sir contribute yor best assistance for ye contrivinge of it, for without some such thinge I see noe hopes for any supply like to be of ministers in Wales as to Abilitie & knowledge. I have very lately my selfe given an Account together with my Booke sent unto one of the wealthiest persons in all Wales he is Childlesse, Mr Vaughan of Llwydiart, & I have hopes it will worke with him, whereof you shall have an Account; Sir it were lovely to see those passages you have as to the Rich, in yor Severall Bookes imbodied into a few sheetes apart, I am persuaded it would produce good effects with many (even some I know) truly it is very sad that in an Age wherein there is soe much talke of Religion & such deeds of Charitie ~~are~~ soe scant; former darker generations will come in Judgment against us; ye Multitude of Notions hath quite drowned Charitie & practicall Goodnes. & with some such Acts are accounted a kinde of popery: what opprobrious things [illegible] to Religion [illegible] confused wranglings I need not tell you; I am this very time in course to yor [illegible] with some few other observables in yor Booke as to ye Ministers. I hope it will be noe dislike to you. This bearer is hee I mentioned can give yu some evidence of ye Candles. & intends to live in Worcester; hee is ever a sober modest Man & hath suffered more wronges & crosses. & borne the with most patience of any I ever knew; hee retyres himselfe & family for some conveniency for London & some friends in yor parts. I need not (I know) bespeake yor Christian advice unto him for his better abode & settlement, I noe doubt ~~that~~ but it will be a deed good will returne into yor bosome. Sir not complementally but cordially I pray for yor health & happinesse & wish there were that whereby I could expresse my selfe

Yor very thankefull friend
& servant John Lewis

Glasgrigg the 25th of May 1657

Sir I cannot but acquaint you that in our parts there is a great Misery, under that Chiefly [illegible] late course of Consolidation of Churches, in many places 5 or 6 Churches or more are united, in [illegible] the most Inhabitants Share ye one without any divine worship or other Administration, & most without a Serman & that one Minister hath but part of the tythe & profitts, & all the rest to Sequestrators and other Handes, though as I hope noe Remedy, yet I cannot but complaine

is minister of
gellry
ionshire:

[illegible]

To the reverend his honoured
friend Mr Richard Baxter these
present

Kidderminster in
Worcestershire

Reverend & Deerely Honoured Sr

Though Unknowne, yet I did [illegible] the reading of yr thoughts & resolucions on two cases, wch I presume lie yet in yr
hands, the one matrimoniall, the other touching ordinacon. 2 cases wch have occasioned trouble of conse. to the
person concerned, & proved 2 great stumbling blocks in his way, & have had a very sad influence on his
spirit to the deadning & damping of it: insomuch as that he is exceeding low, & much lost as to his spirituall con-
cernments. when he engages in duty or lookes toward it, these cases obviate either the one or the other or both, & baffle &
dampe the good soule: adultrie in the one case, & usurpacon in the other, stand up & affright the soule; & when
it should mount up & be enlarged, these come & clip the wing & choak the poore soule, & it is dead & dull: this
being suggested, or to this purpose, viz: to what purpose all this, or how can the promise belong to the poore
creature whilst sin is retained? thus it has beene for a long while. Sr you have taken paines in
speaking to his 2 cases. he is deeply engaged to you for it: but notwithstanding, his feares it seemes
remaine: it is the holy god wch must speak peace. but the meanes must be attended. as to the 1st
case Caius has formerly beene with Julia since his trouble. she apprehended that it was for Caja's satisfaction that she was
desired to speak as to the matter of fact whether there were a promise or not (or to that purpose) betweene them: (for
it seemes concealed that it was his conscience that was troubled). Julia being desired to subscribe to a certaine paper
Caius had drawne up, to expresse that there was never a promise of marriage betweene them or a contract de presenti or
to that purpose, she refused to subscribe, but said that her owning the thing might satisfie Caja as well as if she had
subscribed (or to that purpose) she did deny that there was a contract betweene them (or somewhat to that purpose) he
desiring her to speak the truth & not to spare him, or such like expressions. Caius purposes (the Lord permitting) againe to
inquire of her, & to presse her to speak out the truth by such arguments as may engage her agt all collusion & partiali-
ty in a matter of such weight. yr judgment & advice Sr is herein desired, & [illegible] the best course is to be taken in
this matter of inquiry, & how far conscience may receive establishment as to Julias denyall of a contract.
the sum of his feares runs on these 2 hands thus, 1. he feares that there was such a contract in being, but Julia itself
sometimes denyes it. 2. if it were in being, he feares that it may be in being still. sometimes Caius in his thoughts runs
to the matter of fact that there was never a conjugall indissoluble contract betweene them; & when his feares
affright him thence, then he flies to matter of right, that though there were a contract in being, yet that even
the vinculum of marriage consummate is dissoluble, ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ it that be ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] mind Mat: 19: 9: viz: that it is lawfull for the innocent partie to marrie
againe. now though Caius were not innocent, yet seeing Julia married first, & then committed adultrie with Titius
(supposing it so) & continues still in Titius's possession, & supposing will not come off, if it should be attempted, then
whether notwithstanding Caius's former guilt, he now become the innocent partie, & so has liberty to
marrie? when Julia married Titius, she did lawfully or unlawfully: if lawfully, then is she not Titius's wife,
& not Caius's? if unlawfully, then she was an adultresse; & then will not the aforesd consideracon of the dissolubi-
litie of the marriage bond come in? & when Caius is driven off by his feares from this, then he returnes to his matter of
fact, & the nonentity of that. thus he has beene tossed fro the one to the other: & the poore soule has languished.
that wch he remembers passed twixt Julia & him whilst acquainted, as well as the space of soe many yeares will
give leave (for it is severall yeares since: Julia has beene for a long time married, & soe has Caius, & both
have children) was that he did say to her that he would be faithfull to her; & for those letters wch passed
betweene them they were subscribed as is supposed with yrs till death & yrs till death interchangeably. wch expressions
it may be Sr happily are such as supposeing the intentions of the parties wch use them, will carrie in them the very essence
of marriage. & are sufficient forme of words to constitute a conjugall contract, the parties soe intending them.
Julia she has denyed (or to that purpose) her meaning to be that way, & Caius is not certaine. where then to find
footing for the fluctuating of conscience he still humbly craves yr aid. in yr councell to him, you have laid
downe these consideracons wherein he may have peace of conscience: 1. [as long as he can say that he liveth not in knowne
& willfull sin] thus fare he hopes he can goe, that it is not knowne sin he lives in with Caja. againe you say, [but
taketh the course wch he thinketh best pleasing to god] here now Caius's darknesse & jelousies put him
beside this, he finds that that he comes up to this as he ought. to take the course best pleasing to god,
he ought; but saies he, how shall I know wch course is most pleasing to god? to live with Caja as her
husband he canot say, he trusts, that it is a course lesse pleasing to god. but how shall he know it is best
pleasing to him? by what rule is he to judge? either by the rule of argument or else by those physicall
& call effects & operations on the spirit (wch happily may be matter of argument too?) as his damped, dead
heart, ~~[illegible]~~, his feares & jelousies. now what shall he say? he humbly inquieres is that course best pleasing to
god, or is it not where such effects are mett with? againe you say further [and doth it for feare of greater
danger of sin on the other side] it seemes it is thus with Caius, that the feares of adultrie on the one side (he is willing
to make the worst of his case, & not to mince in a matter of eternall concernment) drowne the noise of danger
on the other side. but he begs of god that he would discover those dangers that lie on that side of forbearing
of Caja. & he craves Sr yr help in this likewise. and then you add [for if there were noe danger of sinning by
seperacon fro Caja, then it were to be done as the surer way.] the Lord inlighten the minds of his servants
to discover the danger better then Caius can himself! thus the case is. he & Caja are both young: the
eldest not 40 yeares. she dearely affects him; & for him to be seperated fro her (not as to cohabitacon, for that
happily needs not) but only as to congresse, it ~~[illegible]~~ may prove a burden: however he or she can beare it he knows
not: but if it be duty, & the divine will soe to have it, though it may prove bitter pretending to both, all
this must signifie nothing, if the poore soule value the love & enjoyment of god beyond creature comforts.
Caja she is not scrupled or in doubt as Caius is, but knows of Caius's trouble: the forbearing of
congresse on such a ground is that it seemes wch she reflects on as disquieting (or to that purpose) & to
looke on Caius, as one wch doubts whether shee be his wife or not, is not this a case afflicting &
pungent? Quer: 1st. is Caja bound to forbeare her right because of Caius's doubt? may not she [illegible]
her right notwithstanding? & then may not, must not Caius pay it notwithstanding his doubt? [illegible]
the souldier engaging in a doubtfull warr ~~[illegible]~~ may [illegible] consider [illegible] as to this case
Quer: 2: if not bound to forbeare, whether is she bound to [illegible]
Quer: 3: if both Caius & Caja bey it how long are they to waite till [illegible]
[illegible] vanished? Quer: 4. Whether Caius be not a scrupulati[illegible]

which notwithstanding [illegible] & use may be it is sayd before [illegible]. Whether this be not to fix on [illegible] preferri debet potestas matrimonium [illegible] Diabolo. Whether ~~conscience~~ not to determine as the judge in this case would doe? [illegible] Whether that of St Paul[illegible] coming together againe least Sathan tempt (one) be not to be considered?

When Caja reflects on the matter of fact he cannot well perswade himselfe to think that Julia is [illegible] And then if as to the matter of fact it be fancy in Caja, whence then saith he, is it that the Lord should suffer ~~[illegible]~~ him as to Caja to be thus distracted, though the Lord is righteous, & may doe as he will; nor man can say unto him what doest thou; & that his conscience should be distracted and Julia as far as he knowes, to be held on the rack of fancy, after much waiting & seeking god (but whether in a right manner he himself may feare) for some yeares together, & though sometimes it be more silent in conscience then formerly, yet dead & dull usually, & small occasions the case is apt to step in & deaden & damp as aboveseyd. strange, & yet on the other hand very strange, if there ever was a conjugall contract between Julia & him. — Where, Sr, you say in yr advice, that if any other argument shall otherwise resolve him (which if there be any, he thinks that they must be either to prove the matter of fact, that such a contract was ever in being, or if soe, that it is still alive, because of the indissolubility of the vinculum of marriage; & these arguments if any shall be, must they not resolve him, not leave him in doubt?) he must never marry, yt is, that is, as he supposes yr meaning, neither with Julia (if they will be concerned there) nor any other, nor live with Caja as an husband. [& therefore (you say) the best way would be to keep it silent, & continue his cohabitation with Caja, if he can procure her consent to abstaine from coition but I think he need not come to the (you say)] whether yr meaning by be that he need not come to the desiring her consent to abstaine, or that he need not abstaine from coition?

As to the other case A.B. desires to know (Sr) what you thinke of his objection touching the church's consent, whether that be not an [illegible] ~~[illegible] then by reason of the delusion of [illegible] age when he was confirmed [illegible] want of age [illegible]~~ [illegible] many [illegible] ordained age) tis the delusion is [illegible] principles.

Matrimony & ordination are 2 such deare & weighty points as deserve to be vindicated & rescued out of the sands of groundless doubts & feares (if there be [illegible] there be a nullity in both these then Caja [illegible] be forborne; & the ministeriall function allow [illegible] further settlement. as to the point of ordination, though A.B. continued in the work a considerable while ere this doubt fell in on him, though soe as to damp him in his proceeding for feare of usurpation, yet now since his trouble, his inclinations have looked towards a 2d investiture that that might make all firme, & give him a full authority in foro Ecclesiae at the least but then St Paules qualification (the husband of one wife) that [illegible], fearing the case of Julia & Caja may incapacitate (yet here Quer: whether a person divorcing for adultery & marrying againe be truly incapacitated by that of St Paule aforesd for ordination?) ~~[illegible]~~ what must he doe? sitt downe & doe nothing? lye all by: both matrimony & ordination & soe pine away in endless feares & barrenness? if he be a minister ~~[illegible]~~ in foro Ecclesiae as well & as firmely as others (& whether he be soe or no be pleased yourselfe to speak out yr judgment) he may proceed without absolution & confirmation happily if not then absolution & confirmation will not suffice, but a 2d investiture may be. amidst these sad [illegible], yr help (Reverend Sr) is earnestly desired, & that with all speed possible, you have in this affaire to doe with a [illegible] & unsettled conscience, be pleased to lie downe such bottoms as will hold out in the other world. & the holy god guide yr heart & mind, & give in light from above, that the poor soule which has beene tossed with tempests & not comforted, may yet at the last find an haven to rest in; & I beg that you remember these cases in yr prayrs before the Lord on the behalf of the poor unsettled spirit, & that you would engage others also to remember it, that if it may be, & the Lord has any delight in him, he may find peace & courage: thus, craving yr pardon for soe great a trouble, & soe tedious & rude an addresse, (but assuring my selfe how ready you are to help distressed soules, an employment soe noble & well pleasing to the holy god, I make thus bold) & committing you to the Lord I am

August 30th 1667.

Reverend & Dear Sr

Yr very much obliged friend to serve you in the Lord

Be pleased Sr to direct yrs to be left
with Mr Oliver Atkey in White Hart
Court, in Butcher Row, without Temple
Barr, to be sent into the West.

fol.134. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

85.

Theſe
For the Reverend
Mr Richard Baxter
miniſter of the goſpl
Living in Acton

fol.135. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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Ampliss.mo Spectatissimoq Viro
Dno Dno Baxter Theologo &c.

Coram Te comparere ausus sim, Reverende Domine qui multa peregrinatione studio cuncta Terrarum orbis loca perspexisti, ut novus veluti alter Ulysses omnia ubiq ab omnibus apprehenderes. At vero quidem lubentius coram isto homine cujus domus Sacrarium est Pietatis, pectus ara consilii, os Dei Supremi oraculum ut nec mirum sit si Te unum hominem duo veluti partiuntur mundi rebus Sacris humanisq divisi. praesertim cum Tibi tantum a Deo Lucis datum sit ut utriq cumulatâ mensurâ refundere possis.

Turba frequens Jani fundit pia vota Kalendis
Ut novus excelso faustior annus eat.
Hic, ager ut multo sementem foenore reddat;
Postulat, hic pecori prosperet ille gregi.
Hoc satis est unum quoniam Te sospite nostri
Ecclesiâ in vestrâ prospera cuncta cadent

Non Te pluribus morabor nam Virtutes quibus in hocce Microcosmo clarissime fulges, integris alii voluminibus prosequentur. Et ego, ne a sumpto instituto ipso limine aberrarem paucis exequor cum Deum O. M. oro atq obtestor ut Te huius Ecclesiae quam magnâ prudentiâ, Pietate, & non vulgari Liberalitatis exemplo in pauperes moderaris incolumem diutissime servet donec in meliorem Sedem translatus sis quam assiduis precibus sollicitare non desinam.

Reverentiae Tuae
humillime addictus
Ch. Lammerum

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for Im materiall humane soules, to ther

Reu.ed & deere Sr

That little acquaintance (too little) yt I haue with you; and the great acquaintance
yt yu haue with God, and the things of God, prompts me to this addresse; when I
first associated wth yu and subscribed the Agreemt for catechizing and familie
instructio of families in their order; I promised myselfe much comfort
from ye benefitt yt would therby accrew to soules; but I find yt ye old Adam
is too strong for young Melancthon. I see daily cause to bemoane myselfe
with Salomons væ soli, for I am at too great distance to receiue the comfort
and countenance of the Associations influence, my body being so weake, and my
distempers so pressing, yt I cannot visit their neerest meeting, wch is at Euesha
presently after I had bent wth yu I did according to or Agreemt sett apart a day w
my people, to humble orselues for former neglects, to acquaint them wth or way of
reformation, & to begg wisdome fro God to direct his ministers in managing it &
to desire him to make our people willing to submit unto it. After yt I made
choise of some liuely Scriptures to handle, indeauouring to let grace into their
hearts through their understandings, ye first whereof I heere humbly offer unto
who are dux & spes gregis, requesting yu to peruse it, and if yu thinke it fitt
to see light) to doe it the fauor as you did to one published by Mr Hopkins
by prefixing a few lines, yt may stand in the roome of an imprimatur
It was calculated for mine owne people, but may serue universally for this
gospel glutted age and land; further I am to acquaint yu yt I haue formerly acted
dubiously in dispensing the supper ordinance, & remaine still more distracted
amongst fluctuating thoughts, and the Apostle saith whatsoeuer is not of faith
is sin. I haue suspended the dispensing of it altogether euer since, ha
entred upon this preparatory worke, but I intend in a very short time
to invite my people to it, if God be pleased to prolong ~~to~~ my life, which
I can hardly hope for, being very often under ye sentence of death in
myselfe; The ground upon wch I goe is this (I make you my confessor
yt yu may sett me right in what I erre) Those yt are visibly
unworthy I intend to debarre; & such in my sense are 1 the
grossly ignorant yt refuse instructio. 2 The scandalous yt will
not heare reproofes. Those yt are visibly such as will afford me a
ground of Christian charity I intend to admitt; such are 1 such as are of
competent knowledge, & teachable. 2 such as are humble under rebukes.
I lately had a sight of a Booke of Mr Prins, wch I haue also sent yu de-
siring yu to read, & returne it. wherin he asserts ye supper to be a
converting ordinance, & pag. 56. charges sin upon such ministers as
withhold it fro ye ignorant and vicious; I haue also seene a booke
of Mr Wynnells intituled suspensio discussed; of the like tend
Or: all bearing on Mr Humfrys designe of free admission; I per-
ceiue yt books of yt nature doe cause many to looke asquint upo
or Agreemt for reformatio. If yu had but leisure to communicate yor
thoughts to the church on that theame, though it were in as little
roome as yor winding-sheet for popery, it would giue great satisfactio
& might (for ought yu know) be a winding sheet for liberty. the
I haue conceiued the pinch of ye matter to lie so much in distinguishing, &
yt qui bene diuidit, bene docet, is the clue yt must guide us in yt Labyrinth;
Mr Prinn distinguisheth of a 2 fold conversion, 1 fro paganisme to
visible Christianity the 2 from visible to invisible, fro seeming to be
ing; & I humbly conceiue he should haue added a third member (viz fro
initiall to progressiue christianity, & if in this last sense he assert
ye supper to be a converting ordinance, I should not dissent; but to
invite a dead man to yt feast to be made aliue, ye instrumentality of
ye ordinance being morall & not physicall, it posses my underst
ing how it can be brought to passe wthout a miracle. & if
norant & scandalous are to be admitted, who but professed

are to be debarred; and then the Labors of or Diuines both an
& moderne, wch I haue euer reckoned (next to ye holy booke) the
the Churches riches, may be giuen vp (as a labor in vaine.
Deere Sr Excuse my freedome; I should be loath to adde to Atla
his burden, I know yu haue taken so much of heauen vpon
yor shoulders as a Voluntier, yt yu will not thinke it an
imposition on one that layes on more; The Care of all ye Churche
was not only ingredient, but made vp ye summe totall of y
Apostles bill of Cost; and will of yors; I should Count it ye great
est of terrestriall happinesse to be neere yu yt I might
enioy the benefit of yor Conference, and Counsell vpon all
weighty occasions; My burden as to personall, family,
Congregationall Cares is exceeding gt. I haue done God so much
disseruice in the time of my vanity, so little seruice since, & my
time of sojourning is like to be so short, yt I am euen
full of perplexing Cogitations; I know not into yt bosome to
powre out my Complaints rather then yors, whom I presume
be as willing as able to reach out a brotherly helping hand to
me. I would begg yor prayers as Paul did the Romans. Rom. 15.
as a begger would an almes to saue his life; oh improue yor wh
possibility for me at the throne of grace, and doe it daily, & fo
continuance, be instant, and Constant; & for gods blessing vpon
my ministeriall labors & in particular that this worke (if yu
thinke good to licence it by yor allowance) may find acce
tance wth Gods people, and may be blessed to ye increa
of the number of them, wch I hope is my highest aime, yt go
be brought vnto God; and my poore feeble petitions shalbe fo
and for ye successe of yor labors in, and for ye Lord, while I
vpon this earth; & so commending you & all or vndertakings t
Gods rich blessing, I take leaue, & rest.

Yor indeered friend, & Br
in the faith & patience of
Gospell. Richard Ee

I heartily thanke yu for yor booke
yu sent me: The reformed Pastor
I heartily wish all yor labors of yt
tendency may be crowned wth successe
to yor desires: This bearer is my
especiall friend, & one of approued inte-
grity; if he haue any doubt to seeke yor
aduice in, I pray let him haue yor eare.

I sent a forlorne hope to London almost a yeere agoe, & I
feare it wilbe worne out in the perusall; I had sent it
but yt I was loath to interrupt yor labors; I am altogether ig
rant of the Rules of ye presse, but you (will fauor me with a
word of direction, or (if yu thinke it [illegible]) to commend it
yor printer, it may expedite ye publication; & adde to my ob

These
To my Reuerend & deere Frend
Mr. Baxter Teacher of the
Church at Kidderminster

Worthy Sr

I have two messages to send you by these lines. 1° Some gentlemen of
quality and parts coming purposely to me, to heare of more instan-
ces I could give them of Apparitions and Witches than I have
printed, (telling me of ye very great increase of Sadducees that
will believe no other evidences, & importuning me (in vaine) to print
the instances I gave ym), when Mr Mompessons story (published
by you) was mentioned on ye by, they assured me that it goeth
currantly now among the Sadducees (at Court and ye Innes of
Court) that Mr Mompesson hath confessed that it was all his own
jugling done onely that he might be taken notice of &c. I in-
treate you (from ym) to acquaint him with ye report, & wish him
if it be false (not for his own honour so much as for their
sakes that are hardened by it) to publish some vindication or
contradiction. // 2° I am requested by ye widdow of Mr Joseph
Allein (who hath a friend neere me, yt came lately from her) to
intreate you to send either to her or to me a Latine manuscript
of his in your possession (for my neighbour is one that had a
hand in transcribing it, and on his report I have a desire
to see it, and shee also desireth to possesse it.) If you send it
to me rather than to her, If you send it to Nevil Simmons
bookseller at ye 3 Crownes neere Holborne Conduit, it is like to come
safe to me. // Though these two be all ye businesse I would trouble
you with, yet having got your two late bookes (& received a third
not long before as your guift) I may not omit to returne you
thanks for your very great respects to me therein expressed.
And as for yt passage of mine wch you chide me for, I will not
enter into an altercation lest it prove troublesome; but only tell
you 1° That I no where cast any reflexion of Atheisme
on Gassendus or Cartesius. Nor accuse them as excluding all
immateriall beings. 2° That ye first objection yt I answer is
[That matter and motion may do all that wch we ascribe
to soules] not [to God] where I say yt Gassendus writeth
for Immateriall humane soules, whever against Cartesius

or elsewhere he writeth wch seemeth injurious to this doctrine] 3° That I ne
gave ye least intimation yt Cartes denyeth our soules Immortality, who so
copiously defendeth it. 4° Though I never printed any such thing, I ma
say privately to you, I much feare that Gassendus did in this prevaricate.
1° From Sorberius & Hobbs's words wch I cited 2° From ye thinness of his plea
for ye soules Immortality, 3° But above all from his principles wch seem
to make agt it. 5° If it could be done without any thing like contending
between us, I should be glad of your help, particularly to shew me how
the passage cited by me pag. 541. & 504. are consistent wth an incor
poreall soule in man? If no incorporeall being can be so applyed to a
body as to impell it or move it? If all physicall actions be corporeall
and can be elicite by no other than a corporeall principle? If be
cause an incorporeall being cannot touch a body ~~without~~ for want of Tactus &
Motus, therefore it cannot impell it? If ~~a~~ our soules no way move our
bodyes at all, but only act Immanently by Intellection, & so no Voli
tions or executive powers of them move ye corporeall spirits or Sens?
If our soules as sensitive are bodyes, and also as Motive of ye
body? If it be known only by faith that Angels and Devils are
at all Incorporeall? judge you of ye consequencies. And if Nothing
can move another thing that is not it selfe in motion, nor a
spirit move a Body, doth not this inferre that (not only no
Angels nor ye soules of men can move a body but that God
himselfe cannot move it, unlesse he be a moving corporeall
substance? And therefore when he saith, yt God is here
to be excepted, and giveth no reason for it, but because he
is [infinitae virtutis, et ubiq; praesens,] doth not this Generall
assertion so expressely contradict this (God being ye most
spirituall of spirits) as plainly to shew that the great wit
of Gassendus could speake this but to put off reproach. ‖ But
this is nothing to my open Controversy with him; But that
wch I intreate your helpe in is, to tell me those reasons by
wch you will justify him, in his opinion, yt there are no spirits
in rerum Natura which move or actuate bodyes, or can
move them? And yt only faith and not reason telleth
us that Angels or Daemons are spirits? And whether I
did not justly answer these speeches among those that

set up matter and motion as sufficient to all ye visible action in ye world without any incorporeall soules or spirits? 6° You your selfe make it a principle of Sadducisme to deny ye sensitive nature to be immateriall: But Gassendus and Cartesius do both deny it: And make bruits to be meere corporeall engines; yea and one of them at least, saith ye same of ye sensitive soule of man: Therefore by you they are charged with ye principles of Sadducisme, if I understand you. 7° And why may I not dispute these particulars agt ym (without wch you thinke your selfe that our Immortality cannot be defended), even in ye same papers where I name worse men, as long as I accuse them of no worse? // 8° And (wth submission to your greater perspicuity) I confess yt ye very principles of Cartes him selfe, in Regius, (Lipstorpius, du Hamel &c) by wch he would make a first push of ye Deity to serve for ever, & a continued effect to be without a continuation of ye true causality, & would make all subservient spirituall movers needless, yea de facto exclude ym, seemeth to me a very poor childish precarious toy insufficient to prove ye sensitive soule to be a body, or ye intellectuall created nature, to be useless as to ye corporeall motions in ye world; And I thinke yt Plato's Philosophy wch acknowledgeth ye spirituall nature to be ye mover of ye corporeall, is so much more manly, as yt there is no comparison. And yet I told you so much of my opinion agt Aristotles predicamt of Qualityes, and his doctrine of educted formes, yt you needed not have supposed me to have defended them. I judg yt spirits are ye Active Natures yt move ye passive (call ym Atomes or wt you will) under God; & yet yt such spirits incorporate are ye forme of Matter; And yt as simple beings they are (without composition) intellectually distinguishable into substance & forme; And yt their forme is a Virtus Essentialis. But why do I begin to talke to you of these matters, why require so many more words? I have some principles of Philosophy of my owne a Scheme of which I was almost going to enclose and send

But I must shorten words and not make more. Believe I pr
you, that I wrote not this as offended at your publick reprehension, being most offended with mens touchyness that cannot
beare such reproofes. I rest

Nov. 18. 1670.

Your very much obliged friend
Ri: Baxter.

To my Reverend & worthy friend Mr Joseph
Glanvile Rector of Bath in Somerset
shire

April the 3. 1655

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I meane to see more said against what I have already written before I will write any more about infant baptisme without a more pressing call then I yet discerne; I have discharged my ~~duty~~ conscience; and shall leave you and yours to take your course; And indeed I do not understand the scope of your letter because you so joyne two questions in one that I know not which of the two it is that you would have me answer to, Whether there were any ordinance or law of God that infants should be church members? Your question Whether this be repealed? is an other question. You joyne both in one; For the first, that infants were church members, as you have not denyed that I know of, so I will not be so uncharitable as to imagine yet you are now about it, And much lesse that you should have the least doubt whether it were by God's ordination. There are two things considerable in the matter, first the benefitt of church membership with all the consequent priviledges, It is the worke of a grant or promise to conferre these and not directly of a precept; 2ly The duty of devoting and dedicating the child to God and entring it into ye covenant which must find the benefitt, And this is the worke of a law or precept to constitute this duty, I am yet past doubt that you doubt not of either of these, for you cannot imagine that any infant had the blessing without the grant or promise (its impossible) nor that any parents lay under a duty without an obliging law (for that is impossible) Taking it therefore for granted that you are resolved in both these, and yield that such a grant & precept there was; there remaynes no question but whether it be repealed; which I have long expected that you should prove. For citing you the particular texts in which the ordination is conteyned; though must be said when it is said, yet I shall think it needlesse till I see the ordination conteyned in those texts which I have already mentioned to you proved by you to be ~~repealed~~ reversed: Nor do I know that it is of so great use to stand to cite the particular texts which you confesse in generall, that such a promise and precept there is, by virtue of which infants were till Christs tyme duely members of Christs church (for Christs church it was) even his universall visible church, still remember that I take the word [law] not strictly for a precept only but largely as comprehending both promise and precept; and I have already shewed you both and so have others. So much of your endeavours as have any tendency to the advancement of holiness I am willing to second you in to witt: that at their age your people might solemnly professe their acceptance of Christ, and there resolution to be his, But I hope you will find me better worke which I must stay here then to spend my tyme to prove that no infants of believers are within Christs visible church, that is, are no infant disciples, infant christians, infant church members, I know no glory it will bring to christ, nor comfort to any man, nor see I now any appearance of truth in it, I blesse the Lord for the benefitts of the baptismall covenant that I enjoyed in infancy and that I was dedicated so soone to God, and not left wholly in the power and kingdome of the divell; They that despise this mercy or account it none or not worthy the accepting may go without it, and take that which they gett by their ingratitude. And I could have hoped that much lesse then such an ~~[illegible]~~ innundation of dreadfull consequents as our eyes have seen would have done more for the bringing of you backe to stop the dolefull breach that you have made; I am faine to spend my tyme now to indeavour the recovery of some of your opinion who are lately turned quakers, or at least the preventing of others apostasy, which is indeed to prevent the emptying of your churches, which I suppose will be a more acceptable worke with you then againe to write against rebaptizing or for infant baptisme. Sir I remayne

Your imperfect Brother knowing but in part
yet loving the truth

Richard Baxter

A true Copy

Sr

I confesse infants were by Gods fact of taking the whole people of the Jewes ~~out~~ for his people in that state of the Jewish pædagogy (not by any promise or precept) ~~were~~ then visible churchmembers that is of the Congregation of Israel: I do not confesse that there was any law or ordinance determining it should be so, but only a fact of God, which is a transient thing & I think it were a foolish undertaking for me to prove the repeale of a fact. I therefore still presse you that you would shew me where that law ordinance, statute, or decree of God is that ~~may be sayd to~~ is repealeable, that is ~~not~~ which may in congruous sense be ~~to~~ either by a later act said to be repealed or else to be established as a law for ever. This I never found in your Books, nor do I conceive ~~any such prin~~ that ~~privilege~~ law is implied in any thing I grant, & therefore I yet pray you to set me down the particular text or texts where that law is, which neede not hinder you from your opposing the Quakers (in which I have not & hope shall not be wanting) ~~of~~ whom I think you are misinformed that they are Anabaptists ~~&~~ (I think there are very few of them that were ere baptized, & have good evidence that they have been formerly Seekers) as you call them, & I think you do unjustly impute the direfull consequents you speake of to the denial of infant baptism & to the practise of adult baptism & that ~~by~~ as your selfe are deceived so you misleade others. I yet expect your texts knowing none in any of your bookes that mention that law of infants visible churchmembership which you assert either explicitely or implicitely, & am

Bewdley April 4th
1655

Yours as is meete
John Tombes

For mr Richard Baxter
teacher att Kidderminster
these

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S^{r}

If you will needes recall me to this ungratefull worke,
me request you to tell me fully, exactly & plainly, w^{t} Fran
fait you meane, w^{ch} you conceive without Law or
did make Church members, y^{t} so I may know where y^{e} Comp
lyeth. When I know yo^{r} meaning, I intend, God willing, to
you a speedy answer to yo^{r} Letter.

Yo^{r} fellow servant Ri: Ba

Apr. 14.
1655.

To the Reverend M^{r} Tombes
These

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To the reverend Mr John Tombes
~~[illegible]~~ at Brawdly or at his
house at Lempster these

Sr

The transeunt fact of God whereby infants were visible church members was plainly exprest in my last to you to be the taking of the whole people of the Jewes for his people, which is the expression of Moses Deut. 4. 34. And by it I meant that which is expressed Levit: 20. 24. 26. when God said, I have severed you from other people ~~that~~ you should be mine. The ~~like~~ same thing is expressed 1 Kings 8. 53. Isai: 43. 1. This I terme [fact] as conceiving it most comprehensive of the many particular acts in many generations, whereby he did accomplish it. Following therein Stephen Acts 7. 2. Nehem. 9. 7. I conceive it began when he called Abraham out of Ur Gen. 12. 1. to which succeeded in their times ~~the removing of Lot~~ the inlarging of his family, removing of Lot, Ismael, the sons of Keturah, Esau, distinction by circumcision, the birth of Isaac, Jacob, his leading to Padan Aram, increase there, removal to Canaan, to Egypt, placing, preserving there, & chiefly the bringing of them thence, to which principally the Scripture refers this fact Exod. 19. 4. Levit. 11. 45. Nehem. 1. 10. Hos. 11. 1. the bringing them into the bond of the Covenant at mount Sinai, giving them lawes, setling their priesthood, tabernacle, ~~lawes~~, army, government, inheritance. By which fact the infants of the Israelites were visible church members as being part of the congregation of Israel, & in like manner tho not with equal right (for they might be sold ~~or~~ away) were the bought servants or captives whether infants or of age, tho ~~they were~~ their parents, ~~excepting~~ were professed Idolaters. And this I said was without promise or precept, meaning such promise or precept as you ~~describe~~ ~~in your~~ in your letter ~~you~~ say I confesse, & you describe, a promise conferring to infants the benefit of church membership with all the consequent priviledges, a precept constituting the duty of devoting & dedicating the child to God, & entering it into covenant which conferrs the benefit. For tho I grant the promises to the natural posterity of Abraham Gen. 17. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. & the Covenants made with Israel at mount Sinai, & Deut: 29. wherein ~~they avouched God, &~~ Israel ~~God~~ avouched God, & a precept of circumcision, & precepts of ~~in~~ God by Moses of calling the people & requiring of them to enter into Covenant Exod. 19. & Deut. 29. yet no such particular promise concerning infants visible church membership, or precept ~~for~~ for parents or others concerning the ~~in~~ solemne admission of infants as visible church members, besides circumcision, as in your booke of baptism you assert. nor do I conceive that infants ~~were made~~ of Israel were made visible church members by ~~any fact~~ the promises in the Covenants or the precepts forenamed, but by Gods transeunt fact which I have described. which I therefore terme [transeunt] because done in time, & so not eternal, & past, & so not in congruous sense repealable as a law ordinance, statute decree which determines such a thing shall be for the future, tho capeable of continuance in the same or the like acts, or of interruption, which continuance or interruption is known by ~~narration~~ history of what God hath done, not by any legal revocation ~~of a promise~~ or renewing or continuance of a ~~particular~~ promise or precept concerning that thing. Now as the Churchmembership of the Israelites began as I conceive with Abrahams call & was completed when they were brought out of Egypt to God Exod. 19. 4. so I conceive it ceased when ~~after~~ upon their rejection of Christ as was foretold Matth. 21. 43. they were broken off from being Gods people, which ~~it~~ was completed at the destruction of Jerusalem, when the temple was destroyed, as Christ foretold Luke 19. 43. 44. And in steade of the Jewish people by the preaching of the Gospel confirmed by mighty signes God gathered to himselfe a church of another frame in a spiritual way, ~~state~~ according to the institution of Christ Matth. 28. 19. 20 Mark 16. 15. 16. in which he included not infants, the Jewes themselves were no part of the Christian church without repentance & faith in Christ professed at least.

Having now fully exactly & plainly told you my meaning as you request, I do now expect your speedy answer to my last & therein to fulfill my request of setting down the particular texts of holy Scripture ~~wherein~~ wherein that law largely taken comprehending promise & precept ~~[illegible]~~ of infants visible Churchmembership, which you assert to be unrepealed, is contained. I am

Yours as is meete

John Tombes

Bewdley April 21. 1655.

If you shall in your answer set down wherein the blessing, benefits, priviledges of infants visible Churchmembership which you assert unrepealed did consist, I may better understand you then I doe, that I shall presse you no further then you shall be willing in this thing.

For mr Richard Baxter
teacher at Kidderminster
these

A probabilitye of doing or receiving Good, is to me a call to Action,
no such probability, I told you at first my purpose to forbear any further de
wth you, till you had better answered what is said. In your next you seemed
deal so plainly, as if some smal probabilitly of good did yet appear, But in yor
you fly off againe & eat your owne words & jumble things in much confusion
so yt I now returne to my former thoughts. For you yt expressly say & unsay
& contradict yorself: are not likely to be brought to a candide managemt or fair Issue
of the dispute. youle sure thinke it no great matter to be driven to a selfcontra-
diction (wc wth others is to lose the cause) who so easily & expressly run upon it yourself.//
In your 2d you say [I confesse Infants were by Gods fact of taking ye whole
people of ye Jews for his people in yt estate of the Jewish pedagogy not by any promise
or precept then visible Ch: members, yt is of ye congregation of Israel: I do not
confesse yt there was any Law or ordinance determining it should be so but only
a fact of God wc is a transient thing] In your 3d you say [for though I grant
the promises to ye naturall Posterity of Abraham Gen 17.4.5.6.7.8. & ye Covent made
wth Israel at mount Sinai & deut. 29 wherein Israel avouched God, & A Precept
of Circumcision, & Precepts of God by moses of calling ye people & requiring of ym
to enter into covent Ex 19 & deut. 29. yet no such particular promise concerning
Infants visible Ch: membership, or precept for parents or others concerning the
solemne admission as visible Ch: members besides circumcision as in yor book
of Bapt: you assert]. Before there was no [Law or ordinance determining it
should be so, but only a fact]: now there are Lawes or precepts & promises, yt it
should be so, but [not such as I assert in my booke.] And if I should shew you
never so many, you may reply yt are not such as I assert in my book, & waste
the tyme in that tryall, so yt it is better for me to see first wt you say to ye book
for this is but to lead us about to tryfling//
To make any clear work uppon ye things in question we must necessarily speak
to the questions distinctly, many of wch you too much confound. The first quest:
in order fit to be resolved is [whether Infants before Christs Incarnation were
Church members or not.] you graunt that they were: & so this is past dispute
wth us.// The 2d Questn (& ye first question unresolved) is [what Church it is yt
Infants were members of] this you give me occasion to take in ye way bec
you twice explaine your meaning, wn you confesse ym Ch: members by an [i.e of ye
congregation of Israel]. By wc you seeme to imply two things. First yt none but
the Infants of the congregation of Israel were Ch: members: 2o. yt ye Infants of
Israel were members of no Ch: but what is convertible wth [ye congregation of Is
The 3d Quest. is wt it is yt gives ye Israelites yt denomination of [ye congreg: of Israel
of wc Infants were members.] For you jumble together both causes civil & eccle-
siastical, & of both those yt make to ye Being & well-being. so yt or enquiry must be
[whether the congregation & ye comon wealth be the same thing in ye Jews] &
what constituteth it formally.] for in this you speak in darke Ambiguities// The
4th Ques. is [whether there was any Law, ordinance or precept of God concerning
mans duty herein, or obliging him, to ye covenant Acceptance, & re-engag
+ & so to membership.] & any promise, Grant or Covent conferring
Ch: membership & ye consequent priviledges to Infants]. To this

& yt of ye effect of ye p̄cept & ꝓmise: yet you conclude yt you [do not conceive yt
Infants of Israel were made visible Ch: members by ye ꝓmises in the Covent, or ye
p̄cepts forenamed, but by Gods transient fact] I wil not suspect yt you imagine
any other ꝓmise doth it besides yt in ye covent. bec. your lying ye effects to ye trans
fact doth exclude ym. Here we are cast 3o upon these Ques. next 5th Qu. [whether
there be such Precepts & promises as you grant (or as I shal ꝓve) wc yet make
Infants Ch: members.] 6th Qu. [whether there be any transient fact of God, wch
wtout the efficiency of p̄cept or ꝓmise did make the Infants of Isr: Ch: members]
7th Qu. [whether those wc you have assigned be such facts]. 8o wch are ye Texts of
Script. yt conteine or expresse ye said Laws p̄cepts or grants wc I mainteine.]
this you insist upon.// 9th. whether such Laws p̄cepts or grants as I shal ꝓve, are
capable of a Repeal or revocation] 10th Qu. whether they are actually revoked
or Repealed] // Before al these Qs are well handled we should ~~be~~ easily be con
vinced yt it had bin better either have let al alone, or els if we must needs
have another bout, at least to have agreed on or termes & ye stating of ye Qus
better before we had begun: And I thinke yt seen yt is not easy to doe, for w
I desired yor plaine exact & full explication of one word [transient fact], & you
have told me, you have plainely fully & exactly told me yor meaning, it falls
out either through the unhappy darknes of my owne understanding or yor
that I knowe but little more of your minde then I did before, & yt you seeme
to me to have raised more doubts & darknesse then you have resolved & dispelled
yet being thus far drawne in, I shall breifly say somewt to ye several Qu:
not following your desires to answer one alone, wc cannot be done to any
purpose, while the foregoing are unresolved: bec it is ye clearing up of truth
& not ye serving of yor present Ends in yor writings now in hand yt I intend.//
The first Qu. being resolved [yt Infants were once Ch: members]. To ye resolving
of the 2d Qu. I shall prove ~~[illegible]~~ these two ꝓpositions, 1o yt It was not only ye Infan
of the congreg: of Israel yt were Ch: members. 2o the Infants of Israel were
members of ye universal visible Ch: & not only of yt perticular congregation] the
first I have already ꝓved in my booke. And 1o Isaack was a Ch: member yet none
of the congregat. of Israel, It was not Israel til Jacobs days. If you say yt by
[the congregation of Israel you meane [ye seed of Abraham wc had ye ꝓmise of Canaan
yet 2o I say yt Ishmael, & Abrahams seed by Keturah, & Esau had none of yt
ꝓmise & yet were Ch: members in their Infancy [In Isaack shal thy seed
be called] yt is yt seed yt had ye ꝓmise of Canaan, And so it was confined to
Jacob who got ye ~~birthright~~ blessing & ye birthright, wc Esau lost & was ex
cluded & yet was of ye Ch: from his Infancy. the son of ye bond woman was
not to be heir wth the son of the free woman, yet was Ishmael an Infant member
If you say yt by [ye congregation of Israel] you mean al ye natural seed
of Abraham] I adde 4o the Children of his bondmen, borne in his family
or bought wth money were none of Abrahams natural seed, & yet were
Ch: members in their Infancy. If you goe yet further & say yt by [ye
congregat of Israel] you meane al yt were at ye Absolute dispose of Abraham
or his successors & so were his owne: I ad 5o the Infants of free proselites
were none such, & yet were Ch: members. If you yet goe further & say
yt ~~he~~ you mean by [yt congregat of Israel] any yt came under ye governm

of Abraham or his successors yn I adde 6o yt the Sichemites Gen 34 were not to
come under Jacobs Governmt but to be his Allies & neighbours, being so many more
in number yn Jacob yt they concluded rather yt his Cattle & substance should be
theirs. yet were they circumcised every male, & so were made members of ye
visible professing Ch: For it was not ye bare external signe of Jacob or his sons
would perswade them to wth out the thing signified; For ye regard yt they mentioned
of giving their daughters to the uncircumcised, was not in ye defect of ye external
abscission, for so Moses owne son & al the Israelites in the wildernes, should have
bin under the same regard, & al the females continually: But it was, in yt they
were not in covent wth the same God, & did not profess to worship ye same God in his true
way of worsp as they did; And so as Baptizing is not indeed & in Scripture sence
Baptizing, if it be not used for engagemt to God, even into his name, so circum-
cision is not indeed & in Scripture sence circumcision, unless it be used as an
Engaging signe (& they be circumcised unto God. 7o It was yn ye duty of al
ye nations round about (if not of al ye nations on Earth, yt could have infor-
mation of ye Jewish religion) to engage yms. & their Children to God by circumcis.
yt al yt would have any alliance & commerce wth the Jews must do it is commonly
confessed: yt it must extend to Infants, ye case of ye Sichemites (though
deceitfully drawne to it by some of Jacobs sons) doth shew, & so doth ye Jewish
practice wch they were to imitate. yt ye same Engagemt to ye same God is
ye duty of al ye world is commonly acknowledged, though Divines are not
agreed, whether the distant Nations were obliged to use circumcision
ye Jewish signe. The best of ye Jews were zealous to make proselites: & no
doubt, but the very law of nature did teach ym to doe their best for the
salvation of others. To think such charitable & holy works unlawful, is to
think it evil to do ye greatest good. And if they must perswade ye neighbr
nations to come in to God by covent Engagemt, yy must perswade ym to bring
their Children wth them, & to devote ym to God as wel as yms. For ye Jews
knew no other covenanting or Engaging to God. As ye Sichemites
must doe, so other nations must doe: For wt priviledge had ye Children
of ye Sichemites above the rest of ye world. 7o In Hesters time many of ye
people became Jews Hest. 8. 17. who yet were not under their governmt. And
to be Jews is to be of ye Jewish profession. And its wel knowne, yt yy was to
be circumcised, they & their little ones (as ye Israelites were) & so to keep ye law
of Moses. 8o. The scattered & captivated Jews yms. were from under ye govert
of Abrahams successrs, & yet were to circumcise their Children as Ch: members
9o. wn Jonas preached to Ninive, it was al ye care of men among ym without
exception, from ye greatest to the least, yt was to fast & joyne in yt humiliation:
so al ym Infants as wel as others were to partake of ye Remission. If you
say ye beasts were to fast too, I answer, as they were capable in their kind
of pt of ye misery, so were they of pt of the benefit, but their capacity was
not as mans: they fasted to manifest mans humiliation. And if by ye
humiliation of ye aged ye beasts sped ye better in their kinde, no wonder, if
Infants sped the better in theirs, & according to their capacities, as yt was
to have a Remission suitable to their sins. 10o. what I have said of him &
many others & their posterity already I shal not here againe repeat
wch be said more to the following Questions

The 2d Proposition to be proved is, yt [The Israelites Children were members of ye univ
visible Ch: of Xt. as well as of ye congregation of Israel]. But this you did heretofo
acknowledge, & so I suppose will not now deny. I suppose it past controversy be
tween us 1o That Xt had then a Ch: on earth. As Abraham saw Xts day & rejoyc
& Moses ~~suffered~~ suffered the reproach of Xt. Heb. 11. 26. & ye Prophets enquired of the
salvat by Xt, & searched diligently, & prophesied of ye grace to come, & it was ye spiri
of Xt wch was in those prophets signifying ye time & testifying before hand ye suffer
ings of Xt & ye glory yt should follow 1 Pet. 1. 10. 11. So were they yt of ye Ch: of Xt & mem
bers of the body of Xt, & given for edification of yt body. though it was reveal
to them yt ye higher priviledges of ye Ch: after ye coming of Xt were not for ym bu
for us. 1 Pet. 1. 12. 2o I suppose it also agreed on between us yt there was no o
Ch: or Ecclesiasticall worshipping society appointed by God in all ye world since ye fal
but the Ch: of Xt: so either Infants were members of Xts Ch: or of no Ch: of Gods
institution; Moses Ch: & Xts Ch: according to Gods institution were not two but one
Ch: For Moses was Xts usher & his ceremonies were an obscurer Gospel to
lead men to Xt: And though ye foolish Jews by misunderstanding ym made
a separation, & made Moses disciples to be seperate from Xts disciples, & set up the
alone [shaddowes of things to come, yet ye body is al of Xt] Col. 2. 17. & ~~so~~ by so doin
they violated Gods Institution & unchurcht ymselves: 3o I suppose it agreed also, yt
Xts Ch: is but one, & yt even the first of al Ages, yt are not at our visible
yet make up one bodye. 4o And yt so whoever is a member of any par
ticular Ch: is a member of ye universal (though ye Ch: were more eminently
called Catholick when ye wall of separation was taken downe) But I remember
I have proved this in my Booke Part. 1 Chap 20, & so shal say no more now.

Concerning ye matter of ye 3d Qu: I assert yt [It was not only ye Jews comon
wealth yt Infants were members of, but of ye Ch: distinct from it] This is proved
sufficiently in wt is said before; moreover 1o Infants were Ch: members
in Abrahams family before circumcision & after wn it was no comon wealth
so were they in Isaacks Jacobs &c 2o The banished, captivated scattered Jews
yt ceased to be members of their comon wealth yet ceased not to be of ye
Ch: 3o The people of ye Land yt became Jews in Hesters time, joyned not ym
to their comon wealth, nor the Sichemites. 4o many proselites were joyned
ymselves to their comonwealth 5o The Children of Abraham by Keturah, wch
were removed from his family were not unchurched, & yet were no members
of the Jews comon wealth; But I shal take up wth wt is said for this already, under
taking more largely to manifest it, wn I perceive it necessary & usefull. //

To the 4th Qu. I assert yt [1o There was a Law or Precept of God obliging ye Paren
to enter ~~them~~ Children into covent wth God by Accepting his offered favr & ye reengaging
& devoting ym to God, & so entring ym solemnly Ch: members] And [2o There was a
Covent, promise or Grant of God by wch he offered the Ch: membership of so
Infants, & actually conferred it when his offer was Accepted]. I should have writ
this first & so will begin wth the proofe of this. // By these termes [Covt promis
Grant or Deed of guift &c] I understand yt wch is comon to al these, viz
[A signe of Gods will conferring or confirming a Right to or in some benefit]
such as we comonly call a Civill act of Collation, as distinct from a meer
physicall Act of disposall. I call it [a signe of Gods will de jure] bec: yt is ye gener
nature of al his Legal-moral Acts: they are all signal determinations de debito
of some due. 2o I say [conferring or confirming Right to some benefit] to distin
it from precepts wch only determine what shalbe due from us to God, & from threat

wch determine wt Punishmt shalbe due from God to us. Having thus explained ye terms
I prove the Proposition // If Infants Ch: membership wth ye Priviledges thereof were a
Benefit conferd, wc some had Right to, or in, then was there some Grant Covt or Promise
by wch this Right was conferred, But ye Antecedent is most certaine ergo so is ye conseqt. //
I suppose you will not deny yt it was a benefit to be ye Covenanted people of God, to
have the Lord ingaged to be their God, & to take ym for his people, to be brought so neer
him, & to be separated from ye common & uncleane, from ye world, & from ye strangers to ye
Covt of promise yt live as wthout God in the world, & wthout hope. If it were asked wt
benefit had the circumcision? I suppose you would say, much every way. If Infant
Ch: membership were no Benefit, yn ym yt had it were not (wn they came to age or
their parents in the meane time) obliged to any thankfulness for it. But they were obliged
to be thankful for it: ergo it was a benefit // The next thing in ye Antecedt to be proved
is yt there was a Right conferred to this Benefit, & some had a Right in it.
And 1o If any had ye benefit, yn had they Right to, or in yt Benefit; But some had
ye Benefit. ergo. The Consequence of ye major is certaine 1o Bec: ye very nature of ye
Benefit consisteth in a Right to further Benefits. 2o. If any had ye Benefit of Ch: membership
Covnt interest wthout Right, yn they had it wth Gods Consent & Approbation or without
it. Not wth it, For he is Just & consenteth not yt any have yt wch he hath not
some Right to or in. Not wthout it, For no man can have a Benefit from God
against his will or wthout it // 2o If no Infants had duely & Rightfully received
this Benefit, God would some where have reprehended ye usurpation & abuse of his
ordinance or benefit: But yt he doth not as to this Case ergo //. 3o. God hath expressed
this Right in many texts of Scripture. of wc more afterwards. // I am next to prove the
Consequence, yt [This Right was conferred by some Grant, Promise or Covt of God] And
this is as easy as to prove yt ye world was made by Gods Power & efficiency or will, or to
prove yt God is the owner of al things & no man can receive ym but by his Gift.
1o. If there be no other way possible for Right to be conveyed from God to us but only
by his Grant, Promise, Covt (wch we cal donation & is a moral civil action) yn it is
by this meanes yt it is conveyed, But there is no other possible way of such conveyance
ergo we have no Right til God give us Right. His will signified createth our Right
no man can have Right to yt wc is wholly & absolutely anothers but by his consent
or will, this wil is no way knowne but by some signes of it. These signes of such a
will for conveyance of right to a Benefit, are a civil moral Action, called a donation
or Gift simply: If ye signe be in writing we commonly cal it a Deed of gift, If
it be by word of mouth conferring a present right we cal it a verbal grant or
Gift; If it ~~be by word of mouth~~ conferre only a future Right we cal it a promise
& sometimes a Covt, And sometimes the word Covt signifieth both, yt act wch gives a
present Right & promiseth ye continuance of it. Right being a moral or civil thing
can be no way conveyd but by a moral or civil Action. A Gift yt was never given
is a contradiction, so yt ye pt of or controversy is as easy as whether 2 & 2 be foure. //
The 2d Proposition to be proved is yt [There was a Law or Precept of God obliging ye parents
to enter their Children into covenant & Ch: membership by accepting of his offer & en-
engaging ym to God]. And this is as obvious & easy as ye former. But first I shal in
a word here also explaine ye termes. The word [Law] is sometime taken more largely
& unfitly as comprehending ye very Immanent Acts, or ye nature of God, considered wth-
out any signe to represent it to ye creature. so many cal Gods nature or purposes the Eternal
Law: wch indeed is no Law, nor can be fitly so called. 2o. It is taken properly for [The
[illegible] determination de debito constituendo vel confirmando] And so
[illegible] fitly be called a Law. Some define it [illegible] maiestate [illegible]

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I acquiesce in the first, or rather in this wch is more full & exact. [A law is a signe of the Rectors will constituting or confirming Right or Duenes]. yt it be a signe of ye Rectors will de debito constituendo vel confirmando, is ye generall nature of al Lawes. Some quarrel at the word [signe]. because it is Logicall & not political: As if Politicians should not speak logically as well as other men! There is a twofold Due, 1o what is due from us to God (or any Rector) & this is signified in the precept & prohibition (or in the precept de agendo & non agendo) 2o what shalbe due to us: & this is signified by Promises or ye premiant pt of ye Law & by lawes for distribution & determination of Proprieties // All Benefits are given us by God in a double relation, both as Rector & Benefactor, or as Benefactor Regens, or as Rector benefaciens: Though among men yt stand not in such subordination to one another as we doe to God, they may be received from a meer Benefactor wthout any Regent interest therin.

The first lawes do ever constitute ye Debitum or Right: Afterward ther may be renewed lawes & precepts to urge men to obey the former, or to do ye same thing: ye end of these is either fully to acquaint the subject wth the former, or to revive the memory of them, or to excite to the obedience of them, And these do not properly Constitute duty bec: it was constituted before: but ye nature & power of ye act is ye same wth yt wch doth constitute it, & so doth confirme the constitution & againe oblige us to wt we were obliged to before. For obligations to one & ye same duty may be multiplied. 3o. Some take ye word [Law] in so restrained a sense, as to exclude verbal or singular precepts specially directed but to one or a few men, & will only cal yt a law wc is written, or at least a well knowne custome obliging a whole society in a stated way. These be ye most eminent sorts of laws; but to say yt ye rest are no laws is vaine & groundles, agt ye true generall definition of a Lawe, & justly rejected by ye wisest Politicians. // That wch we are now to enquire after, is a precept or ye commanding pt of a law, wc is [A signe of Gods will obliging us to duty]: of wch signes ther are materially several sorts as 1o By a voyce yt is evidently of God. 2o By writing 3o by visible works or effects 4o by secret impresses as by Inspiration, wc is a law onely to him yt hath ym // Having thus opened the termes [Law & Precept] I prove the proposition thus 1o. If it was ye duty of ye Israelites to accept Gods offered mercy for their Children, & to engage & devote ym to him in cov[enant] then ther was a law or precept wc made this their duty & obliged them to it, But it was a duty: ergo ther was such a law or precept. 3 For ye Antecedent, 1o If it were not a duty then it was either a sin or a neutral indifferent action; But it was not a sin (for 1o it was agt no law or precept 2o it is not reprehended) Nor was it indifferent, for it was of a moral nature, & so either good or evill, & a sin or duty. For properly permission is no act of law (though many say it is) but a suspension of an act, & so licitum is not moraliter bonum, but only non-malum, & so is not properly within the verge of morality // 2o. If ther be a penalty (& a most terrible penalty) annexed for ye non performance, then it was a duty. But such a penalty was annexed (as shal anon be particularly shewed) Even to be cut off from his people, to be put to death &c If it oblige ad poenam, it did first oblige ad obedientiam. For no law obligeth ad poenam but for disobedience, wch presupposeth an obligation to obedience. // 3o. If it were not ye Israelites duty to engage & enter their Children into Gods covenant, & ch: then it would have bin none of their sin to have omitted or refused so to doe, But it would have bin their great and haynous sin to have omitted or refused it ergo. // Now to ye consequence of ye major there is no duty but what is made by some law or precept as its efficient cause or foundation: ergo if it be a duty, ther was certainly some law or precept that made it such; If many men wil say yt a Benefit obligeth to Gratitude though ther was no law; but ye meaning is, If ther were no humane law &c yt because the law of God in nature requireth man to be just & thankful [illegible] no law of God natural or positive yt did constitute it [illegible]

ther could be no dutys, 1° there is no duty but what is made such by Gods signified
will; g° no duty but what is made such by a law or precept, ffor a precept is ye signe of
Gods will obliging to duty 2°. where there is no law there is no transgression. Ro 4.15
g° where there is no law there is no duty, ffor these are contrarys: It is a duty not to
transgress ye law, & a transgression not to performe ye dutye it requireth of us//
There is no apparent ground of exception but in case of Covent. Whether a man may
not oblige himself to a duty meerly by his consent. I answ. 1° He may oblige himself to
an act wc he must performe or els prove himself unfaithful & dishonest. But his own
obligation makes it not strictly a duty: g° wn God makes a covent with man he is as it
were obliged in point of fidelity, but not of dutye. 2°. He yt obligeth himself to an act
by promise, doth occasion an obligation to duty from God, bec. God hath obliged men to keep
their promises 3°. So far as a man may be sd to be his own Ruler so far may he be
said to oblige himself to dutye (yt is duty to himself. tho ye act be for the benefit of another)
but yn he may as fitly be said to make a law to himself or command himself. So yt still the
duty (such as it is) hath an answerable Command// Soe yt I may wel conclude yt
there is a law bec. there is a duty: ffor nothing but a law could cause that duty
nor make the omission of it a sin// where there is no law sin is not imputed Rom. 5.13 but
the omission of entering Infants into covent with God before Xts incarnation, would
have bin a sin imputed g° there was a Law commanding it.// 2°. If it was a duty
to dedicate Infants to God, or enter them into covent with him, yn either by Gods will
or without it. Certainly not without it. If by Gods will, yn either by his will
revealed or unrevealed. His unrevealed will canot oblige, ffor their wants
promulgation wc is necessary to obligation: And no man can be bound to know
Gods unrevealed will, unless remotely as it may be long of himself yt it is not to
him revealed. If it be Gods revealed will that must thus oblige, yn there was some
signe by wch it was revealed, And if there were a signe revealing Gods will
obliging us to duty yn there was a Law, ffor this is the very nature of the preceptive
part of a Law (wch is the principal part). So yt you may as wel say you are a
Reasonable creature, but not a man, as say yt men were obliged to duty, by Gods
revealed will & yet not by a law or precept//
3° we shal anon produce ye law or precept & put it out of doubt that there was such a
thing. In the meane tyme, I must confess I doe not remember yt ever I was put
to dispute a point yt carryeth more of its own evidence to shame the gainsayer. And if you can
gather disciples even among the Godly by persuading them, yt there were dutys without
precepts or laws, and benefits without donations, covents, or promises conferring ym
then despair of nothing for the tyme to come. you may persuade them yt ther is a
son without a ffather, or any relation without its ffoundation, or effect without its cause
& never doubt but ye same men will beleive you, while you have ye same interest
in ym, & use the same art in putting off your conceits.//
The 5th Qu: requireth me to lay downe this assertion yt [there is no law or prcpt of
God wc doth not oblige to duty, & no actual promise or donation, wc doth not confer
the benefit] This I assert on occasion of your last letter, where in contradiction
to the former you confest [yt promises to ye natural posterity of Abraham Gen 17
& the covent made with Israel at mount Sinai & Deut 29, & a precept of circum-
cision, & precepts of God by Moses of calling the people & requiring them to enter
covent Ex. 19. deut 29] yet you [do not conceive yt ye Infants of Israel ~~were~~ made
visible Ch: members by ye promises in the Covts, or ye precepts forenamed]. If so
yn either you imagine yt among al those prcpts & promises, there was yet no promise
or covent yt gave them the benefit of Church membership, or prcpt concerning
their entrance into yt state. or else you imagine yt such promises were made
but did not actually confer ye benefit & such ~~promises~~ prcpts were made but
not actually oblige. yr words are so ambiguous in this yt they [illegible]
of your minde [illegible] yt [illegible] was [illegible]

[There is no such particular promise concerning Infants visible Ch: membership or prec besides circumcision, as in my book of Baptisme I assert], who knows whether ye Explic of [circumcision] be a concession of such a precept or promise in the case of circumcision or if not what sence it hath? & what you imagine yt precept or promise to be wch I assert? & before ye sence of yor one sillable [such] is discerned by trying it by the whole volume I doubt you will make what you list of it: However if you should meane that such precepts & promises there are as have for their subject [ye Avouching God to be their God, ye entering into covt, circumcision] of infants, but not their Church membership ym 1o. I have proved the contrary to ye negative before. 2o I more shal doe anone 3o & its a palpable contradiction to the precedent affirmative. But if you meane yt Church membership of Infants as wel as others is the subject or pt of the subject of those promises or precepts, & yet yt Infants were not made or confirmed Church members thereby, it is the contrary that I am asserting & I hope have no further need to prove, then by shewing the contradiction of your opinion to itselfe. For an Actual covenant or promise yt doth not give right to the benefit promised (according to its tenor & termes) is like a cause yt hath no effect, a Father yt did never generate & its al one as to say, A guift or covent wch is no guift or covent, seeing the name is denied, when the thing named & defined is granted. So a precept or law to enter Infants solemnly into Ch: membership, wch yet obligeth none so to enter ym, is as grosse a contradiction as to say the sun hath not light or heat & yet is truly a sun.//

I come next to the 6th Qu. whether indeed there be any transient fact wch wthout ye causation of any promise or precept did make the Israelites Children Ch: members. This you affirme (if you would be understood). Whether that yor ground of Infants Church membership or mine be the righter I hope wilbe no hard matter for ~~man~~ other (of common capacity) to discerne. By a [transient fact] thus set as contradistinct ~~from~~ to a law precept or promise, either you meane ye Act of Legislation & promise-making, or some other meerly Physical Act. If the former it is too ridiculous to be used in a serious business; for you should not put things in competition, excluding the one, when they must both necessarily concurre, ye one standing in subordination to the other. Was there ever a law or covent made in the world any other way yn by a Transient fact; Sure al Legislation is by some signification of the Soveraignes will: And ye making of yt signe is a transient fact. If it be by voyce is not yt Transient? If by writing is not ye act transient? If by creation itselfe the Act is Transient though the effect be permanent. And certainly if Legislation or promising be yor Transient fact you very absurdly put it in opposition to a law (or promise), it being the making of such a law: And the Legislation doth no way oblige the subject, but by the law so made; nor doth ye making of a promise Grant or Covenant conferre Right to the Benefit, which is ye subject of it, any otherwise, yn as it is the making of that grant wch shall so conferre it. As the making of a knife doth not cut, but the knife made, & so of other instrum

3.

For if the law oblige ~~not~~ not, or the Grant conferre not, certainly the Legislation or promise making cannot doe it. I cannot therefore imagine yt this is your sence, without charging you with ~~mighty~~ too ~~[illegible]~~ great absurdity. As if you should say, It is not ye will of ye Testator (i.e. his Testament) yt intitles the Legatary to ye Legacye, but it is the transient fact of the testator in making that will. or it is not the Soveraigns commission yt Authorizeth a Judge a Souldier &c But it is ye Transient fact of writing or making that Commission: It is not the signe that signifieth, but the transient fact of making that signe: were not this a contemptible arguing? To charge you wth this were to make you tantum non unreasonable. And yet I know not what to say to you that is, how to understand you. For if you mean a meer Physical transient fact, wch is no such Legislation or promise-making, yn its far more absurd yn ye former ~~[illegible]~~. For if it be not a signe of Gods will obliging to dutye or conferring Benefits, yn can it not sure oblige to duty nor confer Benefits. It is no other Transient fact but Legislation yt can oblige a subiect to duty, nor any other transient fact but promise or other donation, yt can convey right to a Benefit or oblige the promiser. A moral or civil effect must be produced by a morall or civil ~~[illegible]~~ Action, & not by a meer Physical Action, wch is unfit to produce such an alien effect & can give no higher yn its owne kinde. What sence ~~els~~ else I should put on your words, without making them appear unreasonable ~~[illegible]~~, even much below the rates of ordinary peoples discourse I cannot tell. For to say it is not a law but Legislation, is al one as to say. It is not ye fundamentum, but the laying of that foundation yt causeth ye relation or from wch it doth result. And to say It is an alien physical act wch hath no such thing as right for its subiect or Terminus, is to confound Physicks & Morals, & speake the grossest Absurdities, as to say yt ye transient fact of eating, drinking, going, building &c do adopt such a one to be your heire. I must needs thinke so till you have better explaind yors. yt you have quitt yours: as ill, & forsaken or delivered up ye cause as palpably, as ever I knowe man doe without an expresse confession yt it is naught. When ~~[illegible]~~ men must be taught by this obtuse subtilty to prove yt Infants Church membership needed no Revocation, forsooth [Because their Church membership was not ~~[illegible]~~ instituted by a Law promise or Covenant but by a Transient fact]. then wth them as yet began it

hath scarce heard a more ~~pestilent chimerick~~ incoherent dreame. But I pray remember in yor
reply, yt you being the Affirmer of this must prove it: wch I shal expect when
you can prove, yt you can generate a man by spitting or blowing yor nose
or by plowing & sowing can produce Kings & Emperours.//

In consideration of yor 7th Qu. I shall consider ye nature & effect of yt Transient
fact wch you here describe. And first of ye reason of yt name; you say yt
you call it [transient] [bec: done in tyme, & so not eternal, & past, & so
in congruous sence repealable as a law ordinance statute decree &
determining such things shalbe for the future]. And doe you thinke this ye
common sence of the word? or a fit reason of ye application of it to the thing
in hand 1o. I thinke yor Intellection & volition are Immanent acts & yet
not eternall. we use to contradistinguish Transient acts from Immanent
& yt bec they doe transire in subiectum extraneum: But it seems you
take them here as distinct from Permanent: But use your sence as
long as wee understand it. 2o. If it be only [past] actions wch you call
[transient] it seems your long fact wch was so many hundred yeares
in doing was no transient fact til the end of al those yeers. 3o. But
sir ye Question is not whether it were a Transient fact yt layd the
foundation by Legislation or promise making, but whether ye effect were
Transient or ye act as it is in Patiente: whether ye law were transient
wch was made by a Transient fact, & whether ye moral Action of ye
law were Immanent or transient? it being most certainly such a
moral act yt must produce a Title or constitute a duty. Gods
writing ye ten commandmts in stone was a fact soone past, but ye law
was not soone paste, nor ye moral act of yt law viz. obligation
there are verbal laws, yt have no really-permanent signe, & yet ye
law may be permanent, & ye obligation permanent, bec: ye signe may
have a permanency in obiectiv cognito & so ye signifying virtue may
remaine by ye help of memory though ye word did vanish in ye speaking.//
2o. when you come to point out this Transient fact individually, you
say [it is Gods taking ye whole people of ye Jews for his people], wch you
[terme [fact] as conteining it most comprehensive of ye many parti-
cular acts in many generations whereby he did accomplish it]] 1. I
did not well understand before yt [a fact] did so vastly differ from [an act]
as to conteine the Acts (rather then the facts) of many generations 2o. This is
a long fact according to your measure, even from Abrahams call out of
Ur. but how long, it seems you are not well agreed wth yor self. ffor in
the first part of your Lre you [ennumerate to the other Acts yt compose
this fact [viz bringing them into the band of the covent at mount Sinai
giving ym lawes, setling their preisthood, tabernacle, army, governmt, inheritance]
But before you end you change your minde, & say [ye Church member-
ship of ye Israelites began as I conceive wth Abrahams call, & was
compleated when they were brought out of Egypt to God Ex 19.4]

But part of it was long before the setling their Inheritance. 2ᵈ part according to your last opinion was about 430 yeares in doing but according to your first opinion it was about 470 yeares long 3°. If it were one individuall part of About 470 years long yᵗ made Infants Church members, yⁿ could they not be Ch: members til yᵗ part was past, ffor the effect is not before yᵉ cause, or causality of yᵉ Efficient. yᵉ Edificium, cannot be before the ffundamentum be layd: & it seemes this long part was the laying of yᵉ fundamentum. But the consequent is certainly false: for Infants were Church members, before the end or compleating of your long part: ffor they were Ch: members (you'l grant) when Ismael & Isaack were circumcised, so it was not this long part yᵗ made them Ch: members. 4°. If you meane yᵗ it was not the whole but some pᵗ of this long part yᵗ actually made Infants Church members then you would sure have assigned yᵗ pᵗ, when that was the thing desired, & wᶜʰ you pretended exactly to performe: or at least, you would not have told us it comprehendeth all those acts 5°. And if each pticular act did make Infants Ch: members or lay a sufficient ground of it, yⁿ it seemes it was done before yᵉ Institution of circumcision; ffor Gods calling Abraham out of Ur was before it; so that yᵉ Children borne in his house might be Ch: members uppon that; & a sufficient ground layd for his owne to have bin such, if he had then had a naturall Issue: And it seemes then that Ismael was borne a Ch: member many yeares before circumcision 6°. If this be your meaning, be soe just & impartiall as to accepte the proofe wᶜʰ I shal give you of Infants Ch: membership before Abrahams dayes, if I make it appear to be as strong as this cal of Abraham from Ur. 7°. If you should meane yᵗ some one of those comprehended acts should of itselfe make any Infants Church members, then it might be any one for you no more assigne it to one of yᵐ yⁿ to another (only say [chiefly yᵉ bringing yᵐ up from Egipt]. But surely some of those acts pticularly cannot doe it. As yᵉ leading to Padan-aram yᵉ removeal to Canaan, to Egipt, placing, preserving there, setling yᵉⁱʳ Army &c did any ~~of~~ one of those make Infants to be become Ch: members? 8°. Nay suppose you meane yᵗ al those acts might concurre to make them members (& so yᵗ they were no members till many hundred years after the institution of circumcision) yet could not your doctrine hold good: ffor some of those are of an alien nature, & no more apt to cause Infant Church membership than a Bull to generate a birds. what aptitude hath the setling of an Army to be any pᵗ of yᵉ causality of Infants Church membership? none I think, at least

~~But sure yt was long before ye setling of their inheritance. ye fact according~~
~~to your last opinion was about 430 years in doing. but according to your~~
~~first opinion it was about 470 years long. 8°. If it were yet individual fa~~
~~of about 470 years long yt made Infants Ch: members, yn could ye not be~~
~~members til that fact was past, For ye effect is not before ye cause or~~
~~causality of yt efficient, the Relation cannot be before ye fundamentum be~~
~~layd. & it seemes this long fact was the laying~~
if it be such an Army as ours: For surely ye setling of ors caused no
such thing as you well knowe. what aptitude hath ye sending to
Padan Aram, or removeall to Egipt, to make Infants Ch: members.
nay how strange is it, yt ye removing of Church members & such
as had bin Infant Church members as Ismael, Keturahs Children
Esau, must cause Infant-Church membership. sure it was no cause
of their owne. Keturahs Children were Church members in
Infancy: I enquire of you, by what Act they were made such.
you say [by Gods fact of taking the whole people of the Jews for his
people], whereof the Act of removing Keturahs Children was a pt
very good; It seemes yn yt removing from ye congregation of Israel
or people of ye Jews is a taking ye removed to be of yt people; or
else it is not only ye Taking that people but also ye Removal
from that people that maketh Church members, even ye Removed
as well as ye Taken, both wch are alike absurd. 9°. And I pray you
tell mee yet a little better, how an act can make a man a
Church member, yt was one long before that act was done. you
cannot here say yt it was before in esse morali, & had a moral
causation. How then could even your cheifest act ye bringing
out of Egipt, make those Infants Church members yt were borne
in Egipt, & were Church members before. or how could it be any
pt of the cause. Did the bringing out of Egipt concurr to
make Moses a Church member when he was in the basket on
the waters. // And when you answere this, you may do well to goe
a little further, & tell mee, How such an act concurreth to make
him an infant Ch: member, yt was dead an hundred or 200 years before
yt act was done. For example: how did ye setling of ye Israelites
Army or Inheritance, or the covent on mount Sinai make Ismael
or Esau or Isaack or Jacob Church members. 10°. I desire you
also to tell me by the next, what be the Nerves & Ligaments, yt
tye al those Acts of 430 years at least together soe as to make
one fact. And whether I may not as groundedly make
fact sufficient for this purpose of ye acts of an hundred or 200
years only. or whether you may not as well make al ye Acts
from Abrahams call til Christ one fact & assigne it to this effect.

11o. you say yt you call this fact [Transient] bec it [past] (& so tell it past)
it seemes, Isaack & Jacob yt were dead before are no Ch: members) I
would then faine knowe, whether it be this same Transient fact or some
other yt makes Infants, Ch: members 500 yeares after it is past. If it
be this same, yn how comes a meer Transient fact to work effectually
so many hundred yeers after it is past. unless it made a law or
covent wch doth the deed; If it be a new Transient fact yt must
make Infants Ch: members, after ye compleating of this (ye setling
their inheritance) yn I pray you tell mee know whether it be one fact
exercised on the whole nation in grosse, or must it be a fact on every
Infant member individually. If on the Nation, remember to tel us wt it
was, & doe not only tel us ye cause of ye membership of former In-
fants. And seeing it must be such as the membership of every infantes
til Xts tyme ~~it caused~~ at least must be caused by, I pray you remember to make your worke
square & ful, & be sure to assigne us no other kinde of fact, yn what you wil
prove to have bin so frequently repeated in every age, & so fully ex-
tensive, to every Infant among ye Jews, as yt it leave no gapps, but
may make al members that were see in each age. And remember
yt it is no law precept, promise or covent, yt you must assigne for the
cause, for yts it you are ingaged against: But a constant succession
of Transient facts extending to each individual member. O wt work
have you made yourself. & wt a sort of new Political doctrine shal
we have from you, when these things are accomplished, accor-
ding to the frame you have begun. such as I beleeve ye sun never
saw, nor the wisest lawier in England ever read before. wch
makes me the less to marvail yt so many of yor opinion are so
much against the Lawyers: for I dare say they wilbe but few of
them for you, if these be your grounds. or at least not for those yor
grounds. 12o. But al this yet is but a light velitation. the principal thing
yt I would inquire into is wt your great comprehensive fact is in ye
true nature of it, wch you call [Gods taking ye whole people of ye Jews
to be his people]. doth ye word [Taking] signify a meer Physical taking
or fact, or a moral, such as among men we cal a civil Action
If it be a meer Physical taking, yn 1o, it cannot produce a moral effect, such
as yt in question is 2o. And yn it must have an answerable object, wch must
be individual existent psons. 3o. & then you cannot cal it one fact, but
many thousand, even as many as there were psons taken in to ye
Jews in above 400 yeers. 4o. And yn wt was the Physical act wch is cal
Gods Taking. was it such a Taking as the Angel used to Lot yt carried
him out of Sodome, or as the Apocriphall Author mentions of Habbakkuk
yt was taken by ye hair of the head, & carried by ye Angel into another
Country to bringe Danyel a messe of pottage. If God must by a phy-
apprehension, take hold of them yt he makes Ch: members, we shal
at a losse. for ye cause of their Ch: membership. // But I cannot

yt yt is ye same. But wt is it yn? If it a Physical Action though a moral causal
of some Physicall effect: yt it cannot bee. For it is a political or moral effect
yt we inquire after. It necessarily remaines so, yt this be a Political moral Taking
that you heer speake of. And if so, yn ye Transient fact you speak of must needs
be a civil or political Action, And wt that can be wch is no law, precept, promise
or covenant in this Case I pray bestow some more diligence to informe us
& not put us of wth the rare name of Transient fact opposed to these.
Certainly, if it be a civill or legal action, ye product or Effect of it is Jus or debitum
some due or Right, And that is either 1o a Duenesse of some wt from us wch
is either somewhat to be done or somewt to be given. 2o. be a duenesse of somewt to us, wch is either
of good, or of Evill: If Good it is either by contract or donation (whether by a Testa-
ment Law or the like) If evill, it is either by some penall law, or voluntary
agreemt; Now wch of these is it yt ye Transient fact produceth? To be a member of ye
Ch: is to be a member of a society, taking God in Xt for their God, & taken by him
for his special people. ye Act wch makes each member is of ye same nature
wth that wch makes the society; Ch: membersp then is a Relation of a pson
to a society Related to God, or a Relation to God in Xt, & to the society. the Relation then ~~& taken by him for his special people, ye act wch~~
essentially conteineth 1o. A Right to the Great benefit of Gods soveraignity over me. the
~~makes each member is of ye same nature wth that wch makes ye society~~
heade. & yt same, election, provision & other blessings, wch are due from such a powerfull
& gracious soveraigne to ~~his~~ subjects, & from such a head to his members, It's
also a right to my station in the Body, & to the inseparable benefits thereof. 2o It
conteineth my debt of obedience to God in Xt, acknowledged & promised actually
or virtually; really or reputatively. Now for the first, how can God be Related
to me as my God or Xt as my Saviour, & I to him as one yt have such Right
to him & his blessings, by any other way yn his owne free guift. This guift
must be some signification of his will. For his secret will is not a guift
but a purpose of giving. This way of giving so is by a civill or morall
Action, wc is a signifying of the donrs will. & can be by no way but either
pure Donation, contract, Testamt or Law. In or Case it must needs pertake
of the nature of al these: It is not from one in any equality, nor capable
of any obliging compensation or retribution from us: Being so from an Absolute
disengaged Benefactor, it must needs be by pure donation or it cannot be.
Yet as he is pleased as it were to oblige himself by promise, or by his word, & also to call
to a voluntary Acceptance, & engagemt to certaine fidelity gratitude & duty, & so
ye stipulator & we the promisers in the later pt of ye action, it is so justly called a con-
tract or covt, tho: indeed ye word [covent] frequently signifieth Gods owne promise
alone. As it proceedeth from the death of Xt the Testator (in natural or moral
reputation being) so it is called a Testamt. And as it is an act of a Ruling Benefactor
giving this benefit to the Governed to promote ye ends of Governmt & obliging to duty
thereby, soe it pertaketh of ye nature of a law. The commonest scripture name for this
is Gods Covt or promise & sometimes his guift, wc al signify ye same thing heer. It followes
so yt either by Gods [taking Israel to be his people] you meane some civil-political action
as a covt, promise, or ye like Collation of ye Benefit, (& yn you assert ye thing wc you deny)
or els you know not wt you meane, nor can make another knowe it wthout the
discovery of the grossest absurdities// And as for ye other thing wc is conteined in Ch:
membersp, the professed duty of man to God: It is most certaine 1o yt Gods law obligeth
us to yt duty: 2o. And obligeth al according to their capacitys to consent to yt obligation
& so to reengage ymselves. 3o yt this Actual consent professed doth so double ye obligation. And
thus by a mutual contract, covent or consent (whereof or pt is required first by a law) is
ye relation of Ch: membersp contracted. Now to lay by & deny al this, & give us ye ge-
neral naked name of [Taking for Gods people] is utterly delusory: seing yt [Taking] meane
this wc you exclude or it meanes nothing yt is true & reasonable. And so let us better see wt
it meanes// As for ye texts you cite. Deut 4.34 & Lev 20.24.26. 1 K. 8.53 Is. 43.1. In Deut 4 is mention
not of ye morall act of God by wc he made ym his people, or took ym for his owne, & founded the
Relation: but ye natural Actions whereby he rescued ym fro ye Egyptian bondage & took ym

hims. or for his own preservat & honr out of yt land. But I think sure they were his people, & all their infants were Ch. members before yt taking by virtue of a former covent taking. As to Lev. 20. God did pforme a twofold worke of separation for Israel. 1o By his wod & their entring covenat wth him. 2o By local separation of their bodies from others. It was ye first yt made ym his people & Ch. members & not ye last. yt last was only a favourable dealing wth ym as his beloved. The same I say to the other two texts. sure you cannot thinke yt corporal separation makes a Ch. member: wt if an Egiptian yt had not yet in ye wod had past out wth ye Israelites & got wth ym through ye red sea, do you thinke he had bin ergo a Ch. member.— suppose God had made no promise or covt wth Abraham or his seed, but only taken ym out of Chaldea into Canaan, & thence into Egipt, & thence into the wildernes & thence into Canaan again doe you thinke this much had made ym Ch. members.— then if ye Turks conquer Greece or ye Tartarians conquer China, yei are become Ch. members: for this seems as great a temporal ~~felicity~~ prosperity at least. And I thinke its past doubt yt Lot was a Ch. member in the midst of Sodome, & ye Israelites in Egipt before they were brought out, as truly as ~~afterwards~~. As to Gen. 12. 1. Act 7. 2. Neh. 9. 7. wc you also cite, as there is not one of ym yt gives the least intimation yt Infant Ch. membersp yn began, so I shal further enquire anon, whether or not they containe any wod or promise. so Ex. 19. 4. 5. hath no word yt gives ye least intimation, yt God by yt Act of taking ym out of Egipt did make Israel a Ch. or ye Infants or any others members of it. But only yt by fulfilling a former promise in ye deliverance of a people formerly his owne, he layeth further obligations to duty on ym by redoubling his mercys. The same I say of Lev. 11. 45. & Neh. 1. 10 I wil not beleive yet but yt you beleive yorself yt ye Israelites & their Infants were as truly Ch. members before as after their deliverance from Egipt, And me thinks ye texts you cite might put it out of doubt. wt if God say Hos. 11. 1. [whn Israel was a child I loved him & called my son out of Egipt] Is it easier hence to prove yt ~~Israel was Gods son before he~~ calld him out of Egipt did make him his son yt was none before, or to prove yt Israel was Gods son before he calld him out of Egipt. If you should maintaine ye former. I might expect yt you should say ye like of Xt himself to wm the Evangelist applieth this text, & so you may prove as fairly yt Xt was none of Gods son til he was calld out of Egipt but was made his son by that call. Certainly ye text termeth him Gods son yt was called as being so before ye call. // By this tyme I am content yt any waking man doe compare yor doct: & mine & try whether it be a Transient fact, or a law & covt yt made Infants & al others Ch. members: & if they doe not admire yt ever a learned man should harbour such a conceit as yours, & yt ever a Godly man should build such a weight on it, & goe so far on such a ground, yea & yt ever ordinary Godly people should be blinded wth such palpable non-sense, or absurdities, yt let ym stil follow you in ye darke for I expect not yt reason should recover them.

I come now to the 5th Quest. yt is to speak to ye point wc you propounded; you urge me to cite to you the particular texts yt containe this law, ordinance, precept, promise or covt. To wch I answer thus 1o. There are two sorts of laws: one wc first make a duty: ye other wc suppose it so made, & do only call for obedience, & excite thereto, or prescribe somewt as a means in order thereunto. If I could shew you no written law or promise as first constituting ye duty or granting ye priviledge of Ch. membersp, it were not ye least disparagemt to my cause, as long as I can shew you those following laws wc presuppose this. you know ye Ch. of God did live about 2000 years wthout any written law yt we know of, where then was Gods will manifested about such things as this but in Tradition & nature. If Moses yn at ye end of ye 2000 years, did find this Tradition, & finde al the Infants of Ch. members in possession of this benefit, yn what need he make a new law about it or why should God promise it as a new thing. I confess, if I should finde, by any new law or promise yt it did begin in Moses days I should thinke it some abatement of ye strength of my cause (tho yet I think there would enough remaine) 2o. There are (yet higher) two sorts of laws: the one for ye constitution of ye common wealth itself. the other for ye Administration or governt of it when it is so constituted. The former are calld by some ffundamentall laws as being laying the frame & forme of ye common wealth, & ye quality of ye materialls. I thinke indeed yt as constitutive of ye forme of ye commonwealth, these are scarce properly called laws, though as they looke forward obliging to duty, & prohibiting alterations they may. But if they be not laws, they are somewt higher, & lay the ground of al laws & obedience, & so are laws Eminenter & virtualiter, though not actually & formally: & in our case as this constitution did subiect us to God, making it duty ever after to obey him, so doth it oblige us to acknowledg ye subiection. And ye very condi

of ye Ch: is an act of high Beneficence, & performed by ye fundamentall grant or Covt
Now if this Covent & constitution could not expresly be showed in writing, it were no
diminution of the authority of it: seeing among men fundamentalls are seldome written
& when they are it is only as laws obliging ye subjects to maintaine & adhere to ye first
constitution. As long ergo as we can prove yt it is Gods will yt successively Infants should
be Ch: members, it no whit invalidates ye cause if we could not show ye originall
constitution in writing. yet somewt we shall attempt // 3o. we have ful proofe of
Infants Ch: membership by Lawes & covenants concerning it ever since ye time yt yr was
a written word of God: And yt is sufficient, if we could fetch it no higher. Having
premised this I come neerer to the Question. //

The first Institution of Infants Ch: membership de jure uppon supposition of their spiritu
was in Gods first constitution of ye Republick of ye world, wn he became mans Governor
& determined of his subjects ye members of ye commonwealth: wc Republike being
sacred, & devoted to Gods worp & service was truly a Ch: of wc God was the head. This
was performed by ye first law & covt made either in or uppon mans creation. yt such
a covent or promise of felicity was made by God to innocent man, almost al divines
agree, but bec it is rather implied yn expressed in Moses his breif history, some few
Cavillers do ergo contradict us. But 1o yt threatning of death for sin seems simply
a promise of life if he sinned not 2o. & yt new Testament affordeth us divers passages
yt yet plainlier prove it, wc to you I need not recite. But whether ye promise of life
were natural, (as ye threatning of death was) or only Positive & more arbitrary
divines are not agreed among yms. Those yt say it was free & positive give this
reason. yt God could not naturally be obliged to blesse or felicitate ye most innocent
or perfect creature, nor any creature merit of God. Those yt thinke it natural as
ye threatning was say its true yt God could not be properly obliged bec he is under no
law. no more is he obliged to punish, but only man obliged to suffer, if he inflict
it: And its true yt man cannot strictly merit of God. But yet say they, As man may
have a natural Aptitude for such felicity, so God hath both a natural propensity
to do good according to ye capacitye of yt subject, & his works do oblige him improperly
in point of fidelity or immutability as well as his word, so yt their Reasons are
these following 1o bec God is as naturally prone to do good to ye good as to do evil to the
evil: i.e. to reward as to punish: as his name proclaimed to Moses Ex 34 shews. 2o. bec God
making man capable of a higher felicity & principling him wth inclinations thereto, giving
him desires, love, & other affections for yt blessed end even ye everlasting fruition of
God, ergo say they, God did in this frame of his nature give him ground to expect such a
felicity if he sinned not: ffor els al these inclinations & affections should have bin
in vaine, but God made not so noble a creature wth vaine inclinations & affections
to act fallaciously & falsly. Also Gods works would not be harmonicall: so yt as Gods
promise is but a signe of his will obliging him improperly in point of fidelity & immuta-
bility. so say they ye nature of man was a signe of Gods wil so far engaging him:
so yt as he could not let him goe unpunished wthout some breach in ye harmony of his sapi-
entiall frame of Administration, no more could he deny to perfect man ye object
of those desires wch he formed in him. so yt although he might have made man such a
creature as should not necessarily be punished for evill or rewarded for good yt is
he might have made him not a man. yet having so made him, it is necessary yt
he be governed as a man, in regard of felicity as wel as penalty 3o. or philosophers
& divines do comonly prove yt Immortality of ye soul from its naturall inclination to
God & eternal felicity. And if yt Immortalitye may be so proved from its nature, yn also its
felicity in case of righteousnesse. I interpose not mys: as a Judge in this controversy of Di-
vines, but I have mentioned to the end wc I shal now expresse. 1o. Its most certaine
whether ye reward or promise be Natural or positive yt such a state of felicity man was either
in, or in ye way to, or in yt, & yt way to more. And its most certaine yt man was made holy, devoted
to God, & fit for his service, & yt in yt estate according to yt law of his creation, he was to increase
& multiply. Its most certaine ergo yt according to the first law of nature Infants should have bin
Ch: members. 2o. But if their opinion hold yt make ye reward grounded on ye law of nature & not
on a meer positive law (& you se yr reasons are not contemptible) yn yt Argt would yet be more ad-
vantagious. 3o. But howere it be as to yt title of glory & eternity, its most certaine yt according to ye very law of
nature Infants were to have bin members of the Ch: if man had stood. The first text yt I use for Infants Ch: member-
ship as expressing its originall de jure is Gen: 1. 26 27. 28 [so God created man in his owne image — And God blessed
ym & God said unto ym Be fruitful & multiply & replenish ye earth] Here you se by ye law of nature infants were to
have bin born in Gods image, & in innocency, & so Ch: members. And note yt first blessing God pronounceth on mankind

[illegible] propagate Children in their owne State, to be as yt [illegible]

The next institution of infants Church-membership was at the first proclamation of grace to fallen man, or in the first promise of redemption to sinners in Gen: 3.15 (and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed, and her seed: it shall bruise thy head & thou shalt bruise his heel) I will prove yt this fundamentall covenant of grace or promise doth declare it to be the will of god yt infants should be church-members: and to this end let us first consider, wt ye words expressly containe, and yn wt light may be fetcht from other texts to illustrate ym. //

It being a knowne rule yt [illegible] expositors must not turne universalls into singulars, or particulars, nor restraine & limit ye scripture generalls, where ye word it selfe, or ye nature of ye subject doth not limit ym: I may well conclude yt these things following are comprehended in this fundamentall promise. 1°. yt ye Devill having played ye enemy to mankind, & brought them into this sinne & misery, god would not leave ym remedilesse, nor to yt totall voluntary subjection to him, as he might have done: but in grace or undeserved mercy, would engage ym in a warre agt him, in wch they yt conquered, [illegible] should bruise his head. // 2°. yt in this warre ye lord Jesus Xt ye principall seed, is promised to be ye generall: whose perfect nature should containe, and his perfect life expresse a perfect enmity agt satan: & who should make a perfect conquest over him. // 3°. The lord Jesus is promised to doe this worke as ye womans seed, & so as conceived of her, & borne by her, & so as an infant first, before he comes to ripenesse of age: so yt here an infant of ye woman is promised to be ye generall of this army, & ye head of ye church: this is most Evident. by wch god doth sanctify ye humane birth, & ye infant estate, & assure us yt he doth not exclude now yt age from ye redeemed church, wch he admitted into ye church by ye laws of creation: for ye first promise is of an infant borne of the woman to be ye head of ye church: & growing up to maturity to doe ye works of a head: had god excluded ye infant estate from ye visible church, he would not have made ye head first an infant. where note. 1°. yt Xt is ye great exemplar of his church, & in things wch he was capable of, he did yt first in his owne body, wch he would after doe in theirs. 2°. yt ye head is a member, even ye principall member, one of ye two parts wch constitute ye whole: as ye pars imperans & ye pars subdita doe constitute each comonwealth. so yt if an infant must be a member eminently so called, yn infants are not excluded from membership: but are hereby clearly warranted to be members of a lower nature: if an infant may be soveraigne, noe doubt he may be a subject: if an infant may be ye cheife prophet of ye church: yn noe doubt but infants may be disciples. if you still harp on ye old string, & say they are noe disciples yt learne not: you may as well say, he is noe prophet yt teacheth not. & if you will openly deny Xt in infancy to have been ye prophet of ye church, I will undertake to prove ye falshood & vilenesse of yt opinion, as soon as I know you owne it: this promise yn of an infant head doth declare gods mind, yt he will have infant members: because ye head is ye principall member. // 4°. as ye warre is here proclaimed, & ye generall or cheife comander constituted: so next here is a naturall enmity put into ye whole seed of ye woman, or humane nature, agt ye whole seed of ye serpent yt yn was, or ye Diabolicall nature. this is plaine both in ye text, & in ye experience of ye fulfilling of it. As in ye instrumentall serpent, it is ye whole serpentine nature, yt hath an enmity to ye humane nature, & ye whole humane nature to ye serpentine nature, they being venomous to us, & we abhorring ym as venemous, & as such as or lifes are in danger of: so is it ye whole humane nature yt is at enmity to ye Diabolicall nature vide Muscul: Calvin: Luther: in locum. All men have naturally as great an abhorrence of ye devill, as of a serpent: they apprehend him to be their enemy: they abhorre ye very name and remembrance of him: if they doe but dream of him it terrifys ym. they are afraid of seeing him in any apparition: if they know any temptation to be from him, so farre they dislike it, & abhorre it, though for ye thing presented they may cherish it. this is not speciall saving grace, but this is a great advantage to ye worke of speciall grace, & to ye more effectuall resisting of temptations, & entertaining ye help yt is offered us agt ym. when our very natures have an enmity to ye Diabolicall nature. We now look on him as having ye power of death, as gods executioner, & ye destroyer & malicious adversary. And if there be any witch, or other wicked person yt hath contracted such familiarity & amity with him, as yt his naturall enmity is thereby overcome, yt proveth not yt it was not naturally there, but yt they by greater wickednesse are growne so farre unnaturall. // 5°. As this enmity is established in the [illegible] nature of mankind agt ye Diabolicall nature: so is yr a further enmity Legally proclaimed agt ye Diabolicall pravity, malignity & workes, vid: Paraeum in locum. god will put an enmity by his laws (both naturall & positive) making it ye duty of mankind to take satan for their enemy, to resist & [illegible] him as an enemy, & fight against him, & abhorre his workes; & so to list ymselves under ye generall yt fighteth agt him, to take his colours, & to be of his army. and this being spoken of ye comon [illegible]

of mankind, and not only of ye elect (for it is not they only yt are obliged to this hostility &
warfare) belongeth to each one according to their capacities: & so ye infants being at ye parents
dispose, it is they yt are to list ym in this army agt ye enemy of mankind. of wch more anon. //
6. A third & higher enmity is yet here comprehended, & yt is an habituall or dispositive enmity agt
ye Diabolicall malignity, pravity & works, wch may be called (naturall) as it is ye bent or byas of or new
nature. this god giveth only to his chosen and not to all: And it containeth not only their consent
to list ymselves in his army agt Satan, but specially and ꝓperly a hatred to him as ye prince of
unrighteousnesse, & a cordiall resolution to fight agt him, & his works universally to ye death,
together with a complacency in god & his service & soldiers. // here take a short ꝓspect of ye
blessed effects of ye mysterious blessed Trinity: as god is one in three, & in his entity hath unity
verity & goodnesse, & in his blessed nature hath posse, scire, velle, power wisdome & love:
as from these he is related both to his created & redeemed rationall creatures, as absolute ꝓprie-
tary, as soveraigne ruler, & as most gratious benefactour: as lord of our nature he hath put ye foresaid
enmity between ye humane nature & ye Diabolicall: as soveraigne ruler he hath by legislation
imposed on us a further enmity as our duty, yt wee should be listed in his army, ꝓfesse
hostility agt Satan, & fight agt him to ye death: as benefactour he giveth speciall grace to
doe this to his chosen: as he is lord of all so ye first is done on ye natures of all: as he is
rectour of all, but not by ye same laws (as to positives), so he obligeth all to this hostility,
but not all as he doth those yt hear ye Gospell: as he is benefactour he doth with his own
as he list, & makes a difference. // If any say yt it is ye same enmity yt is here said to be
put in all, & so ye same ꝓsons in wm its put: I answer 1o. theres noe proof of either: A generall
command or ꝓmise to a community, may signifye a difference of dutys or gifts to ye community,
though ye difference be not expressed: for ye nature of ye subject may reqre it. and 2o. experience
of ye fulfilling of this ꝓmise or covenant shews ye difference before mentioned. // and its well
known. 1o. yt Moses is so concise in ~~[illegible]~~ the history of those matters. 2o. & yt ye mys-
tery of grace was to be opened by degrees, & so but darkely at ye first, yt it is noe won-
der if wee find ye whole summe of ye Gospell here couched up in so narrow a room, & if each
ꝓticular be not so largely layd open before our eyes. // 7o yt wee may certainly know
yt this ꝓmise speaks not only of ye enmity yt Xt himselfe should have to Satan, & doth not
engage a generall without an army, god doth here expressly mention ye womans [illegible] her-
selfe, saying (I will put enmity between thee & ye woman) so yt as shee stood in a three-
fold respect she is here herselfe possessed with this threefold enmity. 1o. as she is ye root
of humane nature from whence all mankind must spring, she is possessed with ye natu-
rall enmity to ye Diabolicall nature, & this to be naturally conveyed and ꝓpagated. 2o.
as she was ye root of ye great Republike of ye world, or yt rationall society wch god as
rectour ~~[illegible]~~ would sapientially governe, & herselfe with her husband (who no doubt was also
included in ye ꝓmise) were ye whole ym existent race of mankind, so did she receive
a legall enmity of obligation, wch she was traditionally to deliver downe to all her pos-
terity: being her selfe hereby obliged to list herselfe, & all her infant ꝓgeny in ye redee-
mers army agt ye proclaimed enemy, & to teach her posterity to doe ye like. for thus
obligatory ꝓcepts might be brought downe. 3o. as she was one of ye chosen favourites of
god, she received ye habituall enmity of sanctification: and this is not in her power to
ꝓpagate, though she may use some means yt are appointed thereunto: & whether a ꝓmise of
any such thing be made to her seed on ye use of such means, I will not now stand to
discusse. // 8o it is not all yt are possessed with ye naturall enmity agt ye Devill
himselfe yt are ye ~~[illegible]~~ church of Xt, for this is but a comon ꝓparative wch is in all;
nor is it all yt are obliged to ye further enmity agt ye works of Satan: but all yt on
yt obligation are duely listed in Xts army agt Satan (by ye obliged ꝓsons) are visible
members, & all yt are by sanctification at a hearty enmity (habituall or actuall) with ye
Kingdome of Satan, are members of ye church called mysticall or invisible. this I suppose
as granted. // 9o. those yt violate this fundamentall obligation, & to their naturall pravity
shall adde a fighting agt Xt & his kingdome for Satan & his kingdome, are become
selves ye seed of ye serpent. and though they had ye naturall enmity with ye rest of mankind in
generall, agt Satan, yet have they therewithall ye habituall enmity against Xt. this must I
suppose as out of controversy. but whether also ye first originall corrupted nature itselfe
(before any sinne agt recovering grace) did containe an habituall enmity agt ye Kingdome
of ye redeemer, or whether ye sins of latter parents may ꝓpagate this as an additionall corruption

in of nature; I will not now stand to discusse. only as to our ꝓsent businesse it is certaine yt ye generall naturall enmity to Satan, may consist with an habituall friendship to his waies & cause. and though as men they may have ye first comon advantage of nature, & as subjects de jure may be under ye comon obligation, yea & as listed in Xts army may have many of its priviledges, yet for ye enmity of disposition to Xt they may be under a greater curse. // 10°. As it is certaine yt it is not only Xt himselfe yt is here made ye object of this ꝓmise, & is here called (ye seed of ye woman) (as is before ꝓved, and may be more & is comonly granted), so it is to be noted yt those others in whom this enmity is put are called here (ye seed of ye woman) and not ye seed of Xt (though ye chief of ym are his seed) and so ye ꝓmise is made to none but ye womans seed, & no exception put in agt infants or any age of all her seed. Till you can ꝓve yt infants are none of her seed, wee must take this fundamentall ꝓmise to extend to infants: & yt very plainely without using any violence with ye text. // 11°. Some learned men doe use noe contemptible arguments to ꝓve further yt ye sanctifying enmity is here ꝓmised to ye seed of ye woman as her seed (I mean those yt goe ye way of Dr Ward Mr Bedford &c.): yt is, yt as ye two former sortes of enmity are put into all ye seed of ye woman (as is explained) so ye speciall holy enmity is ꝓmised to her seed as she is a believer

12°. and some learned men do accordingly conclude yt ye impiety of parents may do much to hinder their children from yt blessing, more ym by originall sinne they were hindred; & so their faith may further ym. of wch though much may be sayd, I shall say noe more, because I will not stand on things soe much questioned. // I come next to ꝓve from other parts of scripture yt ye fundamentall ꝓmise of grace is thus to be interpreted as including infants. // 1. If ye same covenant of grace when it is more fully and clearly opened doe expressly comprehend infants, as to be church members; ym is this fundamentall ꝓmise so to be understood (or ym doth this also comprehend ym) but ye antecedent is certaine, ergo so is ye consequent. // ye antecedent I ꝓve from ye covenant of grace made to Abraham ye father of ye faithfull, wch comprehended infants for church members: The covenant made with Abraham comprehending infants was ye same with this in Gen. 3. but in some things clearlyer opened. wch is ꝓved thus: both these were ye covenant of grace & free justification by faith in ye redeemer. ergo they were ye same. for yr is but one such: if Abraham had some speciall ꝓmises additionall to ye main covenant ~~of grace, and free justification by faith in the redeemer~~. ~~yet~~ yt makes not ye covenant of free justification by faith to be divers: yt this in Gen. 3. is ye ꝓmise or covenant of grace & free justification is not denyed yt I know of: yt ye ꝓmise to Abraham was ye same is evident, from Rom. 4. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 1°. it is here expressly manifest yt ye covenant whereof circumcision was to Abraham ye seal was ye covenant of free justification by faith; circumcision its selfe being a seal of ye righteousnesse of faith wch Abraham had being yet uncircumcised, yt he might be ye father of believers. &c. 2° yea ye ꝓmise yt he should be heir of ye world was not made to Abraham, or to his seed through ye law, but through ye righteousnesse of faith. now its certaine yt this covenant sealed by circumcision & made to Abraham & his seed, did comprehend infants. // The consequence of ye major ꝓpn is evident yt ye same ꝓmise expressed more concisely is to be expounded by ye same expressed more fully: & it's acknowledged yt ye gospell light & grace was to be manifested by certaine degrees. // 2°. yt ye first fundamentall ꝓmise is thus to be interpreted I further ꝓve by gods constant administration in ye ꝑformance of it: concerning wch I doe make this challenge to you (wth modesty & submission), to ꝓve if you can yt there was ever one church member yt had infants borne to him whilst he was in yt estate, from ye beginning of ye world to this day whose infants also were not church members; except only ye Anabaptists, who refuse & deny ye mercy, & so refuse to dedicate their infants in baptisme unto Xt: and whither their infants be church members I will not determine affirmatively or negatively at this time. I do againe urge you to it yt you may not forget it, to ꝓve to me yt ever yr was one infant of a church member in the world since ye creation to this day, yt was not a church member, (except ye Anabaptists yt refuse ye mercy or deny it.) //

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Before I ꝓceed to any more texts of scripture I will a little enquire into ye light or law of nature its selfe, & see wt yt saith to ye point in hand. and first we shall consider of ye duty of dedicating infants to god in Xt, & next of gods acceptance of ym, & entertaining them into yt estate. And ye first is most evidently contained in ye law of nature

it selfe. (at least, on supposition yt there be any hopes of gods entertaining ym), wch [illegible]
1o this law of nature bindeth us to give to every one his owne due: but infants are gods owne but
yt law of nature bindeth parents to give ym up to god: by (giving) here, I mean not an alienation of
pty to make yt to be gods wch was not so before; but an acknowledgment of his right, wch a free
nation & dedication of ye infant to god, as his owne, for his use & service wn he is capable thereof.
you say infants being not capable of doing service, should not be devoted to it till they can do it, I answ
they are capable at present of a legall obligation to future duty, & also of ye relation wch followeth
obligation, together wth ye honour of a churchmember (as ye child of a noble man is of his honours &
to his inheritance) & many other mercys of ye covenant: & though Xt according to his humanity
was not capable to doe ye workes of a mediatour or head of ye church in his infancy, yet for all yt
must be head of ye church yn, & not (according to his arguing) stay till he were capable of doing
those workes. and so is it with his members. // 2o. ye law of nature bindeth all parents to do their
best to secure gods right, & their childrens good, & to prevent their sinne & misery: but to engage
ym betimes to god by such a dedication, doth tend to secure gods right, & their childrens good & to
prevent their sinne & misery: for they are under a double obligation, wch they may be minded of
betimes, & wch may hold ym ye more strongly to their duty, and disadvantage ye tempter yt
would draw ym of from god. 3o the law of nature bindeth parents in love to their chi
to enter ym into ye most honourable & profitable society, if they have but leave so to doe: but
parents have leave to enter ym into ye church, wch is ye most honourable & profitable society: go
yt they have leave is proved 1o god never forbade any man in the world to do this sincerely (the
wicked & unbeleivers cannot doe it sincerely) and a not forbidding is to be interpreted as leave
in case of such participation of benefits: as all lawes of men in doubtfull cases are to be
interpreted κατ' ἐπιείκειαν in the most favourable sense. so hath Xt taught us to inter-
pret his owne: wn they speake of duty to god they must be interpreted in the strictest sense
wn they speake of benefits to man, they must be interpreted in ye most favourable sense, yt they
will beare. 2o. It is ye more evident yt a not forbidding in such cases is to be taken for leave
because god hath put ye principle of selfe preservation, & desiring our owne wellfare, & ye welfare
of or children so deep in humane nature, yt he can noe more lay it by, yn he can cease to be a
reasonable creature: and so he may lawfully actuate or exercise this naturall neces-
sary principle of seeking his owne or childrens reall happinesse, wherever god doth not restrain
or prohibit him: we need no positive command to seeke or owne or childrens happinesse, but
wt is in ye law of nature its selfe: & to use this, where god forbiddeth not, if good be there
to be found cannot be unlawfull. 3o. It is evident from what is sayd before (& elsewhere)
yt it is more yn a silent leave of infants churchmembership, yt god hath vouchsafed us: for
the forementioned fundamentall promise explained more fully in after times god sig-
nified his will yt so it should be. it cannot be denyed but there is some hope at least
given to ym in the first promise, & yt in ye generall promise to ye seed of ye woman, they
are not excluded, there be noe excluding tearms. Upon so much encouragement &
hopes ym it is ye duty of parents by ye law of nature to enter their infants into ye covenant, & in
yt society yt partake of these hopes, & to list ym into ye army of Xt. 4o. It is ye duty of parents
by ye law of nature to accept of any allowed or offered benefit for their children, but ye relation
of a member of Xts church or army, is an allowed or offered benefit to ym. go. &c. // for ye
major these principles in ye law of nature doe containe it. 1o. yt ye infant is not sui juris
but is at his parents dispose in all things yt are for its good: yt ye parents have power to
oblige their children to any future duty or suffering yt is certainly to their owne good: &
may enter ym into covenants accordingly: & so farre ye will of ye father is as it were
will of ye child. 2o. yt it is unnaturally sinfull for a parent to refuse to do such a thing
when it is to ye great benefit of his owne child: as if a prince would offer honours &
lordships, & immunitys to him & his heires: if he will not accept this for his heires, but only
for himselfe, it is unnaturall: yea if he will not oblige his heires to some small & rea-
sonable conditions for ye enjoying of such benefits. // for ye minor yt this relation is an
allowed or offered benefit to infants, is manifested already, & more shall bee. // this
leads me up to ye 2d point wch I propounded to consider of, whither by ye light or law of
nature we can prove yt infants should have ye benefit of being churchmembers; supposing it first
knowne by supernaturall revelation yt parents are of yt society, & how generall ye promise is,
how gracious god is. and 1o. it is certaine to us by nature, yt infants are capable of this

benefit, if god deny it not, but will give it ym as well as ye aged. //. 2°. it is [illegible]
they are actually members of all ye commonwealths in ye world (perfecte sed imperfecta membra):
being secured from violence by ye laws, & capable of honours, & right to inheritances, & of being
reall subjects, under obligations to future dutys, if they survive. & this shows yt they are also ca-
pable of being churchmembers, & yt nature revealeth to us, yt ~~infant~~ ye infants case much fol-
loweth ye case of ye parents, especially in benefits. //. 3°. nature hath actually taught most peo-
ple on earth, (so farre as I can learne) to repute their infants in ye same religious society
with ymselves; as well as in ye same civill society. //. 4°. under ye covenant of workes (commonly
so called) or ye perfect rigorous law yt god made with man in his pure nature, ye infants should
have been in ye church, & a people holy to god, if ye parents had continued so ymselves. and consider
1°. yt holynesse & righteousnesse yn were ye same things as now; & yt in ye establishing of ye way
of propagation, god was noe more obliged to order it so, yt ye children of righteous parents should
have been born with all ye perfections of their parents, & enjoyed ye same priviledges, yn he was ob-
liged in making ye covenant of grace to grant yt infants should be of ye same society with their pa-
rents, & have ye immunityes of yt society. 2°. we have no reason, wn ye designe of redemption is ye
magnifying of love, & grace, to think yt love & grace are so much lesse under ye Gospell to ye
members of Xt, yn under ye law to ye members or seed of Adam: as yt yn all ye seed should have
partaked of ye same blessings with ye righteous parents, & now they shall all be turned out of ye society
whereof ye parents were members. //. 5°. god gives us himselfe ye reasons of his gracious dealing
with ye children of ye just, from his gratious nature, proclaiming even shewing mercy to thousands.
Exodus. 34. & in ye second commandment. //. 6°. god doth yet shew us yt in many very great &
weighty respects he dealeth well or ill with children for their parents sakes: as many texts of scrip-
ture shew (& I have lately proved at large in one of our private disputes, yt ye sins of nearest
parents are imputed as part of our originall or naturall guilt.). so much of yt. //. yet before I
cite ~~[illegible]~~ any more particular texts, I will adde this one argument from ye tenour of ye covenant
of grace, as expressed in many texts of scripture. //. According to ye tenour of ye covenant of grace
god will not refuse to be their god, & take ym for his people, yt are (in a naturall or law sense) willing to be
his people, & to take him for their god: but ye infants of believing parents are thus willing: ergo: The
Major is unquestionable, ye Minor is proved from ye very law of nature, before expressed: infants can-
not be actually willing ymselves in a naturall sense, yrfore ye reason & will of another must be theirs in
law sense: & yt is of ye parents who have ye full dispose of ym, & are warranted by ye law of nature, to
chose for ym (for their good) till they come to use of reason ymselves. the parents go by ye light & law of
nature chosing ye better part for their children, and offering ym, & devoting ym to god, by ye obli-
gation of his owne naturall law, he cannot in consistency with ye free grace revealed in ye
Gospell, refuse those yt are so offered: and those yt thus come to him in ye way yt nature its-
selfe prescribeth, he will in noe wise cast out. Joh. 7:37. and he will be offended with those yt
would keep ym from him, yt are offered by those who have power to do it, though they cannot offer
ymselves. for legally this act is taken for their owne. Thus I have shewed you some of ye
fundamentall title, yt infants of believers have to churchmembership, & our obligation to dedicate
ym to god. //. you must now in reason expect yt infants churchmembership being thus esta-
blished partly in ye law of nature & partly in ye fundamentall promise wt is after this spoken
of it should not be any new establishment, but confirmations, & intimations of wt was before
done, rather giving us ye proofe yt such a law & promise there is yt did so establish it, yn being
such first-establishing lawes & promises ymselves. and from hence I may well adde this further
argument. //. if yr be certaine proofe in scripture of infants churchmembership, but none besides
this before ~~[illegible]~~ alledged yt makes any mention of ye beginning of it, but all speaking
of it as no new thing, yn we have great reason upon ye fore mentioned evidence to assigne it
this beginning, wch from Gen. 3. we have exprest: but ye former is true, ergo ye latter. //. you
confesse yt infants were once churchmembers; you only conceive it began wn Abraham was
called out of Ur: your conceit hath not a word to support it in ye text: the right to such a
blessing was yn new to Abraham's seed, wn Abraham first believed: but wn it began to belong to
infants of believers in generall, no text except this before cited doth mention: nor doth ye promise to
Abraham intimate any inception yn, as to ye churchmembership of infants, but only an applica-
tion of a priviledge to him, yt in ye generall was no new thing. //.

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Now for ye texts yt further intimate such a foregoing establishment. 1°. there seemes to be some
believing intimation of this in Adams naming his wife, ye mother of ye living: for it is to be no-
ted wt Bp. Usher saith Anal: vol. 1. p. 2. unde tunc primum (post semen promissum) mulieri Evae
nomen a marito est impositum. Gen. 3. 20. quod mater futura esset omnium viventium
non naturalem tantum vitam, sed illud quoque quod est per fidem in semen ipsius, Messiam promissum
quomodo et post eam Sarra fidelium mater est habita. 1. Pet. 3. 6. Gal. 4. 31.) so put the

[illegible] hir after ye promise because she was to be ye mother of all living, not only yt live ye life
but yt is by fayth in ye Messiah hir seed: so yt as shee was ye root of our nature, wee are hir naturall seed
she was a believer, & wee ye seed of hir a believer, so is she ye mother of a holy seed, & wee yt are hir seed are
as a people visibly dedicated to god. //. 2o wn Cain was borne his mother called him (possession) because she had ob-
tained a man of ye lord, yt is sayth Ainsworth (with his favour, & of his good will) & so a sonne of promise & of ye
church. And so it is to be noted yt wn Cain had sinned by killing his brother, god did curse him, & cast him out of
his presence. Gen. 4. 14. 16. so yt he was excommunicate & separated from ye church of god, (sayth Ainsworth) yt
is from ye place of gods word, and publike worship, wch in likelyhood was held by Adam ye father, who being a
prophet had taught his children how to sacrifice, & serve ye lord. so one ye contrary to come into gods presence
or before him. 1. Chr. 16. 29. is explained in Psal. 96. 8. to be ye coming into his courts: very
learned men give ye same exposition of it. now if Cain were now excommunicate, yn was he before of ye
church: nay yts certaine, by his sacrificing, & other proofe, however this text be interpreted. but no man can
give ye least reason from scripture to make it so probable, yt he entred into ye church at any other time, as
give of his entrance at his nativity. //. also wn Eve bare Seth she so named him as a son of mercy
as appointed hir by ye lord to be in Abells roome; faythfull as Abell, & ye father of or lord after ye flesh: as
Ainsworth on Gen. 4. 25. and is there noe intimation in this, yt Seth was an infant member of ye visible
church: I confesse he yt shall excommunicate this appointed seed; or say yt Seth was without ye church in
his infancy, doth speake in my eares so improbably & so unlike ye scripture, yt I am very confident, I shall not
believe him. //. Note also yt as god had thus cast out Cain & supplied Abells roome by Seth, & had given
of ym posterity, so we find him in a speciall manner registring ye successors of ye righteous, & putting two
titles one those two distinct generations, calling some ye sonns of god, & others ye daughters of men
Gen. 6. 2. supposing yt you reject ye old conceit yt those sons of god were Angells yt fell in love
with women; ye current ordinary exposition I thinke will stand: yt these were ye progeny of Seth &
other members of ye church, who are called ye sons of god, & yt it was ye progeny of Cain & other wicked ones
yt are called ye daughters of men: where note, yt they are not ymselves denominated wicked, but ye children
of men, as being a generation separated from ye church, from ye birth. and ye other are not ymselves affir-
med to be truly godly ones, but sons of god, as being ye seed of ye saints not cast out, but members of ye church
or ye sons of those who were devoted to god, & so devoted to him ymselves: a separated generation belonging to
god as his visible church; where note yt those yt are called ye sons of god, even ye line of Seth, & other
godly parents were yet so wicked yt god repented yt he made ym, & destroyed ym in ye flood, sparing only Noah &
his family: so yt it was not their owne godlynesse yt made ym called ye sons of god, but their relation
church state, & visible separation, from open unchurched idolaters: compare this phrase with ye like Deut.
14. 1. 2. Cor. 6. 18. in ye former its sayd (ye are ye children of ye lord your god, ye shall not cut your-
selves. &c.) where ye whole people, infants & all, are called gods children, as being a people separated to
him from ye idolatrous world, & so in ye next verse called ~~[illegible]~~ a holy people unto god peculiar
to him, &c. and 2. Cor. 6. 18. come out from among ym & be ye separate &c. & I will be a father
to you, & ye shall be my sons & daughters sayth ye lord Almighty) so yt gods sons & daughters are ye soci-
ety yt are separated from idolaters, unto ye worship of god, as ye visible church is: and yn it appeares
yt ye generation of ye righteous, even from ye womb were annumerated, to ye rest, in yt they are not
mentioned as a people called out here & there, & initiated at age (there's noe mention of any such
thing): but as a stocke or generation opposed to ye daughters of men, or of ye unchurched, who were
such from their infancy as all will grant. for it was not ye same men yt were ye parents of those
here called the daughters of men, & ye sons of god (though some of ye latter might be excommunicate
wn they fell): but it plainly intimates yt it was another sort of men, yt these were ye daughters
of; yn those yt were parents to ye sons of god. //. so Ainsworth in locum (ye sons of god: i: e: ye men
of ye church of god, for so such Moses sayth Deut. 14. 1. & ~~P~~ 1. John. 3. 1. Daughters of men: meaning
of Cains posterity yt were out of gods church: Gen. 4. 14.) so our annotations & many more. //. also an
intimation of this priviledge, & yt they were sons of mercy, & of ye promise, appeareth in ye very names
of many of ye children of ye righteous, both before & after ye flood; wch I will not stand on particularly. //.
and wn all ye world had so defiled ymselves yt god was resolved to cutt ym off, he spared Noah & his fami-
ly, or sons; though Cham was to be cursed, yet was he of ye church, wch worshipped ye true god, & spared
as a sonne of Noah, & one of yt society. and if god so farre spared him yn, for his fathers sake, as
to house him in ye arke (ye type of ye church), he sure tooke him to be of ye same society in his infancy
& yn bare him ye same favour one ye same account. //. as soon as Noah came out of ye arke god
blessed himselfe in his issue, as he did Adam with an (increase & multiply), & made a covenant with
him, & his seed after him: wch covenant though ye expressed part of it be yt ye earth should be noe
more drowned, & so it was made with ye wickedst of Noahs seed, & even with ye beasts of ye field:
yet doth it import a speciall favour to Noah & his seed, as one wm god would show a more speciall res-
pect to, as he had done in his deliverance; & upon this speciall favour to him ye creatures fare
ye better: for though ye word (covenant) be ye same to man & beast, yet ye diversity of ye [illegible]
& his capacity may put a different sense on ye same word as applied to each. //. And indeed it should
seem but a sad blessing to Noah to hear an (increase & multiply) if all his infant posterity must

is cast or left out of ye visible church, & so left as comon & unclean: this were to increase &
multiply ye kingdome of ye devill: if he yt was so mercifully housed in ye arke with all his children
must now be so blest as to have all their issue to be out of ye church: it were a strange change in god,
& a strange blessing on Noah! & an uncomfortable stablishing of a covenant with his seed, if all yt seed must
be so thrust from god, & dealt with as ye seed of cursed Kain. // moreover it is certaine yt Noah did prophe-
tically, or at least, truly pronounce ye blessing on Shem & Japhet: & in Shem's blessing he blesseth
~~[illegible]~~ ye lord his god, showing yt god was his god, & hee in covenant with him: & it is plaine yt it is
not only ye persons but ye posterityes of his three sons yt Noah here intended: It was not Cham himselfe
so much as Canaan, & his succeeding posterity yt were to be servants to Shem & Japhet, yt is to their
posterity: and ye blessing must be to ye issue of Shem, as well as ye curse to ye issue of Cham: & indeed
a Hebrew Doctour would take it ill at yt expositour or divine whosoever, yt should presume to exclude
ye infant seed of Shem out of gods church: & well they may; if in ye blessing god be pronounced to
be their god, sayth Ainsworth in loc. (under this Shem also himselfe receiveth a blessing: for bles-
sed is ye people whose god Jehovah is. Psal. 144. 15. & eternall life is implyed herein; for god
hath prepared for ym a city, of ~~[illegible]~~ wch he is not ashamed to be called their god. Heb. 11. 16. &
~~[illegible]~~ Sem is ye first man in scripture yt hath expresly this honour) // Moreover in
Gen. 9. 27. in Japhets blessing there is much though in few words to this purpose intimated. first
note yt ye Jewish church is called (ye tents of Sem): from whence it appeareth yt ye church priviledges
of yt people begun not with or from Abraham, but were before: & yt it is ye same church yt was of
Sem, & of Abraham; & after all ye additionall promises to Abraham ye Jewish church is still denominated (ye
tents of Sem): now they were ye tents of Sem before Abraham's dayes, & ergo it is clear yt it being ye
same church, must be supposed to have ye same sort of members or materialls: & ergo infants must be
members before Abrahams dayes as well as after. // that church wch was Sem's tents had infant-
church members: (for ye Jewes church is so called into wch Japhet was to passe) but ye church both before
& after Abraham was Sem's tents: ergo. // yet further let it here be noted yt it is into Shem's tents yt
Japhet must passe: I suppose yt ye evidence is better here for yt exposition yt applieth ye word (dwell)
to Japhet, yn to god: & so yt this is spoken of ye conversion of ye gentiles: as many expositors have cleared
it at large: and so (as Ainsworth sayth) ye sense is yt Japhet shall be (united wth ye church of ye Jewes, ye
posterity of Sem, wch was fullfilled when ye gentiles became joynt heires, & of ye same body, & joynt par-
takers of gods promise in Xt, ye stop of ye partition wall being broken downe. &c. Ephes. 3. 6. & 2. 14. 19.
although it may further imply ye grafting of Japhet's children into ye stock of ye church; when Sems posterity
ye Jews, should be cut off. &c.) vid. ult. // now if it be Sems tents, even ye same church yt Japhets children
must dwell in, yn as Sems infants were church members; so must Japhets, & not all his infant seed
be cast, or left out: so yt here is a promise of infant church membership unto ye gentiles in these words. //
Wee come next to ye promise made to Abraham, wch I shall say ye lesse to because you confesse it: but
again note yt whereas your selfe make ye beginning of gods taking ye Jews to be his people, & so of
infants to be ~~[illegible]~~ members of ye church, to be at Abraham's call from Ur. 1o. yr is not one
word of yt in text. 2o. Lot came out of Ur, with Abraham, yea & from Haran, & lived with him:
were not Lot & his infants church-members yn? 3o. ye chiefe note I intend is this: yt yr is no more
sayd yn to prove infants churchmembers, yn we have showed was sayd long before, & is sayd after of ye
gentiles infants, no nor so much: if ergo ye passage of Abraham out of Ur, yea or ye promise made to
him in Haran. Gen. 12. 2. 3. will prove infants churchmembership, yn have we as good proofe of it,
to ye Gentile church, as to ye Jews. // and here I note further yt in ye beginning before ye command for
circumcision you plainely yeild yt infant-churchmembership is a thing separable from circum-
cision, & began not with it, but before. and indeed I think I have evinced yt to you in my booke
of baptisme: Abraham himselfe was not made a member by circumcision, but circumcised be-
cause a member of Xts church by fayth: Ismael was a member before, & so was Isaack, & ye infants
borne in Abrahams house. // Whether yr were any promise or precept of this (but a meer transient
fact) let ye text last mentioned, & ye following bear witnesse. Gen. 12. 2. 3. (in thee shall all fa-
milyes of ye earth be blessed) & Gen. 17. 7. 9. 10. (and I will establish my covenant between me &
thee, & thy seed after thee ~~[illegible]~~ ~~& I will be their~~ in their generations for an everlasting covenant
to be a god unto thee, & thy seed after thee — & I will be their god: and god sayd to Abraham, thou shalt
keep my covenant ergo thou, & thy seed after thee in their generations. this is my covenant wch ye
shall keep between me & you, & thy seed ~~after~~: every male ~~child~~ among you shall be circum-
cised, & ye shall circumcise ye flesh of yr foreskin; & it shall be a token of ye covenant between
me and you. &c.) to vers. 15. // In all this let these things be noted. 1o. yt there is an expresse promise
or covenant to Abraham & his seed after him. 2o. yt it is not only de presenti but for ye future, called
an everlasting covenant. 3o. yt this promise or covenant doth manifestly imply & include infant
churchmembership (as you confesse). 4o. yt yet here is not ye least word yt intimates an institu-
tion of it de novo, but rather ye contrary plainely intimated. ye promises before Gen. 17. are
mainly about ye multiplication of Abrahams seed: wt is yt to church-membership (except wt in-
timates ye promised seed & his ~~children~~ church of wch anon)? Hagar hath a promise also of ye multiplication

of Ishmaels seed: and ye precept of circumcision is only for one part of ye infant-members. 6. 2. & yrfore yt cannot be ye foundation of their church-membership wch leaves out halfe ye members. 5. yt ye ꝓmise yt god will be their god doth expressly containe ye church membership of ye seed. 6o. note this is more yn a transient fact, &c. being an everlasting covenant, had it been a naturall ent fact, yt had left no ꝑmanent title behind it, in ye obligation of ye covenant; yn it had been and void, as soon as spoken: yn ye word of god is but a bare sound, & of noe further force. 7o. yt ye Apostle (as is sayd) Rom. 4. 10. 11. 12. 13. doth fully manifest to us, yt this ꝓmise was made to Abraham as a beleiver, & yt circumcision was a seal of ye righteousnesse of fayth, wch he had ing yet uncircumcised: & so yt ye cheife part of ye covenant of having god for a god, & his king us as his peculiar people, belongs to ye gentiles, as well as to ye Jews. 8o. and he oft shew yt ye faythfull are Abrahams seed; & so ye cheife blessings of ye ꝓmise belong to all ye faythfull but one of ye blessings was yt their infants should be comprehended in ye same church & covenant so ye infants of ye faythfull who are ye heires of ye same ꝓmise must be comprehended in it too: 9. I thinke it is not to be made light of as to this matter, yt in ye great ꝓmise Gen. 12. 3. ye blessing from Abraham in Xt is ꝓmised to all ye families or tribes on earth. (all ye familys of ye earth shall be blessed) as ye Heb. Samar. Arabic. or (all ye kindreds) as ye vulgar lat. & Chalde Paraph. or (all ye tribes) as ye Sept. πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαί, and doubtlesse it is by Christ yt this blessing is ꝓmised & a gospell blessing (so ye Syriack adds (& in thy seed) & ye Arab. hath (by thee)) & ye Apostle fully testifyeth yt: so yt as tribes kindreds, familyes doe must certainly comprehend ye infants, it was to such familyes yt ye ꝓmise was made before Xt, as to ye Jewish church; so is it express to such families or tribes yt ye ꝓmise is made as to ye gentiles since Xt: how yrfore infants ma be excluded those familyes, or this ꝓmise, without apparent violence to ye text, I cannot yet see. 10o. Note yt as infant churchmembership is here (cleerly) implyed in infant-circumcision, so they are distinct things, & as ye signe is here comanded de novo, so ye thing signified, (I mean ye duty of engaging and devoting to god, as their god in covenant) is comanded with it, though not de novo, as a thing now begunne, as ye signe did: so yt here is in circumcision not only a comand to do ye circumcising outward act, but also to doe it as a signe of ye covenant, & so withall, for ye parents to engage their children to god in covenant, as their god, & devote ym to him as his separated peculiar people so yt here are two distinct dutyes concurrent, ye one externall newly instituted; ye other internall, not newly instituted: & so ye former may cease, & yet ye latter stand: & its no proof yt ye latter (covenant-engagement of infants to god) is ceased, because ye signe of circumcision is ceased: no more yn it ꝓves yt such covenant-engagement did yn begin, when circumcision did begin: or yt women were not church-members separated, engaged, dedicated to god in infancy, because they were not circumcised: and no more yn you can ꝓve yt all Israell was unchurched in ye wildernesse, wn they were uncircumcised for 40 yeares. so yt here you have a comand for entring infants as churchmembers; & so you see both ꝓmise & precept in Gen. 12. 3. & Gen. 17. //. and wn I consider ye parents, breeding, & manners of Rebecka, I thinke it farre more ꝓbable yt she was a churchmember from her infancy, yn yt she was entred afterwards at age or yt she was a heathen or infidell wn Isaac married her. //. and as here are before mentioned standing covenants, so it is to be noted how god intimateth ye extent of ye maine blessing yn to be further yn to Abrahams naturall seed; not only in ye expresse ꝓmise of ye blessing to all ye nations or familyes on earth (of wch before), but in ye assigned reason of ye blessing, wch is comon to Abraham wth other true beleivers. for Gen. 22. 16. 17. 18. its thus alledged (because thou hast done this thing &c. — and in thy seed shall ye nations of ye earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voyce) and Gen. 26. 3. 4. 5. the covenant is renewed with Isaack, & ye same reason assigned (because yt Abraham obeyed my voyce, & kept my charge, my comandements, my statutes, & my laws): How mans obedience is sayd to be a cause of gods blessing, I am not determining; but taking ye words as I find ym, in generall I may conclude yt they are here given as a cause or reason of it some way or other: and though a speciall mercy may be given on a comon, ground or reason: yet where yr is no apparent ꝓofe of ye restriction, we are to judge ye blessing comon, where ye reason is comon: at least, if a speciall blessing be superadded to Abrahams seed (upon ye freenesse of gods grace, or ye eminency of Abrahams obedience) yet here goes with it a mercy comon to all, where ye reason of ye mercy is found: It being ye case of every true beleiver to be faythfull & obedient, yea to ꝓfer Xt, before his own life, & much a son only, it may be hence gathered yt god who blesseth Abrahams seed on yt account, will

bless: theirs on ye same, with ye same blessings in ye maine (as to his favor & acceptance of ym) &
though not with ye same in ye variable superadditionalls, or overplus of externall things. //. In
Exod. 12. 48. there is a law for ye circumcising of all ye males of strangers, yt sojourne in ye land, yt
will keep ye passover: wch comprehendeth their church-membership as is shewed. //. The ꝓmise to ye
whole people of Israell infants & all yt they should be (a peculiar people, a kingdome of priests, & a ho:
ly nation) Exod. 19. 5. 6. you cannot deny. this is a ꝓmise, & not a transient fact wch made no ꝓmise
and ye people are called to keep gods covenant yt they might have this ꝓmise fullfilled to ym: yea if you
had sayd yt it was a meer transient covenant or ꝓmise, reaching but to ye Jews ym existent, & dying
with ym, though you had spoken more sence, yet no more truth, ym wn you denyed ye law and ꝓmise &
substituted a transient fact: for. 1o it is expressly a ꝓmise de futuro to a nation. 2o. yea & ye A-
postle Peter giveth ye same titles to believers under ye gospell, intimating ye fullfilling of yt ꝓmise even
to ym; as ye ꝓmise to Abraham was to ye faythfull who were his uncircumcised seed: however here is
a covenant granting by way of confirmation the blessing of church-membership to infants with ye
rest of Israel: for certainly this peculiarity & holinesse & priesthood here mentioned, containeth their
church-membership: it is undenyable so yt such membership is here granted by ꝓmise or covenant,
not as a thing ye beginning; but by way of confirmation of ye like former grants. and its to be noted yt
though this ꝓmise is made to all Israell; yet not to bee fullfilled to any of ym, but on condition yt they
(obey gods voyce, & keep his covenant) vers. 5. on wch conditions also any other might have ym enjoyed
ye same blessing: & so [illegible] so may do now. //. In Deut. 14. 1. 2. ye infants with ye rest are called
(ye children of god, & a holy & peculiar people to ye lord their god). and Deut. 26. 17. 18. ye covenant
is expressed (thou hast avouched ye lord this day to be thy god, & to walke in his wais, & keep his sta=
tutes, & his commandements, & his judgements, & to hearken to his voyce. and ye lord hath avouched thee
this day to be his peculiar people; as he hath ꝓmised thee. &c) (& yt thou mayst be an holy people &c)
is here no ꝓmise, wn ye ꝓmise is exprest? & is here no covenant where ye mutuall covenant is de=
scribed? & I thinke you grant yt infants are included. so Deut. 28. 4. 9. where ye ꝓmise to ye
nation is, yt if they hearken to gods voyce, & observe his commandements, they shall be blessed in ye fruit
of their bodyes, & ye lord will establish ym a holy people to himselfe as he had sworne unto ym). here
is not only a covenant & ꝓmise for ye future, but also an oath confirming it as annexed to ye same
before. Is this (establishing covenant or ꝓmise) no covenant or ꝓmise, but a transient fact? or
doth not this confirme their right to ye benefit ꝓmised, wch was received before by ye same means? //
and Ezra. 9. 2. they are called ye holy seed. //. of yt in Deut. 29. I have formerly spoke enough.
it is called a covenant: all Israel with their little ons did enter ye covenant, & ye oath, with god,
& wch he made to ym: it was a covenant (to establish ym for a people to himselfe, & yt he may be to ym
a god, as he had before sayd and sworne) it is a covenant made even with ym yt stood not there,
whither it be meant only of ye succeeding Israelites (& ym its not a transient covenant), or of all
people whatever yt will accept of ye same tearmes, (& ym its not ꝓper to Israell): its a covenant
not made to ym as meer Israelites; but as obedient to ye covenant tearms: & covenant-brea
king would cut ym off. vers. 19. 20. 21. 23. 25. 26. is not church-membership contained in
(gods being their god & [illegible] taking ym for his people thus in covenant,)? doth not ye ꝓmise give ym
an established right in this blessing? is all this ym no ꝓmise, but a transient fact? // Deut. 30. 13.
there is a law & ꝓmise (choose life yt thou & thy seed may live) // this is ye same covenant wch
Asa caused ye people to enter. 2. Chro. 15. & if there had been no law for it, there would have
been no penalty: & ym he would not have made it death to withdraw. // It is ye same covenant
wch Josiah caused ye people to stand to. 2. Kings. 23. 2. 3. 2. Chro. 34. 31. 32. // of Levit. 25.
41. 54. 55. I have spoken elsewhere; & of some other texts. //. ye second commandement
Exodus. 20. 5. 6. Deut. 5. 9. 10. I thinke is a law & containeth a ꝓmise or permanent part,
wn he ꝓmiseth to shew mercy to ye generations or children of ym yt love him, & [illegible] keep his
commandements: of wch I have also spoke elsewhere to wch I referre you: I see no reason to doubt
but here is a standing ꝓmise, & discovery of gods resolution, concerning ye children of all yt love him
whether Jews or gentiles to wm this commandement belongs: nor to doubt whether this mercy imply
church-membership. //. and yt this is fetch from ye very gracious nature of god, I find in his ꝓclaiming
his name to Moses. Exod. 34. 6. 7. // in Psal. 102. 28. It is a generall ꝓmise (ye children of thy
servants shall continue, & their seed shall be established before thee) It's usuall in ye old testament to
expresse gods favour by temporall blessings, more ym in ye gospell: but yet still they serve us of his
favour; as (I will not faile thee, nor forsake thee) might serve Joshua more ym us of temporall succes=
ses, & yet not more of gods never failing favour. //. there is a stable ꝓmise to all gods people in gene=
rall yt have children, Psal. 103. 17. (but ye mercy of ye lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon
ym yt fear him, & his righteousnesse unto childrens children). And to be secured by ꝓmise of gods mercy &
righteousnesse is ye state of none without ye church. //. 15. And if they were all to be kept out of ye
church I scarce thinke yt (children, would be called an inheritage of ye lord, & ye fruit of ye womb
his reward.) Psal. 127. 3. nor ye man happy yt hath his quiver full of ym. nor would ye sucking

be taken as part of ye solemne assembly to ye humiliation. 2. Chr. 20. 13. Joell. 2. 16. // th
is a standing ꝓmise to all ye just. Prov. 20. 7. (The just man walketh in his integrity: his children
are blessed after him). There is no sort of men without ye church yt is counted blessed in scripture.
blessed people are gods people. & those are ye church separated from ye cursed world. one lower blessing wi
denominate a man or society, a blessed man or society. // if it were a good argument yt Deut. 4. 37
(because he loved thy fathers, so he chose their seed after ym), yn is it good still, as to favour in ye ge
so Deut. 10. 15. Psal. 69. 36. Pro: 11. 21. The seed of ye righteous shall be delivered. In Psal. 37. 2
there is a generall ꝓmise to, or declaration of ye righteous yt (his seed is blessed). & yn they are chur
members. // In Isai. 61. 8. 9. it is ꝓmised (I thinke) of gospell times (I will make an everlasting
covenant with ym. & their seed shall be knowne among ye gentiles, & their offspring among ye people.
all yt see ym, shall acknowledge ym, yt they are ye seed wch ye lord hath blessed). And Cap. 62. 12. they sh
call ym, ye holy people, ye redeemed of ye lord, & thou shalt be called sought out, a city not forsaken
gospell ꝓmises ym to forsaken (people) & (cities) whereof infants are a part. // Isai. 65. 23. (they are ye seed of ye
blessed of ye lord, & their offspring with ym). this is plaine, & full, & durable. // wt is necessary to be say
in answer to ye common objections, as (yt experience tells us all ye seed of ye righteous are not blessed) is
ye like, I suppose allready done in my booke of baptisme. All ye seed of ye righteous are blessed, though
not all with yt blessing, wch cannot be lost, & cast away by ymselves, wn they come to age. // if you say
yt ye word (seed) doth not necessarily include infants. I answer, infants are part of ye seed of ye righ
ous; yea all their seed are first infants. if so god have made a generall ꝓmise as to age & yea who
is he yt dare limit it, without just ꝓofe yt indeed god hath limited it? doth god say yt ye seed of
ye righteous are not blessed till they come to age? if he ꝓnounce ye seed blessed, they must be bl
seed, wn they are first such a seed; & if any ~~age~~ one age might be more included yn another, one
would thinke it must be yt wherein they are so neerly ye seed of such, as yt they stand not on
any distinct account of their owne actuall faith or unbeliefe: for ye seed of ye righteous as such
have a ꝓmised blessing: but ye seed of ye righteous turning ymselves to unrighteousnesse, do turne fr
yt blessing, & become accursed. // I suppose I have allready been more tedious yn you expected
I will yerfore adde no more of those passages of scripture, having sayd yt wch satisfyed me forme
to ye same purpose, & having yet seen nothing yt leaves me unsatisfyed. & also because one text
either containing such a law, or covenant, as you call for; or declaring to us yt god did make such
a law, or covenant; is as good as a thousand in point of authoritye. //

The next Question yt I should speake to is, Whether those laws or covenants, or ꝓmises, are capable
a revocation or repeal. And I shall take this for a question yt needs no further debate, among me
know wt a law or ꝓmise is. gods immutability & ꝑfection may make some laws unrepealable, whil ye
remaines: but otherwise ye thing it selfe is capable of it. only where a ꝓmise or law is but for a li
mited time, wn ye time is expired, it ceaseth, & ye cessation is, as to ye nulling of it, equall to a rev
cation or abrogation. I put in this Question lest you should hereafter change your mind, & say, y
(indeed it is a law or ꝓmise or covenant by wch ye right of church-membership is conferred, & infant
dedicated to god: but it is but a transient law or covenant). Ans. if so, yn either it is immediatly or so
transient, or at a certaine limited time only, wn it will cease. The former is certainely false & into
rable. for. 1o. they are ꝓmises & lawes for ye future, & so cease not immediatly. 2o. yt were to ma
god ye most unfaythfull ꝓmiser, & mutable lawmaker in ye world, if his ꝓmises & laws cease as
soon as they are made, nay it makes ym to be no laws or ꝓmises. 3o. It was on standing law &
ꝓmise yt belonged to ye nation of ye Jews successively, and god did not make his ꝓmise anew to
every infant yt was made a church member, nor renew his law to every parent to enter their
children into his Covenant by ye signe of circumcision. were not ye uncircumcised Israelites in
ye wildernesse, made members by ye efficacy of ye former covenant of god remaining yn
in force? And did former laws oblige to circumcision till Xt? else yr were but few me
or but few yt circumcised warrantably if ye ꝓmise & precept did extend but to ye ꝑson yt it was fi
delivered to, & every on else must likewise have a ꝑsonall ꝓmise & precept. the mother of Xt
cannot yn be proved to have been a church member in infancy. // If it be sayd yt those ꝓmises
were limited in ye making of ym to a certaine time wn they were to cease, I say wn yt is ꝓved
we shall beleive it; wch I have not yet seen done. and it falls in with ye last question, wch is,
Whether those ꝓmises be indeed revoked & ceased, & those laws repealed or ceased? And here it is
I have long expected your solid ꝓofe, together with ye satisfactory answer to my arguments to ye
contrary. And so I shall leave this taske in your hands. sure I am yt Xt never came to cast ou
ye church, but to gather more in; much lesse to cast out all our infants; even all of yt age in w
himselfe was head of ye church: but to gather together in one ye children of god yt were scat
John. 11. 52. And so he would oft have gathered all Jerusalem, & Judea even ye nationall church
yn was, into himselfe, as ye true head, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, & ye

not: it was not because he would not (as intending a new frame, wherein infants could have no place), but because they would not: & so cast out themselves & their infants. certain it is yt ye joy of ye formerly desolate gentiles, yt they shall have many more children, yn she yt had an husband, & not fewer, Gal. 4. 24. 26. 27. And wee as Isaack are children of ye promise, even yt promise wch extended to ye infants with ye parents. Gal. 4. 28. // before I end I shall be bold to put two or three questions to you out of your last letter. //. Quest. 1. whether ye circumcised servants of Israel sold away to another nation, & so separated from ye civill state of Israel did eo nomine cease to be church members, though they forsooke not god? and so of ye infants, if they were sold in infancy? if you affirm it, yn prove it. If you deny it, yn infants might be churchmembers, yt were not of ye common-wealth. Quest. 2. if (as you say) it was on ye Jews rejection of Xt yt they were broken off from being Gods people, were those thousands of Jews yt beleived in Xt so broken off, or not? who continued successively a famous church at Jerusalem, wch came to be a Patriarchall seat? whether yn were not ye children of Xts disciples, & all beleiving Jews church members in infancy? if not; yn it was somewt els yn unbeleife yt broke ym off: if yea; yn Quest. 3. whether it be credible yt he who came not to cast out Jews, but to bring in gentiles, breaking downe ye partition wall, & making of two, on church would have such a linsie woolsie church of party-colours or severall frames: so as yt ye church at Jerusalem should have infant-members, & ye church at Rome should have none. Jews infants should be members, & not gentiles. //. Quest. 4. if unbeleif broke ym will not repentance graffe ym in? and so should every repenting beleiving Jews infants be churchmembers? Quest. 5. was not Xts church before his incarnation spirituall, & gathered in a spirituall way? Quest. 6. How prove you yt it was a blemish to ye old frame yt infants were members? or yt Xts church yn ~~[illegible]~~ now are of two frames, in regard of ye subjects age? Quest. 7. In wt regard is ye new frame bettered by casting out infants wch were in ye old? Quest. 8. whether any Jew of age was a member of ye old church without professing fayth (in ye Articles necessary to salvation) repentance, & obedience? and wherein ye supposed new call & frame doth in this differ from ye old, save only yt a more full, & expresse revelation of Xt, requireth a more full & expresse fayth? you may see ye words neer ye end of your letter yt occasion ye 7 last Questions: & towards ye middle yt occasioneth ye first. //. As for your motion of my fully describing ye priviledges of church members, I shall adde no more at this time to wt is allready elsewhere sayd of it. //. And now I have gone thus farre with you, in an enquiry into ye truth I intreate you be not too much offended with me, if I conclude wth a few applicatory Questions to your selfe. //.

Quest. 1. Is it not an undertaking as palpably absurd as most ever any learned, sober Divine in ye world was guilty of, to maintaine yt (infants were visible-churchmembers, not by any promise or precept, but by a transient fact. & yt there was no law or ordinance determining it should be so, but only a fact of god, wch is a transient thing, not repealable) either by this fact, you mean Legislation, & covenant making, or not: if you do; wt a saying is it yt infants were made churchmembers, not by a covenant, but by covenant making; not by a law, but by law-making: if not; either you must say, yt god makes duty without any law, & gives right to ye benefit without any promise or covenant-grant, as ye cause: or else, yt it is no benefitt to have right to church membership, & no duty to enter into yt relation, & to accept of yt benefit, & to be devoted to god. wch ever of these waies you choose (& on you must choose or chang your opinion) hath ye world heard of any more unreasonable & ridiculous, or else more unbeseeming a divine, from a learned sober man of yt profession? pardon ye high charg: let ye indifferent judge. //

Quest. 2. Is it not a great disgrace to all your followers, yt they will be lead so far, into such wayes of schisme & be so confident yt they are righter & wiser yn others, & yt by such unreasonable arguings, & shifts as these wch on would thinke any man should laugh at, yt knows wt a law, promise or covenant is? And do you not prove yt it is not because of ye evidence of truth, but by your meer interest or confident wordes, those people are changed, & held to your opinion? doe they know wt (a transient fact is, yt without law or covenant, or promise makes church-members.) I say do they know this, wch no man yt ever breathed knew till now, nor ever man will know againe? And do you not proclaime ym men of distempered consciences, yt dare go on in such a schisme, on ye encouragement of such fancys as were hatcht so long after their seperation, & never waking man (I think) did before so solemnly maintaine. // 158

Quest. 3. Is it not a desperate undertaking, & dare you adventure on it, to justify all ye world before Xts incarnation, except ye Jews, from ye guilt of not dedicating their children to god, to take him to be their god, & ymselves to be his people? and to justify all Jews against this charg, yt should neglect or refuse to engage their children to god in covenant, as members of his church? And doth not he yt sayth yr is no law, say yr is no transgression. //

Quest. 4. Dare you yet justify also at ye barre of god, all ye world since Xts incarnation, from ye guilt of sin, in not dedicating their children to Xt, & entring ym into his covenant, as members of his church? Dare you maintaine yt all is sinlesse in this respect. //

5. Have you well considered of ye fruit of your waies apparent in England & Ireland at this day? have you not seen enough to make you suspect & fear, whether indeed god owne your way or not? And is it any wonder if posterity be left in controversie about ye History of former times, wn you can venture even these times, wn ye persons are living in our company, to tell me yt (you think I am misinformed yt they are) Anabaptists, & you think yt there are very few of ym yt were ever baptised): wn of many yt we know multitudes yt we hear of, there are so few yt were not before agt infant baptisme; & yt seekers such; & wn ye Quakers ymselves comonly cry downe infant baptisme; & it is one of ye questions yt they propound me, & others to answer (how we can prove it by expresse scripture, without consequences, or els confesse our selves false prophets.) //

Quest. 6. Have you felt ye guilt wch I am too strongly fear you have incurred, of ye greatning of so many sects, making such a gap to schisme, contempt of ye ministry, & Apostasy; destroying a hopefull reformation yt was so dear: or weakning our hands in ye worke, & filling ye adversaryes mouths with scorne; enticing ye Jesuits, & Fryars to scorn your professors, & list ymselves among you as ye hopefull party to befriend their hardening thousands both of ye Papists, & profane; & settling ym again in their dreggs, wn many were begun to shake? & wt a church might we have had, & were likely to have had? had it not been for ye Separatists & you and wt a lamentable confusion are we now brought into by those? Have these things ~~[illegible]~~ toucht yor heart

Quest. 7. Is (a Transient fact making infants church members, without law, promise, or covenant) a sufficient win to encourage you to venture on all those horrid ~~[illegible]~~ things, & runne such hazards as you have done? or is it possible yt an humble sober man, & a truly tender Conscience, durst make all this & stand out in it so many years considerably, as you have done, & this upon such a palpably unreasonable pretence; as wn you should prove to us ye revocation of infants church membership, to tell us yt they had it only by a transient fact? is this so safe a ground to build so great a weight on? // Sr my conscience witnesseth yt it is not your reproach yt is ye end of speaking these unpleasing words to you, but some compassion on you, (do not scorne it) & more on your poore followers, & most on ye church of god, wch you have so much injured, & troubled. //

Quest. 8. Can you prove yt ever there was one age or church (particular) on earth since Adam, till about 200 years ago yt ye Anabaptists rose, wherein infants de facto were not taken for members of ye church? if you can do it, let's hear you.

Quest. 9. Can you bring us proofe of any one infant of true church members, yt was not rightfully a church member himselfe, from ye creation till Xts dayes? or from ye creation till this day? except ye Anabaptists who reject ye benefit; whose case (as I sayd before) I will not presume to determine. //

Quest. 10. Seeing yt infants have been de facto church members from ye creation to this day (as far as any records can lead us) is it likely yt ye lord & head, & allsufficient governour of his church would have permitted his church till now, to be actually made up of such subjects, as in regard of age, he disallowed? & suffer his church to be so wrong framed till now? or is it a reasonable, modest, & humble undertaking, to go about now in ye end of ye world, to make god a new-framed church, as to ye age of ye subjects? And is it not more modest & safe to live quietly in a church of yt frame, as all ye saints in heaven lived in, till ye other day as a few Anabaptists with vile, & sinfull meanes, & miserable successe, did attempt an alteration? //

Sr pardon ye weaknesse, & beare with ye plainnesse & freenesse of

your faithfull Brother
(though not, as is meet)

Ri: Baxter

May 14
1655

Postscript

Sr

If you have any thing of moment to say in reply to these, wch you have not yet in yor writings brought forth, I shall be willing to consider of it: but if you have not, I pray you tell me so in two words, & spare ye rest of yor paines (as for me) & trouble me no more with matters of this nature: for truly I have not sufficient vacancy from greater workes; yea I am constrained to forbear much greater then these.

Sr

Not finding yet the law or ordinance of infants visible churchmembership which you assert in your booke of baptisme to be unrepealed, I do request you to set down the particular text or texts of holy Scripture where you conceive that law or ordinance is written, & to transmit it to me by this bearer, that your allegations may be considered by him who is

Bewdley.
April. 3. 1655.

Yours as is meete
John Tombes

x

For mr Richard Baxter
Teacher at Kidderminster
these

Worthy Sr

I think myself much ingaged to you for all yr Christian love, yr pains here, & ye several books you was pleased to send. I desire yr prayers, yt I may be diligent in seeking those good ends wch I am confident you aime at yrin. Yet I have forborn writing, knowing you need not the trouble of my letters. Upon ye perusal of yr confession wth some seriousnes I thought to have sent some few things. Upon some discourse wth a worthy learned friend of yrs Mr Lawton (to whom I am much beholden for his acquaintance) I gave him some few things in writing, & lent him ye books. This has produced some papers wch I had sent by ye friend had he not come so suddainly; He desires Mr Heath may first see ym, & is not unwilling they shud be sent you then, hoping they may tend to bring differences to a clearer issue. I shall not forestall ym; they speak somewt of wt I intended. Only yt at present, if you pursue wt you speak p. 97 of ye differ. twixt repentance & faith: p. 99 of ascribing all to free grace, p. 101 yt faith is ye acceptance of a free guift, & looke more at Chrs sacrifice in Justification, wch ye types, Sacrifices, Epistle to ye Hebr, & many places chiefly presse (to say no more) rather yn his Kingly office (yt Mr Lawson urges) you would I conceive be neerer ye Truth, agree more wth Christian experience (worthily magnifyed by you) wch keeps ye formality of ye Notion (wherein ye difference only is, tho you lay a huge stresse on it) from sinking into most, & avoyd yt ἀμέλειαν τῆς ἐντολῆς, wch I conceive, your holy zeale agt stirred up in Saltmarsh &c looseness has occasioned. Antinomianisme yet seems to me, a company of bad conclusions drawn fro good principles: however, I hope I shall, by yr writings be stirred up to watch agt loosenes carelesnes to wch is I judg ye scope of ym. The comparison of ye 2 extreames p. 29. 30. 31. of ye Preface, wch of you say first is worst & yet most countenanced, may it not admitt of a Just debate? You argue much from ye Nature of Gods Holines & so we ought, yet many not doing it aright have been much led aside. As for your difference wth Dr Owen I conceive it not so wide as it appears in your dispute but yt in ye Maine you in effect agree. Concerning Christs not being one Person wth us in Law sence, as Pag. 272. 273. 274. your learned friend (tho he mentions it not in ye Papers) wholly differs from you. I did scarce intend thus much wn I began to write; ye papers shal Godwilling be shortly sent. I hope to receive the book I mentioned & you desired of Sr H. V. having a promise of it if it can be found; & it shal be diligently looked for. Giving you many thanks for all yr love to & care of yt place, & beseeching ye Ld to strengthen you to be yet further serviceable for ye good of many I rest

Your much endeared friend
to serve you in the Lord

Salop. Apr. 24.
1655

Fra: Tallents.

To my Reverend and worthy frend
Mr Richard Baxter Minister
of ye Gospell at Kidderminster
these

present.

7

Worthy Sr

I have sent inclosed Mr Lawsons papers I formrly mencond: One leafe (the last) was lost while a freind viewed ym, but it was principally in answer to some things in ye paper I sent him, wch I have forborn yrfore to send at present. I shall trouble you no further now, but to tell you, Mr Lawson desires you, if you think fit to return any thing, to passe by expressions lesse fitt, & to follow yt wch is ye maine wth wt brevitie may be convenient. Beseeching ye Lord to strengthen you in and for his worke, I rest

Salop May. 11.
1655.

Your unworthy brother to
serve you in the Lord

Fra Tallents.

x

These

For my Reverend & worthy freind
Mr Richard Baxter Minister
of the Gospell at

Kederminster.

58

Reverend Sir

Upon discourse wth Mr Osland & a sight of his Position I sent him somthing concerning ye baptisme of ye children of scandalous persons; & yn in also mentioned somthing touching Mr Blakes dispute wth you touching yt way. I heare you are writing again. The good Lord so direct you, that his truth may be much cleared yby, to his glory & ye good of his church. And (if I may be so bold to propound it, I conceive, it would conduce more to yt, if laying aside personal writings, you doe give us a just full Tract, taking in wt he or others say, in ye Points you handle, as Mr Burges speaks in ye preface to his last. I yn mentioned some thoughts concerning pardon of sin wch we ask in Prayer, wch I have here wth sent. If you discover any thing in it wch may lead fro the truth, I shal thankfully receive any animadversions fro you, at yr leasure. I added also yt about Justificacon by faith, if in wt you may hereafter write you shall think fitt to presse wt is briefly touched upon in ye places cited. It is here much as formrly: The Quakers are of late more endeavouring to get footing amgst us yn formrly, tho I hope yr madnes is in a good measure manifest to most. We hope your old acquaintance, now in chiefe Comand in these parts, will be usefull in his place under god for good. All yr Christian friends are well, Mr Rowland Hunt being removed hence to live neer London. Desiring your prayers, & rejoycing yt ye Lord continues life & vigour to you I rest

Your very unworthy fellow servant
in ye work of ye Lord

Fra: Tallents.

Salop Dec. 13th
1655.

165

X

These
To his Reverend & much honoured
brother, Mr Richard Baxter
Preacher of ye Gospell in
Kidderminster

present.

1 Justifyed persons are to ask forgiuenes of yr sinns {past present} {lesser greater}.

2 This pardon to be asked, is not Pardon in Law title, or (ye same more fully) freedome from eternal punishment in Law title. for.

1 ys is a necessarily [illegible] required in him yt prays for Pardon aright, yfore not ye pardon prayed for. For he yt prays aright for pardon must be a penitent beleever, else no obteining of it; But if he be such a one, he has freedome from eternal punishmt in Law title.

2 This cannot in a right manner be prayed for: Not by an impenitent unbeleeving man, for its agt Gods reuealed will yt the while such a one shal haue ~~pardon~~ it. Not by a Beleever, for this virtute Novæ Legis latæ is done already, as certainly as ye world is made.

3 This stumbles many &c as to praying for pardon of sin; because euery smaller sin, destroyes not yt freedome, & nor great ones neither, & for past sins, it is had already.

4 ye difficulty under ys notion seemes inextricable, for
1 who can declare, wt guilt (i.e. obligacon to eternal punishmt) that is, wch makes no interruption in our Justification: wch you mencon p. 129 of your confession.
2 your selfe often say, that is not lost by any of or sins yt consist with ye Covenant of grace.? Yet pag. 114. you say, its a contradiction to say we deserue eternal punishmt by our sin, but yet are not by the Law bound ouer to it. And pag. 129. wr you write subtilly of ys You say, ye Law threatens punishmt to a true beleever for his daily frailties, so as it does constitute only ye debitum pœnæ; it speakes de Jure what we deserue, but de Eventu yt we shal suffer, it has not a word to say: Quære, 1 doe you by ys debitum understand ye desert only, or our obligation to Punishmt also? 2 If ye latter also (tho yr words scarce speak so much) it speakes also de eventu unlesse we beleeve, act faith de novo, as wel as it does to an Unbeleever: You say, the beleever hath a certain present interest in Christ & ye Gospel promises, and hath ye Spirit in him to cause a renewed application; But it may be said, does not that wch yn giues yt present interest in Christ, &c maintaine also our freedome from eternal punishmt in law title.?

X

May it not therefore be said:

1 yt we are daily, because of or sins, past & present, to repent and act faith on Christ, as we did at first, for ye continuance of or state & renewal of pardon:
At our first conversion, if we prayd aright, we prayd not for freedome from eternal punishmt in Law title, but either for repentance & faith ~~to giue us~~ wch we haue yt right; or (as it is in ye confession in ye late Common prayer booke) yt he would haue mercy, spare and restore ym that be penitent, according to his promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesu our Lord-
This wholly destroys ye Antinomian way. (Prayer is ye breathing of yt faith)

2 thus repenting and beleeving, to ask for Pardon 1 in sententia Judicis, as Mr Lawson speaks: & yrselfe in part in ye preface to Mr Hotchkis: ys in effect (tho differing in words) ye sence of Reformed divines formerly, and of divers yet: and ys suits much with ye experience and sence of poore soules in yr petitions
2 in executione at ye last day; praying for wt he has promised & we haue a right to yrupon: yt if he haue sd we shal not come into condemnation, it may be so to us.
3 besides, yefore Preventing and remooving of those evils, wch in ys life Christ layes on his own people, in yr spirits, bodies, Names, posterity &c for yr sinns.

About Justification by faith in Christ.

1 You speak very well concerning faith pag 97. 99 of ye confession:
yr you put a difference twixt faith, & repent & loue &c
giue faith in Christ as or Priest, a peculiar interest beyond ye rest.
make it to be ye Mr pipe, wch receiveth & conveyeth all to ye other graces
say it is a selfe denying, a renouncing our own righteousness, relying on Christ, ascribing all to God freely giving & Christ meriting: Not as usually elsewhere, a promising to be a faithful obedient spouse to Jesus Christ wch indeed follows necessarily upon ye former, but seems not ye very Nature of faith.
2 That wch offends many, is that ye other nocons obscure these, wch are not so fully held out in yr writings usually.

3 The questions hence 1 whether ys faith (as thus contradistinguished) be or title ex constitutione Dei, as or Justification ex parte objecti is from Christ, as he is a Priest.
2 wh. good works being necessarily required, giue a title. Is it not a fallacy to say, they are a condition, ergo they are a title, as Mr Lawson saies it is.
3 whether good works be virtualiter in yt faith wrby justifyed, or also formaliter; this you say (taking faith largely) that is affirmed by others, & keeps holines fro being banished.

3 Adds some things, whence darkness seems to arise in Mr B. & Bs dispute. +

1 ye distinction of forum Dei, & Ecclesiae. ye foru Dei, must be Voluntas Dei revelata.

Is not ye difference too nice? ye Duty being ye Condition of ye Benefit.

Mr Bx. agt Mr Bl. p. 68 makes that to be Gods Covent grant, wch gives a Right to Bapt. as its Beneficium: This to be, Gods precept, wch gives a right (if I may so speak) to persons to be Baptised, as tis a duty.

Mr Bl. makes forum Dei to be Voluntas Dei revelata quoad officium; makes yt ye same wch foru Ecclesiae; & yt they who have a right here, have it yr also; & that such, are indeed church members acc to Gods revealed wil, in foro Dei, tho not lively members of ye Invisible Church. Mr Bax. takes foru Dei, to be Vol. Dei revelata circa Jus actuale ad beneficia salutifera significata et conditionaliter obsignata in Baptismo. And so as to ye Terms, ye dispute is not materiall.

ye Real difference wil lye here, Utrum sit Voluntas Dei, ut homines profitentes doctrinam Christi, et obedientiam, licet non vere conversi, baptizentur, utq; baptismus sit iis medium, per quod promoveantur in Via salutis; yt Mr Bl. contends for; & methinks yr is much, to be sd for it.

2 ye Term [Being in Covenant] Its a term, not oft used in ye N. Testamt, nor yet in ye Old.

2 ye sense of it, & expressions aequivalent, Mr Bx. saies are usually given to ym yt are short of saving faith, tho he say its improperly or aequivocally wch Mr Bl. cannot beare.

3 By Covent, not to understand barely yt [if yu beleeve yu shalt be saved] but, also all ye Dispensacon accompanying it, as it was in ye Time of ye Old Covent.

In ye 1st sence, Mr Bx. argumt runs fair yt only true beleevers are in Covenant. In ye 2d all yt profess faith & obedience are in Covent, i.e. by Chts appointmt, are to be received into his schools, House, Visible body, & so to be partakers of church priviledges, & helps leading to Everlasting life.

4 Instead ye term of, being in Covent, wch gives occasion of mistake, wt if these words [belonging to Christs schools, House, church, Visible body] were used: & yt acc to his will & comand they really belong to it, tho not to ye Invisible &c

3 Wt it is yt is required at Baptism. Its wel expressed in Justin Martyrs words cited by Mr Bx. p. 95. To professe, we are persuaded & doe beleeve the Doctrine of J. Christ is true & promise to live according to it. This is required in persons of age to be baptised. Both heartily agree herein. Not looking to ye, whether we judg yt serious profession, to be saving sincere or not; We find not yt distinction used by ye Aplis in ye Baptizings &c

2 extremes agt yt.

1 yt profess we have a saving faith, is required to Bapt. yt very evil; Not intended by Mr Bx. yet Mr Bl. argues agt it

2 yt only yt is required (or to yt effect) [I cannot will not at present obey the Doctrine of Christ, but engage my selfe to yt hereafter] This not intended by Mr Bl. yet Mr Bax. so represents his opinion. I need not have any dispute got upon this mistake —

4 ye Sacramental speeches concerning Baptisme, wch are ye ground of great disputes twixt Papists & others; & so in this.——

You say — Prop. 10. Notoriously ungodly parents, tho baptized & professing Christian Religion give no right to Baptisme to yr children, ergo they not to be baptised.

Your grounds are.

I be Justifying faith is required to give right a Deo & a fœdere, & no lesse yn a syncere profession (you wud say serious) of yt faith to give a proper right in foro Ecclesiæ, referring to ye 8 Prop. & Mr Baxters Argumts.

R in generall, unlesse ye 2d argumt [they yt have not a right ymselves if they were yt to be baptised, can give no right to yr children] hold good, all these are in Vaine. 2 it shows as well yt ye children of yr most glorious hypocrites have no right coram Deo. 3 yt only ye children of ym we Judg to have saving grace may be baptized by us; for else we abuse ye Sacramentall washing.

I Arg. in ye 8 Prop. according to ye genuine meaning, in forme, this
Wtever gives a right to Bapt. gives a proper actual right to ye saving benefits of ye Cov.
But nothing but Justifying faith gives a prop. actual right to these ben. of ye Covenant:

R. ye Minr is unquestionable, yet its proved: The proof of ye Major is implyed in it. Bec Bapt is ye seale of ye Covent: an obsignation of ye Covent to us. i.e. yt I beleeve, & such saving benefits belong to me: Now yis seems a great mistake & is shown to be so by Mr Baxter.

2 Arg. If God require no lesse yn syncere beleeving before bapt. yn no lesse gives right. but &c —

R. Here's a fallacy if we beleeve not syncerely we doe not or duty, we sin; yet seriously professing faith & obedience have a right to Bapt.

If ys Proposition be good [Wtever is our duty & is required of us for forgivenes of sins, is required to give a right to Bapt] ye arg. holds; else not.

Your 1.2.4.5 argts proove not ys; but only yt ye Aplse call for true faith & Rep.

Your 3.6.&7 are more to ye Point, being a touch of some of ye weightiest of Mr Baxters argts. ye difficulty lyes in ye Sacramentall speeches yr used.

2 Such have not a right ymselves, if they were now to be baptised: Who dares baptise a comon drunkard &c

R. Mr Bl. oft tells you; such might not ~~now~~ be baptized; neither may come to ye Lds table. Bec parents transmit not personal vices nor graces pag. 449. 452.

3 yt faint assertion to ye Contrary: tho some of late very confident, yt ye Precious must not be separated fro the Vile &c

R ys is by no means faint. Some indeed are very confidt of ye Contrary opinion: yet doe not such separate ye Precious &c you know they doe. But yt its to be done ye way they deny; nor does the text Jer. 15. 19 proove it but ye Contrary, yt this separacon may be made where all are in Covent & circumcised.

ye arg. you mencond to me here, yt such have utterly broke yr Covt, is not in ye Positio

2 An account of my thoughts at present.

1 Jesus Ch^t sends his disciples to preach ye Gospel, yt men may be truly converted, & saved: 4 of ye arg. in ye 8 Prop. proove only yt—

2 commands ym, wn People are by ye Preaching brought seriously to professe yt they beleeve ye truth taught them, & give up ymselves to obey it; that such People & yr children be baptized. For such are disciples. This ye Aposts did accordingly. & thus farr we are agreed. And I conceive such (which thoroughly converted or not) have a right: For are we bound to Baptise those yt in ye sight of God have no right?

3 Wn persons so baptised (whether in age, or in yr Infancy) afterwards are found to proove, sinsual, ignorant, dissolute &c divers wayes, & yet doe not, will not in words renounce ye faith, 1 ys a difference to be put twixt ym & others by Gods people, especially his Ministers Jer. 15. 19. Rom. 2. ult.
2 to be admonished &c. 3 & at last excommunicated. But before or after yr Excommunication, ye Question is, are yr children to be bapt.: are they of ye Visible church. This darke, bec. (as many others) ye Question not expressly handled in ye New Testament. That they are to be bapt.

1 ye Current of ye Old Testament is cleare yt way. Such ~~like~~ Covt, cald Gods people &c ye children of such even ye worst amongst ym circumcised. And yt 1 no where condemned in ym by ye Prophets &c 2 but approoved. Rom. 3. & ch. 9. 4. & 3 yet for the Institution, nature, & ends as much may be gathered for strictnes in circumcision yn, as in Bapt. now: Gen. 17. 1 alledged by you Prop. 8. arg. 1. Rom. 4. 11. 12. Col. 2. 11. &c alledged amongst Mr Baxters strongest argumts, are as strong in ys case 4 & why may we not argue herein from ye Old Testament, as well as in ye matter of Pædobaptisme.

2 ye New Testamt, those carnal dissolute scandalous persons, mentiond in ye Epist. to ye Corinth. Philip. Galat. Tim. Churches of Asia, in ye Epist. of James, John &c wt ground have we to beleeve yr children were not baptised. Nay does not Reverend Hooker grant they were, & so are to be, till excommunicate—
2 And wn excommunicate, are they not to be baptised also, doe they not in some sort belong to ye church even yn. Mat. 18. 17 2 Thess. 3. 14. 1 Cor. 5. 5.

3 ye Practise of Antiquity: of ye Present Protestant churches: who allow of Bapt in Rome, wr parts generally Ignorant, Idolatrous, scandalous, besides other things. Else or own baptisme of most of us is Null; as null, supposing or parents scandalous, as if ye children of Turks were baptised, yt errour not being in a circumstance. Nay if only saving faith give right, yn according to or hopes & feares of one or both or Parents regeneration, are or hopes & feares concerning our own Bapt. yn upon or regeneration, conversion, to be baptised— —

fol.169. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Reverend Sr

I had thought to have silently improved yor favourable intimations & animadversions, & not to have troubled you with any uselesse returnes; but ye rendering yor favour exciteth me now to suspect yt if I give you no account of it you may justly seeme to neglect yor kindnesse. I shall go briefly speake my thoughts of yor lres of April 24, & ye other of ye last. || 1o Mr Lawsons papers I thankfully receaved, but returned nothing, 1o bec I understood they were intended but for my private information (& I shall learne as much out of them as I can) 2o Bec I had not ye whole, & I loved not to speake to ye beginning till I know wt is in ye end. || As to yor owne, 1o you say [If I pursue wt I speake p. 97. of ye difference betwixt Repentance & faith, & p. 99 of ascribing all to free grace, p. 101 yt faith is ye acceptance of a free guift, & looke more at Xts sacrifice in Justification rather yn his Kingly office, I should as you conceive be nearer ye Truth &c] 1 I know not well wt you meane by [Pursuing]. If you meane yt I should inculcate more ye same truth wch I there maintaine, 1o I cannot imagine yt I am guilty of speaking any falshood or Error because I speake ye truth but once or twice over. 2 I am yet to learne how oft truth must be repeated before I may be supposed to deny it. He yt will not believe me at once, is not like to believe me at 20 repetitions. 2o But if by [Pursuing it] you meane yt I should not againe have Contradicted it, you know ye admonition is mostly if not utterly uselesse to me, unless you had vouchsafed to have told me when & by wt words I had so contradicted it. For such Generalls signifye nothing in any Charge. Wn you say I had bin nearer ye truth, you suppose me to erre & yet not only tell me not wherein, but tell me where I have said ye Contrary even ye truth wch you approve. 3o The passages you instance in I have many times repeated in most of my writings (as yt faith is ye acceptance of a free guift &c, and bin rebuked for it among ye rest of my Errors, bec I made it to lye in Acceptance) & O yt you had told me wt blasting it is yt I ascribe not to free Grace! but you have not. And for [looking more at Xts sacrifice rather yn his Kingly office] The word [more] gives me hope yt you include ye Kingly office in ye object of faith & desire only a difference of degree: And if so, [illegible] I never compared ye [illegible] I think never to this day yt I remember. But ye word [rather] makes me doubt againe yt you exclude ye Kingly office from being ye object. But I can but tell you, yt I have no mind to meddle wth ye opinion as in you, but if I had found it in my [illegible] according to my present judgmt I should lay a heavier accusation uppon it, wch I think meet to tell you of at this time. And yet I have read Mr Lawsons papers & Mr Blakes as impartially as I can. And in others I will not so much condemne ye same opinion, as in termes, bec I hope they meane better by those termes yn to my understanding they seeme to signifye. As to wt followes of yors, I say 1o You tell me not of any particular [Christian expressions yt contradict &c] wch I say 1o I cannot profit by this Generall [illegible]. 2o And as for ye [illegible] [illegible], wch you judge me guilty of againe without instancing in any particular, you may well know I am unlikely to be edifyed by yor charge, till I know wt you meane. But in ye next word you come to some instances & they are 3. 1o You say [The comparison of ye 2 covenants p. 29. 30. 31 of ye [illegible], whereof you say ye first is worst & yet most covenanted, may it not admit of a just debate?] I ans. 1o So may a hundred truths. 2o This is but a Question, & not an expresse Charge. And it containeth two branches, & I know not whether it be both or one of them & wch of ym you thinke may admitt a just debate. One of them is yor mistake: I never spoake or wrote as you say I did (any where yt I can find) viz yt [ye first is most Covenanted]: How then do you think I can profit by this discovery of my Error wn it is none of mine, & I do not thinke you would have me say yt it is. And as for ye other branch I confesse I did not thinke till you told me yt it might admitt of a just debate (viz yt ye first is worst): but yet this was but ye Error of my mind, & not of my pen: nor did I speake very confidently but only thus [ye former I take to be greater]. And truly I thought so had every man yt is called Orthodox. For I never heard it doubted of, but yt ye Ultimate end is better yn ye way or yt ye way, & ye pure Godhead ye end, or yt ye Father is greater yn he as Mediator. [illegible] Atheisme is a greater sin yn Infidelity as opposed to Beleeving in Xt. But I am so weary of disputing, yt I have no mind to dispute any part of [illegible] yet, I thanke God, I believe [illegible] & I hope shall doe to ye [illegible]

yor next is thus expressed] You argue much fro ye nature of Gods holyn
& so we ought. yet many not doing it aright have bin since laid aside
Ans. If you meane yt I am one of them, wt ye better am I if you tell me not
wherein. If you meane not so, then you intend not this as a blaming me: for you
will not blame me for doing as I ought. // Next you say You conc
not ye difference wth Dr Owen so wide as it appeares in my dispute, but
yt maine we in effect agree] Ans. So much ye better as to yt thing. And if
had instanced in any words of mine where I wrong him, I should have
reviewed them, yt I might have reversed them: If you refer me to his owne
Discourses, I say, I shall make as good use of them as I can; but I have
not ye felicity or facility of believing all yt good & learned men expect I
should believe. // You adde yt [Concerning yt not being one person with us in
sense, as Pag. 272.273.274, my Learned friend wholly differs from me] Ans. 1o I
of set purpose still expresse myself thus] yt Xt did not so suffer in our person as
in Law sense we did satisfy in him], lest any should quarrell about ye
terme of personating: You must not go so divide my words, as to take one
of them as speaking my sense. 2o I know Mr Lawson seemes to differ in this:
It is one of his bawlks: yt wch he would have done me a very great favour to have
shewed me, How & how far, Xt satisfyed in each mans person, & each person
in Xt, & how to avoid ye consequences wch I mentioned, he only (in his larger
papers to me) puts it off slightingly, telling how weak they are yt stick at
But verily I deale with Mr Lawson as a learner, & though not so doci-
ble, & of so facile & ductile an intellect as some humbler Schollars are, yet
am as ready to learne of him as almost any man I know. & I hope he must not
use so far to overvalue other mens understandings, at least, not mine, as to
think yt I know all such matters, wch are so easy or obvious to him! In ye
same sort he dealeth wth us (in his last papers) about Conditions; Confessing faith
& Repentance both Conditions, he pronounceth it an obvious easy thing to see
yt Conditions are of different sorts: whereas if he had condescended to teach
us punctually wt this difference of Conditions in Generall & Gospel Conditions in par-
ticular, is, & so in wt sense & how far faith is a Condition, & in wt sense
Repentance, or obedience &c, he had done all ye business yt remaineth, to satis-
fy some of us, if not to end ye controversye. I pray you will you present
my love & thanks to him, & intreat him to send me briefly (in as few words
as he pleases, so it be plaine) a Resolution of these points, in stead of slight-
ing them, wch if he canot do, I know not who can. viz 1o In wt sense Xt did
satisfy in ye person of each individuall person of ye elect or others, & they
satisfy in him. & how ye ill consequences will be avoided. 2o The true differ-
ence between ye severall Evangelicall Conditions. I am confident if he
will but make us all as easily see ye truth in these two points as he supposeth it
easy to be seen, he will do more to end all these disputes then all ye volumes
have done yt I have yet read on them. Wch I speake not as apprehending them
exceeding difficult, but as being ye hinges of ye controversie, & so far differ-
ing yt we have need of teaching in them; there being more then I yt have understanding
below him & less exercised in these things. //

Now I come to yor last wch I received fro Mr Ashland, wth another to him.
To yor 1st proposition I easily yield: yor 2d I do not yield. ~~But yor first~~ before I answer requisi-
~~they~~, must desire you to observe 1o yt if I grant you all, yet it is nothing ag
my assertion, viz yt ye Justification wch Scripture most usually speakes of, wn
saith we are Justifyed by faith, is ye Justificatio Juris, or in Law sense.
if you could prove yt it is not this wch we daily pray for, yet it will not fo
yt it is not this wch we are said to receive by faith. // 2o yt if I could an-
swer nothing yt you say, yet I had no reason to change my mind. For in these
great things there is no way but is lyable to incommodious consequences in ye
eyes of such imperfect men as we: And he yt will let goe a grounded truth, be
canot answer every objection yt is brought agt it, when yet his grounds are not
confuted, nor any ~~other~~ better way set up in stead of it, is like to be of no Religion
when you have given me a better way, with ~~better~~ Reasons for it, & lyable to less
incommodityes then this is, & have answered ~~those~~ yt objected agt it, then you will do much

to change my judgmt. But till yn it will seeme allmost all one to me, for to
say you would not have me believe as I do & to say you would have me
believe nothing (of this matter). And now I come to answer yor Argumts.
Obj: 1o As to ye Antecedt. I distinguish of ye terme [aright] 1o It may signifye in
innocency, or without sin: & so, no man prayeth aright. 2o or it may signifye in
such a sort as may prove ye pson to be sanctifyed, & as hath a full promise of p-
don: & thus only true beleivers pray aright. 3o Or it may signifye any such
prayer as hath a tendency to procure ye thing prayed for, & is an appointed meanes
for ye obtaining of it: And thus men short of saving faith may pray aright
for saving faith & for ye pdon of sin: In this sense 3o I deny ye reason of yor
consequence. 2o I distinguish betweene a Pardon in Law title compleat & incom-
pleat: Of ye latter I deny yor Antecedt.: of ye former I grant it, taking ye word
[aright] in ye 2d sense. The distinction you may see at large opened (in other
words) by ye Brittish Divines in ye Synod of Dort, on ye 5th Article. E. g.
A King may proclaime to a Nation of Rebells, yt whosoever will trust in his only
son yt hath ransomed ym (or deprecated their destruction), & will returne to their
loyallty, shall have a pdon; & no other. This doth not imply yt there is no
necessity of his coming to ye King & petitioning for his pdon, or thankfull
accepting it. For pchaps some other passages in ye same act of Grace or pcla-
mation, may expresse also ye necessity of these latter. What: are these contra-
dictory? no. Or is not ye first a sufficient title to pdon, or condition of pdon
yea, in ye sense of ye Law? yt is, 1o whosoever so believeth & returneth, may come
& aske a pardon & have it. 2o Asking is an implyed appurtenance of ye maine
condition, & yerfore need not be allwayes expressed, being comprehended in ye former.
no more yn it must be exprest, yt he yt asketh, must come in at ye doore, must open
his mouth, must kneele downe, & behave himselfe reverently &c. So yt he yt believ-
eth & Repenteth hath pformed ye maine condition of wch desire or prayer is an
appurtenance; & accordingly hath a title incompleat, wch when he sueth out his
pdon by prayer will be more compleat. 3o But I speake this on supposition yt
a man might be a penitent believer before he pray for pdon; & yerfore I must
adde, yt though ye spirit may secretly give ye seed in a moment undiscerned
by us, yet ye exercise of or first saving faith & repentance, is carryed
on by us as a worke of further time: we are long in considering, deliberating,
resolving, covenanting & delivering up orselves to Xt, & renouncing former wayes;
& there are many desires, & heart-prayers at least yt come in betweene: So yt you
canot justly looke on a man as a Beleiver & pdoned any observable space
of time before he pray for pdon: for eodem vel proximo momento he doth
pray & groane for it: yea before, by such prayers as come from common grace.
And so he goeth on. 4o And no man (or none ordinarily) doth discerne where common
grace ends & speciall grace begins, & so when he ceaseth his common prayers, & begins
his speciall prayers, or faith: & yerfore he canot give over praying ever for his
first pdon till after he hath it, & yt usually a long time: for some christians
get not assurance while they live, & most not of a great while after conver-
sion (in yt low measure as they have it) & usually none, in ye infancy of
their graces. And yet it is not only Assurance yt these pray for: but Pardon
itselfe; but they have not any Assurance yt they have it. So yt on this last
ground I deny yor consequent also. For he yt hath it may pray for it. 2o And
also I deny yor consequence, on this ground; bec: he yt hath assurance of this same
species of pdon, must yet continue to pray for it; yt is, yt it may be continued:
For as he must continue to Believe & Repent yt his pdon may be continued, so
must he continue to pray for it to ye same end: For he yt will cause him to
pseveere justifyed, will cause him to pseveere Believing, Repenting & praying, to yt
end. 3o And I deny yor consequ. also on this ground; bec a Justifyed man must
have a daily renewed pardon in Law-sense, for his daily renewed sins: & yerfore
must believe, repent, & pray for yt pardon (wch he had not before). And
having said this much to yor Argumt I further adde; yt yet it never was my
opinion yt it is only this sort of pdon yt we pray for, but every sort. For
I have oft said, yt there are three proper sorts, & some improper.

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an 1o Pardon or Constitutive Justificn in Law sense, by ye instrumentality of
ye Gospell promise (of wch allready) 2o Sententiall pdon or Justificn by ye Judge
sen: And this we must pray for as long as we live, even for all past sins; viz
yt God would not condemne us for ym in Judgmt, but then absolve us. Obj.
wt need they pray for yt who have Right to it allready. Answ. No right in
this life is compleat till ye moment of death, bec it is psevering faith & Re-
pentance wch is ye condition. And yet ye right yt a new convert hath is ac-
tuall right; but not a right statim possidendi, nor compleat. But only th
he hath at yt houre a full right to sententiall absolution & to Glory, in case he
were to dye yt houre: but in case he live longer, his right is suspended as to ye
continuation of it, & so ye compleating, on ye continuance of his faith, & pray-
er for pdon, & sincere obedience. (though God will pcure yt continuance) So yt
prayer being a meanes for or finall Absolution, is daily to be used to yt end
& not for all ye sins of or life: & in this sense do I pray for ~~dai~~ pdon daily.
3o And yn there is an Executive pdon: & this is manifold as ye Execution of
ye threatning is manifold. I meane by this pdon, a non Execution of ye threat-
ning: or ye non punire, where punishmt was due. And in this sense also I daily
pray for pdon of sin: 1o yt God would not lay any hurtfull temporall evills u-
pon my body, or yt he will sanctifye those yt must be imposed. 2o yt he would
not withhold his Spirit & grace from my soule, nor forsake me, nor give me
over to ye power of any sin, nor yet to ye torment of a guilty Conscience;
but would give out his Spirit, for light, life & peace: And thus both
Gods sanctifying work, & his comforting work, & every mercy yt he gives
us, & every withholding of evill deserved, is a pdoning act, in this ex-
ecutive sense, as pdon is non punire. || Besides these 3 senses, there
are some more things improperly called pdon: As 1o Gods eternall Decree to pdon
This we pray not for. || 2o A Nolle punire wch we speake of as if it began
in God in time, uppon their faith & Repentance, prayer &c. Not yt indeed Gods
immanent acts are new as to yt wch is commonly called ye substance of
it, God knows. But we talke of this renewed Mentall pdon in God uppon
3 grounds: 1o Speaking of him metaphorically as Scripture oft doth
after ye manner of men, & ab effectu ad affectum. &c. 2o Bec ye
nominally from a new objective respect Gods acts may many of ym
be called new: 3o Bec Jesus Xt hath a true humane nature, ye Image of
ye Godhead, through wch it appeares to us; & it belongeth to Xt
ye Son of man as well as God, to pdon sin, all Judgmt being comitted
him &c Joh. 5. 22. And as Xt on earth might de novo pdon sin, so for
ought we know he may do in Heaven. And so to Xt we may daily pray
for a true mentall pdon. || 3o Besides these there are many pdons of an
inferior kind, wch God may be said to grant by overruling ye... as in
Conscientiæ et humano publico, civili, et ecclesiastico, &c. || 4o And lastly
ye very sense or Assurance of pdon may be called pdon metonymically
& this may be daily prayed for. So much (& pchaps too much & too
to tell you in wt sense we may daily pray for pdon: wch I thought best
to do here together, yt so you might better understand me yn if I did it
pcells. And now I proceed. ||
Ad 2um Distinguishing of ye word [in a right manner] as before, I say 1o An impen-
an impenitent unbeliever, yt is, a man short of saving faith or repentance, may
pray for it aright. As for yor confirmation I say, the Consequence is naught.
Though it be not Gods revealed will yt an unconverted man shall be pdoned, in sensu
composito; yet it is his revealed will yt he should pray for pdon, even while he is un-
converted; not for pdon alone; but for conversion (faith & repentance) & pdon together.
I hope you are far from denying this. And next I say, A Believer also may pray
this pdon, on ye grounds before exprest. And yor reason (bec its done allready) is
For, 1o pchaps it may not be compleated allready (in ye begining of ye change) 2o The con-
tinuation is not allready, but future; 3o Pardon of new sins is not compleat allready. 4o He
not know yt it is not done allready; & so non apparere may be to him as if it were
not. 5o The right to psent sententiall absolution, is not till ye end. And so of all ye rest

So To all wch let me adde, yt there is a speciall Right to freedome from some sharp paternall Castigations, on body & soule, sicknes, death (as to ye time & manner) prevalency of temptations, & withdrawings of spirit & grace, & leaving to scandalous sins &c, wch every Regenerate person hath not. Every child hath not Right to a freedome from sharp Castigations, but ye obedient & those yt are carefull to please. I will not adde, yt we have not a proper Right to Perseverance itselfe (actuall & absolute), though it be certainly future, as ye effect of God's predestination, & so foretold us; but I will not raise new Controversies, nor make needlesse work to myselfe, for ye explication & confirmation of such a saying. ||

Obj 3. From wt is said, it may appear, yt it is their owne Ignorance of ye fore-mentioned particulars, & not any thing in ye present doctrine, yt stumbleth them causally. 2o And you should tell us a way yt will stumble them lesse; or else —— ||

Ans. 1o I pray you note yt yor 4th Argumt is not only agt Praying for Pardon in Law-sense, but agt ye being of any such thing. But I hope few men will be found, who upon consideration will ~~be found~~ deny, yt Gods free promise doth pardon beleevers. Indeed Mr Lawson denyeth yt ye name of Justification, is to be given to it; but I have not found him denying ye thing, though he do yt name: 2o Nor denying ye name of a Pardon to it, wn yet he maintaineth yt Justificn & Pardon is ye same thing: And yt there is no Pardon but per sententiam Judicis in new Law ~~[illegible]~~; wch indeed yt wch is most properly & usually called pardon, is not an act of any Judge qua talis at all; but of ye Rector as he is supra legem violatam, & hath power to dispense with it. For a Judge must judge by Law, & ergo cannot (as such) pardon ye breach of any Law. || 2o Note also, yt this difficulty mentioned will follow wtever way you goe. For wtever you take Justification to be, it is no very easy matter to shew how ye guilt of renewed sin makes no intercission in it, (such a guilt as allmost all confesse). 3o I confesse ye difficulty is very grt wch you mention (though nothing mended by other wayes yt I can perceive): but every difficulty must not turne us off fro truth. I have spoken my thoughts of it in my booke of Peace of Conscience, & in ye place you cite Conf. p. 128. 129. Ile tell you yet further my thoughts in a word: There are two distinct cases in wch ye question may be put, whether sin make an intercission of our Justification: The first is in ye case ~~in case~~ of comon frailtyes, wch may be in a true Christian, unknown, & unobserved, & so without a particular Repentance: Here ye habituall & ye generall Repentance of a Christian (& his habituall & former actuall faith) suffice as ye Condition of pardon, & ye Law doth not wait for ye performance of any new Condition: Here ergo ye guilt is contracted & dissolved in ye same moment: one part of Gods Law (yt of Nature) obligeth to punishment, & ye other part (ye Act of Grace) dissolveth ye obligation. So yt here is no intercission. For illustration: Suppose a Prince make a Law wch saith [Every souldier yt sleepeth on his watch or guard shall dye, or be guilty of death] & after addeth [yet if any of my owne children, or any one yt is a tryed valiant man shall be found guilty, I doe hereby (ipso jure) pardon him]. Here to such men ye first part of ye Law doth make ye penalty due, or oblige him to it & ye 2d doth in ye same instant remedy it. So yt there is only a difference in order of nature. || The 2d case when this doubt ariseth is, wn ye justifyed fall into heynous sins, such as must have a particular Repentance before they are pardoned; is here not yn an intercission of their Justificn — I answer (as ye forsaid Divines at Dort & others usually do) yt we must distinguish between a state of enmity & guilt & a particular new contracted guilt: & between ye guilt of all former sins, & ye guilt of ye one: & between a full obligation preparing ye sinner immediatly for sentence; & an imperfect obligation, yt doth not so; & so between a pardon incompleate & compleat. And so I answer: 1o yt such a sinner yt is habitually penitent, for sin in generall, before actuall Repentance for yt sin, is still a son, a person justifyed in state, having still ye pardon of all past sins (before this in question), wch this particular sin doth not reverse. 2o And so his obligation to punishmt is not full as immediatly subjecting him to ye sentence of condemnation; but leaveth him an opportunity to try whether he will prevent yt sentence by actuall repentance; wch certainly he will doe: It destroyeth not his fundamentall right to life, but disableth him from a present claime: For ye principall Condition of Right remaineth though a new guilt be contracted, & ye last compleating part of ye Condition be yet unperformed: & so he hath an incompleat guilt, & an incompleat pardon, being in a present incapacity both for heaven & hell, & ergo shall not dye in yt Condition. 3o Whereas if (per possibile vel impossibile) this man should totally apostatize, & cease to be habitually penitent

& faithfull, yt he would lose his very relation & state of Justificn, & all his former
guilt would returne. 4o If any will say yt such particular sins do fully oblige to death
pro tempore, yet yt doth not inferre ye revocation of any of their former guilt
but only ye contracting of a new particular guilt. To illustrate all this, suppose
a whole nation rebelleth, & followeth a Traytor: ye Prince procureth of his father, & send-
eth to ym a Pardon in this tenor, [That] all yt will forsake ye Traytor yt leadeth ym, & sub-
mit under ye Prince, gratefully accepting him & his procured pardon, shall be restored to ye
state of loyall subjects, & have all forgiven ym in this; & for their after faults (if they
returne not to rebellion) they shall have a pardon as soone as they penitently seeke
it. Here now ye first coming in of these Rebells, is enough to their pardon of ye state
of Rebellion: 2o And if they stood out, it is not a particular Repentance yt would
serve turne for ye pardon of any one particular sin, unlesse they also turne from
their Rebellion: 3o when they are come in, & have committed some other crime, this
maketh not an intercission either of their state & relation of being subjects,
nor of ye pardon of their former rebellion. 4o Nor is it a full guilt of death, putting
ym into immediate capacity for condemnation, wch they contract: for they are allowed
to seeke out for a pardon: 5o Nor is it such a kind of Guilt as ye former was: for
though neither was utterly remedilesse, yet yt could not be remedyed without a
totall change of state & course of life; & this may be remedyed by ye penitent
asking of a pardon, & change of one action. 6o In ye meane time, betweene ye offended
crime, & suing out his pardon, he is a subject, yet in danger; but its an easily remedyed
& unapprehended danger as is said. And so I conceive it in or present case.

To yor Quaeres I answer: ad 1m I have no other word to explaine Debitum
but a more obscure, or more unfitt. Its more yn Meritum, & its ye same with ye obliga-
tion, if you will not mistake Obligation. Yet Obligation is a metaphoricall terme
& 2o more obscure, & fitter to in stead: Debitum is ye true genuine product of all
legall constitutions. // Ad 2m. In some cases acting faith de novo is not of necessity
to ye pardon. 2o No Law as a Law speaketh de eventu directly; but by ye Law
ye event may be gathered somthing: Here it affordeth no sure ground, but affordeth a ground wherein
remedye, & foretelleth ye contrary event. // Ad ult. I answer. The generall Interest of a
Subject & Son is continued; but ye particular Interest of an obedient Subject or Son
is interrupted, & ye freedome from eternall punishment in Law title is as to ye principall
yet continued, but as to ye compleating part (ut bonum est ex causis integris) its inter-
rupted; at least, as to order of nature: for we are saved from Guilt or legall obligation
to punishment, not by prevention, ne sit; but by Pardon, yt it continue not, nor destroy it.

Now I come to ye Accomodation wch you proposed. In yor first you distinctly
propound, as if yt at be first Conversion we aske not pardon in Law title, but either re-
pentance & faith whereby we have yt right, or yt God will pardon ye penitent: so thus only
must we pray for continued & renewed pardon. Ans. 1. I deny both. Indeed 1o We were bound before Conversion to pray not only for faith & repentance, but con-
junctly for faith, repentance & pardon of all sin. Is not Simon Magus wn pronounced to be
in ye gall of bitternesse & bond of iniquity, required to pray, if perhaps he may be
forgiven? Obj. He must repent first. Ans. Before he is actually pardoned, & before he can so
pray, as to be ye heire of ye promise of present certaine pardon: but not before he may
have any kind of Repentance, or before he is bound to beg pardon at all. If
you would stand on this (yt an unregenerate man may not beg pardon at all)
I would stay longer for a fuller proofe: but indeed I never met with any
but ye Antinomians yt deny it. 2o In yor next words I beg conjunctly faith &
in generall only yt God would pardon ye penitent, is no more to ye same:
3o Yet both these sett together make up in sense as much as to pray for pardon: 2o And to pray
yt God would give me repentance & pardon ye penitent, is as much as if I say, for to pray yt God would give
me Repentance & pardon. 4o Otherwise, as you expresse it, if he would grant
for Pardon in Law sense while we live; of wch I canot see ye reason. we must never pray
Having said thus much Negatively, you next affirme wt pardon you thinke we may aske: as
sententiall, as Mr Lawson speakes &c. But I know not wt sentence you meane; as
you ascribe ye assertion of it to Mr L. & to me in part. If ye sentence of God in publike judgment, wch
both Mr L. & I do wholly (& not in part) assert it. If you meane some sentence of
God pronounced within a man to himself, Mr L. maintaineth it to be ye Justificn by faith
& I deny it, yet saying ye consciences apprehension of or Justificn is a meanes to be
for.

And I suppose you know yt Mr L. will not deny an intercession of Justificn; & since this if you will hold his Justificn by faith, you must be of ye same mind. As for wt you say of ye experience & sense of poor soules in this case, I can say little to it, as not knowing who you meane; but its contrary to ye experience & sense of those yt I have conversed with, who use not to take a sentence within us for ye pardon wch they beg for (though a sense of pardon they desire if they could have it): nay I never mett with yt man to this day yt could tell me wt yt Justificn is wch Mr L. mentioneth within us, & yet denyeth it to be Assurance or Justificn by conscience, or in foro conscientiæ as its usually called: Nor am I able by my best study of all Mr L.s descriptions to know wt he meaneth. Its a strange thing then yt this should so suit with common sense & experience. // Yor 2d is [in execution at ye last day] Answ. yea more yn this: we pray for Justificn 1° per sententia Judicis at ye last day, & yn 2° by ye execution of yt sentence; & 3° by non execution of ye Law uppon us in ye meane time, & ye rest before named. // Yor 3d I also acknowledged before. In all this we are agreed. But ye question is how you prove ye exclusion of ye grt Gospell Pardon from or prayers: & why this constitutive Justificn must not be prayed for as well as those yt are consequents of it. Why may not ye unregenerate pray for it as to begin; & ye regenerate too before they know yt they have it & after for ye continuance quoad statum, & renewall as to particular sins, as before said. Is there no such thing as a pardon by ye Gospell promise: Is it not ye first & ground of all ye rest. Or are we forbidden to aske it. So much of yt subject.

& since this Mr L. in his Theo-politica hath declared yt Gods sentence is passed by execution, & yt sanctification or giving ye spirit is Gods justifying sentence, because it is ye removing of yt losse of ye spirit [illegible] by ye And I grant yt this is one (& only) of our execution of pardon.

Next you give me yor animadversions, about wt I say of Justificn by faith in yt And you tell me where I speake well: & yet intimate my contradiction of myself (tho I understand not wt ye fault is) The first you expresse thus (wn you have mentioned my ascribing all to God freely giving & to Xt meriting) [not as usually elsewhere, a promising to be a faithfull obedient spouse to Jesus Xt] wch you say followes necessarily but seemes not ye very nature of faith. Answ. It seemes very strange to me yt this should be either opposed to free guift & Xts merit, or denyed to be of ye nature of faith. 1° Is not Xt himself freely given as a Husband to us: & faith freely given by wch we consent to ye Relation. wt is here yn yt is not given, & free. wt is here yt is merited by us. or not merited by Xt. wn I said yt we must renounce or owne righteousness, I never meant yt we must renounce ye accepting of Xt for or husband. Why do not you thinke yt to make or accepting pardon to be faith is contrary to free grace, as well as to say yt or accepting Xt to be or Husband is this faith. Surely Xt himself is as free & as noble a guift as pardon is. I use not to expresse myself as you do here [promising to be obedient spouse] ~~life of [illegible]~~ But yt it is ye soules Acceptance of Xt as or husband, & consent to yt match, wch is or heart-covenant though ye tongue expresse not; & yt this must be sincere: & she yt sincerely takes a man for her husband, doth by yt act take him for one to wm she oweth & resolveth to pay ~~[illegible]~~ conjugall fidelity. I mention no action but wt is essentially contained in a sincere consent to this Relation, or acceptance of Xt to be my husband. And I professe if I thought yt this were agt free grace, I should thinke yt to accept ye lower guift of pardon were so much more. wt thinketh any sober man yt we make Xt beholden to us by accepting him freely given to us: wt yn shall we make of free grace at last. I firmly believe, yt this is ye Gospell record yt God hath given us eternall life, & this life is in his Son: & he yt hath ye Son hath life, & he yt hath not ye Son hath not life. 1 Joh. 5.10.11.12 I believe not yt ever God gave any man pardon, but as an appurtenance or consequent of ye great guift of Xt himself: & yt I am infinitly & unspeakably beholden to God for giving me his Son & giving me a heart to accept him. & I am not able to see any reason why it should not be called rather a contradicting free grace, to say yt my accepting pardon is ye condition of pardon, as to say yt my accepting my blessed Redeemer & ye whole ye meanes of pardon relation of a husband & head, & Lord to be ye condition of my right in him & his benefits! Or else it may be next thought yt [illegible] after [illegible] cause of Heaven yt is, of ye everlasting love & sight of God, should be agt free grace too And

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ing yt I am satisfyed yt God can have no lower Ends yn himself. & so as tender
as he regardeth us, yet more tenderly respecteth his owne honor in ye Collation of
his benefitts: & so will not give yt but upon honorable termes. And indeed it is
possible to give & take such a one to be or Prince, & yet not take him as one yt
must Rule us, or to take such a one to be my Schoolmaster, but not as one to teach
me; & so in all other Relations: for it is ye Thing & not ye bare name yt we
consent to; & in consenting to his Relation, I consent to my owne Correlation. // That
yt this is of ye Nature of faith, I have said so much to prove elsewhere, yt I
shall now desire to be excused of yt taske. Only in a word, I shall tell you
ye opinion yt I am now satisfyed in; yt is; yt we are Justifyed by becoming
Believers in Xt: & yt to be a Believer in Xt, is to be a Disciple of Xt, or a Chris-
tian: & so yt ye meaning of Paul wn he saith yt we are Justifyed by faith
(We are Justifyed by becoming Christians: If not every where, yet usually) This
ye sense. I do believe yt all those texts yt speake of or faith as a Receiving
Xt, & yt as Lord, do speake its true Nature, & are not agt free Grace. As we have
received Xt Jesus ye Lord, so must we walke in him: And to as many as received him he
giveth power to become ye Sons of God (& yn surely to be Justifyed): And we must put
on ye Lord Jesus Xt & make no provision for ye flesh &c. //
2o you adde [yt wch offends many is yt yor other notions obscure these, wch are not so
held out in yor writings usually]. Answ. 1o I desire not to be one of those yt will be
offended with every man yt saith not as I say; specially till I can give better
reasons yn I have here received, to prove yt he erreth, & erreth dangerously. But I
am past hope of writing or speaking so as not to offend, till men are more of a
mind among ymselves. For I am chidden on both sides: by some for saying thus, & by
others for not going much further 2o I am not able to discerne by any discovery
you make, how my other notions obscure this: You should exhibite it in some par-
ticulars. 3o If they only obscure, & not contradict ym, I do not erre. 4o Its a strange
thing yt men will be offended at my [not so fully holding out ye same elsewhere]
For 1o if it be fully there, is not yt enough to prove it to be my mind? Or else
100 repetitions will not prove it. 2o I am blamed for repeating ye same things
yn do they expect it. 3o yet I think I could shew in 20 & 20 places where I
have (in more or fewer words) said ye same. 4o But wt if I had never spoken
of yt subject must I so be thought to deny it. 5o The reason why I say
more of free Grace is obvious, but it was not ye end or designe of ye Booke.
If I had bin writing on yt subject agt a Papist, I had bin like to have
rid out as many words yt way as is desired. If ye offence yn be (or else I cannot
see a shew of reason in it) yt I chose rather to write agt Antinomians yn Papists
my reasons were these 1o Antinomianisme came neerer me, infected my neere friends
spread among those yt were like to be able to spread it through ye Land: 2o And to
write agt Papists were to poure water into ye sea (wch yet I had bin guilty of by
now, yt my Brethren would have given me leave, yt have so poured out their
indignation upon my opposition to ye Antinomians.) // Now to yor 3 Questions
Ad 1m Neg. You never found me affirme such a Questn. No faith is or Title. Wt
hath misled you into yt Notion, I thinke. The Testamt or Promise of Xt, i.e.
Deed of Guift expressed in ye Gospell is or Title. Titulus est fundamentum: &
fundamentum est Relationis efficiens, yt is, all ye efficient yt it hath, ye neerest
efficient. I dare not say faith is ye efficient cause of or Justificn. yet I could
not bolder men, but desire they will beare with me in my fearfullness. They
yor extolling free grace & depressing man! to make his faith ye efficient
cause of his Justificn or pardon: Wt can be a mans Title to a thing freely given but
ye free Donation. Gods promise is my Title. My acceptance is not: but only a condi-
tion of ye Title, & qualification of ye person yt must have it // Ad 2m. I confesse
its worse yn a fallacy to say yt either faith or workes are a Title. But I hope
you meane not hereby to intimate yt I ever said so. // Ad 3m. I well under-
stand not yor last line, where you tell me wt I say. But ye word faith if rigo-
rously taken, I thinke none doubts but yt improperly it may be used in so large
a sense as shall comprehend, selfe denyall, confessing sin, renouncing or owne righteous-
nes, Repentance, begging pardon &c wch are ye Works in question. But faith taken
properly & strictly & [illegible] as is usually in Scripture, doth not formally containe
(unlesse some of ym as [illegible] the act yt ymplyes a terminus a quo be part of faith, wch is a giving
selfe to Xt) And if [illegible] you say yt future sincere obedience is virtually in ye faith by
we are Justifyed, you [illegible] say as much of it (herein) as I desire. So much to these pa

LETTERS
fol.173. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

I come now to speak to yor page about Baptisme. And as to ye first page wch
is upon Mr. Oaslands Papers, I shall leave it to him: & not meddle wth it.||
In yor 2d Page you lay down yor owne thoughts. And of ye two first Propositions
there is no disagreement. And about ye Right you mention, I have distinguish-
ed of Right. I told you wt Right they have & have not (to Mr Bl.) & yet shall
forbear repeating it. I know no Right they have by Promise or Covenant
Donation from God. Prove yt & I shall soone yield. (But its not ye Qu. between
Mr Bl. & me). If a man do make me ye Executor of his Testament, & therein
bequeath 20li a year to every man in ye towne yt is so poor yt he is not a-
ble to live without it: & there be some yt goe in rags, & professe great poverty
many of ye rest yt have secretly a 1000li at use yt I know not of these men
claime ye Legacy wth ye rest, & I am bound to give it ym, & so in foro forensi
a Judge yt knows not ye secret state, their claime will be proved good agst me
if I deny it ym. & so far in hoc foro they may be said to have right. But
this is but an Analogicall right, & they are not ye true subjects of ye testators
guift itselfe Conveyed: but they are ye true objects of yt act wch I am bound to
performe. So I think it is here. But I pray you note yt though I grant this
to you, concerning one yt professeth saving faith, I will not grant it to Mr Bl:
concerning one yt professeth a faith short of yt wch we are Justifyed by.||
Yor 3d is concluded wth a Qu. to wch I say, yt Notorious ungodlynes nullet
their profession, & makes it or duty (if obstinate) to excommunicate ym & deny bap-
tisme to their Children, as theirs: & sometimes they are excommunicated ipso
jure, without a Church censure.|| To yor Arguments: 1o Note by ye way yt this
is nothing to ye qu Controversie between Mr Bl. & me. For you cannot produce a
text of ye old Testamt wch approveth of ye Circumcision of any one, upon ye title
of a faith, or profession of faith, short of Justifying. They were all first by ymselves or
parents to professe a saving faith. 2o The texts cited by you prove not ye thing
you bring ym for. They speak of ye body of ye visible Ch: from wch ye notorious
ungodly were not only de jure cutt off, but also sometime ipso jure alienated.
3o I proved in ye Disputation (wn Mr J. was resp.) yt it was ye appointmt of God
yt all Notorious ungodly persons should be putt to death: & wn they are dead,
they can beget no Children to be circumcised.|| Ad 2 to wt you say from
ye New Testamt. 1o You must prove yt they were Baptized & not put us to
prove yt they were not. 2o It is not all carnality, ~~[illegible]~~ nor scandall yt
proveth a man Notoriously ungodly. Either those persons you mention were
notoriously Impenitent, ~~for~~ those sins, or not. If they were ym they were to be
called to Repentance, & if obstinate cast out, & their Children not to be baptiz-
ed on their account. 2o But if they were not, its nothing to or case. Its nothing
lesse yn habituated predominant Impenitency yt will prove a man Notoriously
ungodly. And how prove you yt ye Corinths, Philip:s Gal: &c were such. wn they sinned,
Paul admonisheth ym & calls ym to repentance. Prove, 1o yt they rejected this
admonition, & were Impenitent as aforesaid. 2o & yn prove yt afterward their
Children were baptized, & yt by Pauls approbation; & you have done this work.
I never said yt every mans Child is to be denyed baptisme yt is guilty of any
scandalous sin.|| 2o As to yt you say of ye Children of ye excommunicate, I only
say, 1o yt excommunication, or ~~but~~ a putting out of ye Ch. is of divers sorts (there
are 3 or 4); & ye children of some have right to bapt, & of others have not. 2o
Prove if you can yt, wn a man is excommunicated out of ye universall visible
Ch: or ye Communion thereof as a Notorious ungodly person, his Children, as his,
have yet right to baptisme. The texts wch you cite say nothing for it.||
Ad 3 1o Prove if you can yt it was ye practise of Antiquity to Baptize ye In-
fants of ye Notoriously ungodly as theirs. Its true yt some after ye 2 or 3
first Centuryes ascribed so much to baptisme, yt they would have baptized
any Child they could light of yt could have any patrinus & susceptor, even
ye Child of an Heathen: but yt was not upon supposition of any right
they had on ye parents account. I am sure they excluded ye parents yt were
[illegible] yt professed not Godlynes, & ye present forsaking of former grosse sins.
And 2o for my part, I am as confident yt Antiquity is agt you, as you are yt its
for you: But of ye Controversie between Mr Bl. & me, its as clear, as yt
there have bin persons baptized. 2o In many Protestant Ch:s Discipline is fallen,
& as they cast ym not out of Communion, so they exclude ym not from this priviledge.
And as to their approving ye Romane baptisme, you know how many of ye [illegible] (as
Usher, Ri: Hooker &c.) suppose yt multitudes among ym are saved, & yt
it is only ye learned knowing Papists, yt explicitly hold ye contradictorys of ye

Comon principles wch they acknowledge, yt by their Religion are condemned. And if it be
comon an opinion yt an ordinary Papist may be saved, so he be but true to his Religion, no won-
der if they condemne not ye baptizing of a Papists Child meerly as such. But yet if they
know those particular persons by name, who do hold all their greatest errors & resolvedly
& practically & willfully agt sufficient meanes of discovery, wt they would do by ye
children of these you prove not. And also, you must remember yt its one thing to approve
ye baptizing of their children, & another thing to deny it to be a Nullity wn its done.
3. Yor additionall objection from ye Nullity of such baptisme, is of no weight. How confidently
soever Mr Bl. may be of it, as I have in ye foresaid Dispute proved, & shall here only
deny yt any such thing followeth, & waite yor proofe. Its not beyond dispute whether
ye externall Baptisme were Null & to be repeated, if ye Child of a Turke were baptized
on a mistake. And if it were, yet yts an act exempted from or Judgmt as being past con-
troversie; & so or action Null if we do it: but among professors of Christianity where a claime
is laid on ye account of profession, ye Minister is Judge; & so if he erre, his action is
not Null, though an errour. This with other reasons should be further enforced; but I sup-
pose you expect not so much adoe. And if this hold, Mr Bl. must rebaptize as well as
others. For how many thousand children have bin baptized among us, whose parents
had not a Dogmaticall faith (For I speak with those frequently yt know not ye fun-
damentalls, whether yt be God or man &c.) If ye Profession of a Dogmaticall faith
will serve his turne to prevent a Nullity without ye faith itself, yn so will ye profession
of a saving faith serve or turne without ye faith itself. Yet still I say yt scan-
dalous sins, or ungodly lives are of two sorts: some yt do not Null a profession of
ye contrary: & these exclude not from bapt. And some yt do rationally & evidently
Null ye verball Profession. & this excludeth fro bapt. Yet so as yt quod fieri non
debet factum valet, so far as yt ye externall ordinance is not to be done againe.//
Yor last objn is about or hopes & feares of or owne bapt, upon hopes & feares
of or parents, is vaine, as grounded on this sand; & so is yor insultion of or rebaptizing.
For wn I seem only saving faith doth or doth not give right, I told you in ye Booke more distinctly
so yt you should not take it as my supposition, without any distinction, yt only saving
faith gives right (yt is, is ye Condition of or Right). So much to yor Argumt 4.//

Lastly I come to yor Accomodation & clearing motions; wherein you deale very
wisely & peaceably. But if Mr Bl. speak English & I can understand English,
you quite mistake his mind, & overlook ye maine Controversie betweene him & me.
I shall go first open yt briefly, & yn take notice of yor Helps.//
Our maine Question is of ye Condition of a Title to baptisme. Or fourfold Condition is he
for us: 1o A true saving faith. 2o The Profession of a saving faith. 3o A real Dogmati-
call faith, or some other short of Justifying faith. 4o The Profession of this Dogmaticall
faith. Here I could not, nor yet can tell you my opinion without many distinctions, wch
are thrown by as uselesse. And I shall now throw by as many as I can & yet make you
any of my mind to purpose. 1o How I distinguish of a Right or Title by Covent-Gift
promise, & yt wch is a meere consequent of ye Ministers Duty, I told you in ye beginning
my similitude, to wch I referr you. 2o How I distinguish of Right Coram Ecclesia (or
foro Ecclesiae) & Coram Deo, you here might take notice. The forum is denominated a
Judice; If ye word forum dislike any one, let yt throw it by: my meaning is plainly
expressed: I call yt forum Ecclesiae, ubi Ecclesia judicat, wn it is to be decided whether th
person have right or Title to baptisme: I call yt forum Dei, when God imediately judgeth
& I meane nothing but his imediate Judging. Hereupon I thus Conclude. 1o Only true
Beleevers (fide salvifica) have ~~a good~~ their seed, have a good Title to Baptisme
by Promise (or Covent-Grant, Testamt, or wt else may be called in sensu morali-civili, a
from God to ym) Coram Deo, or in ye Judgmt of God interpreting his owne Testament.
2o The Professors of this saving faith & their seed, & no other have a go
Title to Baptisme in foro Ecclesiae, or Judice Ecclesia. Bec 1o it is or duty to bap
such & they may require us to do or duty. 2o wn they claime a Right in ye Covent itself
sequently in ye State, we canot disprove ym as not knowing who they be yt do dissemble.
Thus you see my mind as plaine as so few words can make it. // There remaineth
ye two last pretended Titles, wch I do contest agt. wch of ym it is yt Mr Bl. will
I canot tell. For truly either his writing or my braines are so raw, darke & confused,
I canot know his meaning in many things; & he is angry with me for telling him so
saith he despaireth of making me know it. But if he thinketh yt I pretend ignorance
affect it, he is far mistaken. His words seeme often to signifye yt it is a Dogmaticall
faith itself yt doth entitle to Bapt. And yet I am not imagine yt this is his meaning
only this is a good Title in exclusion of ye 4th i.e. I meane, a bare profession of th
for no man can know anothers heart, & so canot know whether he believe Dogmatically

[illegible] 3° if this were ye Title in foro Ecclesiæ no man could be baptized.
Just needs I take ye liberty to conjecture yt it is ye 4th viz, A Profession
of a Dogmaticall faith, whether ye thing professed be there or not, yt is ye
Title wch Mr Blake meaneth, & taketh to be sufficient. For he canot meane yt
it is ye Dogmaticall faith itself Coram Deo, & ye Profession of it Coram Eccle-
siæ, for he renounceth ye distinction (of wch anon) & it is not possible he
should meane any of ye three former; so it must be this last. But now wt
this Dogmaticall faith is, ye Profession whereof doth thus entitle to Baptisme,
as I could not possibly understand his sense by his first booke, so having read
his 2d I am as far from understanding it, & as he telleth me of his despaireth of
making me understand him, so I perceive it is not without cause; & so to wt end
should I dispute with him before I know about wt. If I might believe ye Ti-
tle [Dogmaticall], it is a faith of meere Assent. But yet yt is not it. For a Consent
to something he oft requireth. The most yt I can learne of it is this, 1° yt whatever
faith it be yt he meaneth, it is some sort short of Justifying faith: whereby I know
wt it is not, though I know not wt it is. 2° And though his descriptions of it do
fall out with one another, so yt all canot stand, yet as far as I can conjecture,
this is it yt he most adhereth to, yt it is a believing ye Truth of ye Gospell,
& an engaging to believe with a Justifying faith. Now to yor Observations. //
Ad 1. By ye forum Dei I meane Gods owne Discerning or Judgmt, wch as it is partly
made knowne to us by ye knowl of his Promise wt it is, so is according to yt premise
immanent in himself. now, 2° & perhaps expressed to his Celestiall attendants, so far
as they are to be his executioners of good or evill. 3° & so will be declared at
ye finall Judgmt. So yt you gather yt from my words yt never was in ym or in my
thoughts, viz, yt forum Dei is Gods will revealed by his Covenant grant & yt forum
Ecclesiæ is Gods precept of baptizing. For I make neither of these, so by either
this forum Dei vel Ecclesiæ: but one is yt wch giveth us Title, & ye other yt wch
imposeth duty, & so are ye Lawes according to wch God ye searcher of hearts will
judge perfectly, & 2° man yt knoweth not ye heart must judge imperfectly by professions. //
For yor marginall note, whether this be too nice I say: as you put it its too false, wch is
worse; but not mine: as I put it, wt reason have you to think it too nice to dis-
tinguish ye effects of a precept & a promise. You say, Are ye duty's ye condition
of ye benefit] Ans. wch is ye Ministers duty ye condition of ye Peoples Right to ye
benefit. No. I pray you marke, 1° yt it is not [a precept to ym] but [to ye Ministers]
yt I speake of. 2° yt it is accidentally though their sinfull demand yt it becomes
a duty. As in my first similitude; If ye rich man yt counterfeits himself a beggar
shall demand ye Legacy yt is left to ye Poore, he make it become my duty to
give it him (I being executor) but first it was his duty not to have de-
manded it, & yn it would have bin none of mine to give it // As to yor De-
scription of Mr Bl.s judgmt, 1° you make a fair interpretation of it, but dissonant
from many of his owne words, wch give ym a right from Gods Covenant, & not only
from his ~~[illegible]~~ precept to ye ministers. And yet in his last book, he owne denyeth any
promise of ordinances to ym. 2° Mr Bl. confidently asserteth yt God hath no other
forum wherein he judgeth of these things, but forum Ecclesiæ (Such answers as we
must let pass, unless we will talke as long as we live): As if he judgeth not of these
in himself, nor before his Angels who are deputed to execute his will for ye Church,
or at least would not judge of these things wn soules receive their doome, whether
they rightfully or wrongfully demanded his sealing ordinances. 3° you know (or
should do) yt this Right wch Mr Bl. speaks of, is ascribed on another Title, viz,
to those yt have (or professe to have) a faith short of Justifying faith.
And this yt you make Mr Bl.s doctrine is far more mine yn his. For I still
affirmed yt [we ought to Baptize Professors of saving faith & their children
if they demand it, & Ecclesia judice they have right to it, & all this is
by Gods Comand to us, & is knowne & approved by him] // Againe you mistake
my sense. For its not ye Law itself yt I call forum Dei, but ye Judgmt of God ac-
cording to ye Law. // Lastly I admire yt having read both our bookes so observantly
yt you should imagine yt indeed [ye Reall difference is] yt wch you affirme it to be

[illegible]

you meant [illegible] de doctrina [illegible] by [illegible] professing ye do[illegible] you meant [professing assent] & so far you go with Mr Bl. But [illegible] [illegible] obedientiam] is not only none of his, but contrary to him, unless you meane [obedients so far as to be baptized] & not obedience to ye [illegible]. Indeed if you had said [promittentes obedientiam] you had said as he. For he professeth not saving faith as necessary to bapt., how can he necessarily professe saving obedience. And Mr Bl. saith yt it is not necessary yt they professe justifying [illegible] but yt they promise it. So yt it is still a faith short of justifying wch [illegible] Mr Bl. doth plead for. || But as to ye pretended difference as by you now stated [illegible] gave my answer before, & now adde this, yt This will of God de baptizandis penitentibus, is supposed to be manifested either 1o by a precept to ym to demand it of pastors, in yt state & yts a fiction, for ought I know. 2o or by a precept to us to baptize professors if they do demand it, & yts true. And according to this it will also appear how far God hath or hath not appointed yt it should be a medium [illegible] quod promittuntur in sua salutem even as he hath appointed ye Lords supper to be to those wm he hath commanded to keepe it always wch yet if they will intrude, hath much in it yt is teaching exciting & obliging, & so will aggravate their sin if they be not bettered by it. || Ad 2. 1o I am content to lay by any phrase not scripturall. 2o yt wch I say is given to men short of saving faith, is yet upon a profession of saving faith & not upon ye [illegible] of a lower faith. 3o I told you I know but one covenant, wch promiseth ye blessings of this life & yt to come (though [illegible]) wt you meane by saying yt [by ye covenant is meant all ye dispensation accompanying it] I am not certaine. If you meane ye promise of outward ordinances] I know none yt is made directly to any but true believers. 4o But againe you do strangely put Mr Bl opinion & mine here in opposition, making yt to be his wch is not his but mine. There [illegible] in England yt I can expect to understand our writings if not you. & so for how we lose our labor. You say yt ye 2d all yt professe faith & obedience are in covt, i.e. by Gods appointment are to be received into his schoole, house, visible body, & so to be partakers of the priviledges & helps leading to life everlasting. This is my [illegible] affirmation, wch you make Mr Bl.s who differs from it in these two things 1o yt he make[s] only ye profession of a faith short of justifying, necessary (& I am confident yt not it yt you meane by [profession of faith & obedience]. but he saith they must engage to believe with a justifying faith. 2o He takes these priviledges to be theirs by covenant (wch I understand his promise), wch are theirs only 1o by permission & providence 2o by his precept to ye minister so to administer ym if they demand ym: wch distinction I consent to: having said much more in these distinctions (in yt [illegible] booke) where I shewed how far ye wicked are in Covt & how far not. But its a hard taske to [illegible] mind wth ym yt throw by explications as useless, & prosecute disputations without [illegible] necessary || Ad 3. Justin Martyrs words import, & all ye Christian ch. to this day [illegible] [illegible], hath expressed, ye profession of a saving faith. I see tradition is good for [illegible]. I do not think yt you can name me yt man yt was baptized by any hand [illegible] ye daies of ye Apostles without ye profession of a saving faith, upon ye account of any lower faith or profession. No not by Mr Blake himselfe. || That wch you say [illegible] very evill & not intended by you, I owne as ye very thing intended, with this exception not yt it is of necessity yt ye person know his faith to be saving, or himselfe to be [illegible] in it, but yt he professe yt faith wch is saving, when its truly professed: i.e. yt he believe ye gospell, & consent to have Christ in ye right for his saviour (as he is offered) in a word, yt he professe to be a true Christian, or to believe in God ye father Son & Holy Ghost. And if you take this for evill I will give you many thanks, 1o If you will describe to me ye specifick wch yt faith is yt must be professed. 2o And tell me who ever practised yor doctrine in ye church. 2o You do by a double mistake suppose me to mistake Mr Bl. 1o I never supposed Mr Bl. [illegible] to expresse ye negative by his description. 2o But I mistake not in affirming yt ye negative may be expressed in consistency wth all yt Mr Bl. requireth. A profession is de praesenti, a promise de futuro. Mr Bl. requireth as necessary only ye profession of a Dogmaticall faith & promise [illegible] a justifying. And yet (very strangely) he disclaimeth yt [de futuro] as if all promises were not de futuro. If he meane it but de proximo instanti its a ridiculous thing for a man to say I will not so take Xt now, but I will ye next instant (or houre, or day). But wn ever it be, its de futuro consistent with ye saying [I cannot, or will not at present]. So yt I am far fro wronging Mr Bl. in this. Yor last note is so short yt I understand it not. || Sir I pray pardon ye rudenesse [illegible] this returne to yor friendly animadversions, fro him who oweth you love & honor, & is

Yors unfeignedly Ri: Baxter Jan 7. 1655

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The Stickler [illegible] m^r [illegible] M^r R: B:

§ 1 Sincere faith is considered either as an habite and vertue, or an act, or dutie commanded and performed; whether it be assent or reliance, or acceptance hath an aptitude to be a condition of justification; but its made a condition by the merits of Christ and the promise of God. 2 Yet its not any kind of condition but such as is a title, and an efficient ~~[illegible]~~ politicall cause of a right unto justification, not only because it qualifieth the sinner, and makes him a fit subject to receive the sentence of justification: That it thus qualifies y^e subject is from the nature of faith; that its a title this from the promise that the sinner believing antecedently, God will justifie consequently: he hath bound himselfe to pardon sin, if first the sinner believe.

§3 The question is what is the object of this faith, thus qualifying, thus giving a right. One saith whole Christ in all his offices. Another Christ as Priest satisfieing and meriting.

§4 The answer (in one word) is God promising mercie for, and in consideration of Christ satisfaction, & merit unto believers, Christ as meriting is the fountaine & cause of justification (considered in it selfe); the promise together w^th the p^rcept limits it to believers, and that by excluding all others, giving them a right.

§5 But to understand this better. 1. There is noe benefitt derived unto sinfull man for his salvation, but from Christ as satisfieing ~~and~~ meriting in his humiliation.

§6 2 Though Christ satisfie, and merit as a Priest, yet its whole Christ that doth satisfie, and merit; for if he had not bin the eternall sonn of God, incarnate, made Priest he could not have satisfied, & merited. Nay though he had bin Priest, yet if he had not sacrificed himselfe, he had not satisfied and merited

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§7 3 Though Christ as Priest (sacrificing himselfe) doth this, and procures an indefinite right; yet as King, Prophet, and Priest exalted in heaven he gives possession.

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58 There is a generall act of faith which receives Christ in all his capacities, and there are severall particular distinct acts, whereby he is receivd according to his severall distinct capacities, yet none of these acts give any particular severall distinct right to any benefitt merited but by vertue of the promise of God, and performance of man.

59 5 We must have a right before we can have possession.

510 6 Before we can assent we must receive Christ as an infallible Prophet: Before we can obey, and performe the duties of faith we must receive him as a Kinge: Before we can relie upon his merit we must receive him as a Priest. Before we have a right we must receive him as promising: all this must be done before faith can be a title, or we receive, & Christ give possession.

511 7 When Christ gives the possession we are onely passive, in all the former we are ~~[illegible]~~ active receivers.

512 8 By what we have right to justification, we have right to all the benefitts ~~[illegible]~~ following, as reconciliatio[n], adoption, glorification.

513 9 Christ as a Kinge may be considerd as a Lawgiver commanding faith wch as a dutie performed is a part of or obedience but as he justifieth he is a Judge.

514 These things premised it will be granted: 1 that Christ as Priest offering himselfe doth satisfie and merit not onely justification but all other saving benefits. 2 As such he must be receivd by a distinct act of faith before we can have right unto justification, 3 That this Christ receivd as a Priest is also a Kinge & a Prophet though as Kinge and Prophet he is not a Priest, nor can satisfie, or merit. 4 That if we receive him as Kinge and Prophet, and not as a Priest expiating sin, we can never be justified. Therfore in Scripture, clearing purging the Conscience, remission, justification is so often ascribed to his blood.

§ 15 God hath set forth Christ as a propitiation through faith in his blood. Rom 3. 25. Where we must observe 1 That Christ is a propitiation through his blood, and only through his blood, 2. That by faith in his blood alone he is a propitiation to thee or me.

§ 16 The conclusion is, that justifying faith (as justifying) receives Christ as Priest expiating sin in his humiliation: and in this respect only by vertue of the promise. This is that faith by which we are justified.

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A Sinner is justifyed by faith in Christ ye propitiation for our sins through his blood.

§1. To understand ye blessed and saving truth wee must enquire into ye nature of justification, not so much in general, but in ye particular sense wch ye Scriptures of ye new testament use it, especially in ye Epistles of St Paul to ye Romans and Galatians. From wch places it is evident that it presupposeth ye miserable condition of man fallen, and ye redemption of man by Jesus Ch. For ye condition of man fallen, its easily understood from Rom 5. from verse ye 12. unto ye end. In 1 word its ye condition of sin and death. For man fallen is not onely under ye guilt ~~[illegible]~~ but also under ye sentence and part of ye execution of yt sentence pronounced upon Adam, and in him upon all his posterity for ye violation of ye law of creation in particular of yt law concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

§2. Because by ye first law of creation no man cold be justified God in his free love and abundt mercy provided a redeemer Jesus Christ and gave him his only begotten son, that whosoever beleiveth on him shold not perish but have everlasting life John 3.16. And that, as sin had reigned unto death, even so might grace reigne through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Ch. our Lord. Rom 5. 21.

§3. In Jesus Ch. our Lord wee must observe according to ye Scripture 1 his qualification for ye work of redemption 2 ye work it selfe accomplished. In his qualification ~~[illegible]~~ wee have his person, natures, ~~of~~ and 3 fold office of prophet priest, king. For Jesus Ch. is ye word made flesh annoynted with ye holy Ghost above measure and in greatest fulness. And as flesh united to ye word hee was from his conception and birth designed to be a prophet priest and king. At his baptism hee was solemnly so declared as also in his transfiguration. Upon his resurrection, hee was fully consecrated a priest for ever after ye order of Melchizedeck, and constituted universal king. A little before his ascension having received all power in heaven and earth, ~~hee~~ began to make universal officers and gave ym commission to reduce all nations unto his subjection. But sat at ye right hand of God hee

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began to administer his universal and eternal kingdome in a more eminent manner by sending downe the holy Ghost; and to officiate as high priest in ye heavenly tabernacle.

§. 4. Of ye worke of redemptiō Divines do well observe out of ye Gospel two parts; his humiliatiō & his exaltatiō. And tho. in his humiliatiō, wherein he tooke upon him ye forme of a servt. ~~yet hee~~ he performed many acts of his propheticall office, and some of his royal power as candidatus regni; yet his principal act above all others was ye sacrificeing of himselfe as hee was a priest in his consecratiō. This sacrifice was; slaine on earth, when hee willingly suffred death for ye sin of man at ye comd of his heavenly father, and presented ~~himselfe~~ in heaven before his fathers throne as suprem Judge justly offended at ye sin of man And this hee did when hee entred by his owne blood into ye holy place. And this sacrifice thus slaine and offred up God by ye eternal spirit without spot was so farre accepted and of yt power with his heavenly father, yt hee obtained eternal redemptiō, and a power to purge ye conscience ~~of~~ frō dead works, and to make ye everlasting covent firme and inviolable. Heb. 9. 12. 14. 15.

§. 5. The effects immediate of ys sacrifice are reduced ordinarily to 2 ye first of satisfactiō ye 2nd of merit. For God as supreme Lord and Judge ~~accepted and~~ did so farre accept ys sacrifice, that as just hee was willing, seeing Christ had suffred punishmt for man to turne away his wrath from man; so yt ys death was acknowledged a ful satisfactiō and upon ye same justice it selfe gave way to mercy for to save man And besides ~~hee~~ because ys sacrifice was willingly and without spot offred God was willing to glorify Christ and blesse man for ever. And both these effects are signified by those words, Hee obtained eternal redemption Heb 9. 12. For without satisfactiō and merit yr can be no eternal redemptiō. Hee merited for himselfe glory everlasting and most excellent to be made a priest for ever after ye order of Melchizedech, and to

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~~and~~ bee as supreme ~~and~~ universal and eternal king, invested with a legislative power, and also a transcendent jurisdiction, wᶜʰ God by him doth exercise continually since his advancemᵗ to his right hand, but most eminently upon yᵉ general resurrectiō, when hee shall by him passe sentence and determine of yᵉ final and eternal estate of men and Angels, and also execute his judgmᵗ eternally and irrevocably. Then as priest by yᵉ sacrifice merited and obtained, 1. yᵉ abrogatiō of yᵉ covenᵗ and law of works so farr as it was positive in determining yᵉ conditiō of eternal life and death / ~~as~~ 2. yᵉ new covenᵗ ~~as~~ established upon better promisses 3. The power of yᵉ Spirit to enable man to keepe it 4 a power to give yᵉ actual possessiō and enjoymᵗ of all yᵉ blessings promised to such as should by yᵉ Spirit keepe yᵉ covenᵗ. And here note, that as yᵉ principal end of Ch. in his humiliation as a priest was to purchase, so one end of his exaltatiō was to make his purchase good

§. 6. These things premised, because both yᵉ fall ~~and~~ of man and redemptiō by Christ are presupposed to justificatiō, I proceed to examine the Divine axiome proposed, That a sinner is justifyed by faith in Ch. the propitiatiō for our sins through his blood. And here wee are to consider 1 yᵉ general nature of yˢ Justificatiō 2 yᵉ special. ffor yᵉ Justificatiō is a sentence whereby a sinner beleiving in Ch. dying for sin is declared to bee just. 1 Therefore its a sentence and an act of God not as lawgiver but Judge. ffor it is opposed to condemnatiō wᶜʰ is an act of judgmᵗ. Who shall lay any thing to yᵉ charge of Gods elect? Its God that justifyeth. Who shall condemne &c Rom 8. 33 34. Men may talke much of Sententia Legis and of justificatiō in law &c. But such expressiōs are Rhetorical ~~and~~ but neither Logical, nor Grammatical. The law determins Jus observandi and is norma ~~Judicij~~ obedientiæ et Judicij. Judgmᵗ looks at Jus observatiō or violatiō, and yt by some particular persō to bee sentenced ~~[illegible]~~ by yᵉ rule of yᵉ law according to his obedience or disobedience made evidᵗ. A person may bee justifiable by law after hee hath observed it, but not justifyed by it. ffor yˢ is yᵉ act of yᵉ Judge. ~~This~~ Justificatiō therefore presupposeth yᵉ law of Grace as its a rule of obedience binding man to observe it and yˢ it is in yᵉ precepts and prohibitiōs: and a rule of judgmᵗ in yᵉ promisses

178 and yᵉ threatenings. And God is Judge as redeemer ~~[illegible]~~ throned by Christ and sits in yᵉ throne of Grace not of strict Justice

§. 7. In ye speciall nature of it wee must consider 1 The party to bee
Judged 2. ye meanes whereby hee becomes justifiable 3. ye Act of
Justification. 1. The party to bee justified is ~~a sinner~~ in generall as a
sinner, and considered as guilty: otherwise before ye most Just and mercifull
Judge there could bee no neede of bloud, propitiation, satisfaction. Yet tho
hee bee guilty, hee is not as such justifiable: for yn all guilty persons shall
bee so too. In ys respect hee is chargeable with sin, and liable to condemnation
And if judgmt passe according to ye law of works, hee must needs bee
condemned, and yt unavoidably: and this must bee confessed by ye sinner.

§. 8. In ye meanes whereby hee becomes justifiable wee must obe
serve 2 things 1 Christ 2 faith in Christ. And in Christ 1 bloud
2 propitiation by his bloud. This bloud is ye sacrifice of his death, wch hee
willingly suffered for ye sin of man. The propitiation is an effect of ys
sacrifice; wch is propitiatory and makes God mercifull or procures Gods
mercy 1 by ye offering of it, when Christ presented himselfe upon his
death in ye holy place of heaven before his fathers tribunall 2 by ye re-
presenting of it, ~~and~~ in his intercession in heaven. ffor hee ever liveth to
make intercession for all such as come to God by him. By ys sacrifice, hee
~~[illegible]~~ merited an indefinite right for man unto salvation, and a power
to conferre ys right according to ye tenor of ye covenant. And by pleading
this bloud for such as beleive hee obteines ye actuall collation of remis-
sion, reconciliation, adoption, sanctification and in ye end of eternall glory
And because satisfaction and merit are ye prop and immediate effects
of ys sacrifice, therefore ye right unto salvation must needs bee derived
from Christ as a priest. ffor all the promises of God are both made for
ye bloud of Christ and confirmed by ye bloud of Christ. And God doth
not promise remission and eternal life but for him, and in consideration
of his sacrifice fore-esteemed and accepted by him. And here it is to
bee observed, that Christ in ys sentence of justification is not considered as
King, lawgiver, Judge, but as advocate and priest by his bloud, wch hee
shed as a [illegible]. And as King hee is never in ye new testament called
Mediatour, but a priest and acts as a priest to ye justification of a sinner

ffor hee intercedes by his blood. ffor if any man sin wee have an advocate
Jesus Christ, ye righteous who is ye propitiation for our sins 1 John. 2. 1. 2.
And hee as a priest is able to save such as come to God by him; for hee ever
liveth to make intercession for ym Heb. 7. 25. And therefore wee are
said to bee pardoned, justified, purged from dead works, consecrated for ever
by ye death, ye blood, ye sacrifice, ye offering, ye intercession of Christ. And
therefore it were wisdome for man to use ye dialect of ye Spirit in
ye discourses concerning yis great and weighty Article of justification

§. 9. The 2nd thing whereby wee become justifiable and yt im-
mediately is faith in Christ as ye propitiation for our sins in his blood
This faith is an assent unto ye truth of ye Gospel That God so loved ye world
that hee gave his only begotten sonne yt whosoever shall believe on him yt
should not perish but have eternal life. or yt truth that Christ is the propitiation
for our sins through his blood, and is willing to give remission of sins to all those
who believe in him: or to yt more briefe, that God raised Christ from the dead.
That yis faith is an assent of ye soule is evident from ~~ye [illegible] of Abraham~~ ye full
perswasion of Abraham. Rom. 4. 21. Hee was fully perswaded yt what hee had pro-
mised hee was able to performe. yet this assent is practical and powerful with-
out all doubt. ffor it is an assent and acceptation ~~of ye truth~~ not only of ye truth
respecting ye love of God, ye death of Christ, ye will of God to pardon sin for Christs
sake, but also such an assent practical and acceptation of ye things ~~[illegible]~~ represented
as yt it makes a most lively impression of & upon ye soule, so yt ye party believing
confesseth himselfe by yis assent and in it, to bee a guilty and miserable sinner
yt sin is is a most odious abominable and offensive in ye sight of God, yt Gods
love is unspeakable, yt Christs sacrifice is most satisfactory and meritorious, yt
yre is no remission but by and for it. Nay it is so powerful yt it ~~almost~~ deeply
engageth ye heart to hate sin, and love God for ever: and yre can bee no
stronger motive unto obedience in ye world yn ye love of God, ye death of Christ
and Gods willingnes to pardon so many and grievous sins for ever. And this man
can never assent without some powerful working of Gods blessed Spirit
writing and imprinting yse eternal, sweet and saving truths in ye inward
179 parts, and ye very center and depth of ye soule. So yt yis assent is a great

Change of ye harte, a separation from sin, a returne to God in duties, wch is yt
wee call repentance. And here wee need not determine ye controversy whether
ye understanding and will be two distinct faculties of ye soule or but one
either like they were one, ~~and~~ yet some of ye best schollers in ye world have asserted
yet ye one faculty might assent so weakely, as yt it wod prove to no purpose
And whosoever do conceive yt this faith wch Christ requires is such an assent
as may consist with impiety and iniquity never truely understood either ye pro-
phets or Apostles or Christ himselfe speaking of faith. Neither do yt follow ye
Dialect of ye Spirit, wch affirme yt ye faith is a receiving of Christ as
King and Lord for justification, seeing ye Apostle in ye Epistles to ye Romans
Galatians Hebrewes speaking professedly of justification by faith and purging us
from sins still represents Christ as priest and mediatour by his blood and not
any tyme as King and Lord.

§. 10 This assent is never without a renunciation of all confidence in
it selfe or any other thing, and a total relyance upon Christs ministeries
sacrifice alone, wch in prayeres onely pleaded before the tribunal of God for
pardon. And ye reason why this faith yus understood makes a sinner justified
and obtaines a right to justification is ye promisse of God, and this promisse
is grounded upon ye sacrifice ~~of~~ and intercession of Christ, and ys sacrifice
was so powerful because it was so willingly offered without spot or blemish
to God ye supreme Judge. And it was ye stupendious love of God, wch moved
him to give Christ for us and comand ~~it~~ him to sacrifice himselfe for us.
And ys faith and assent is not accepted of God, can have no aptitude to be
a condition as some call it, if it rely upon Christ onely for pardon, freedome fro
punishment ~~and happiness~~, and not for holiness too. A wicked man may desire free-
dome from punishment, not freedome from sin. The soule cannot effectually assent to
Christ denying himselfe, and taking up ye crosse for his salvation and service of
but must at least virtually include a selfe denyal and a readiness to take up ye crosse
for Christs sake. Neither is ye heart of man capable of ys heavenly vertue without
some preparation. For faith is by hearing ye word of God; and wee must put away
all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness, and with meekness receive ye
ingrafted word. James 1. 21. And wee must lay aside all malice and all guile
and hypocrisye, and envies and all evil speakings and as new borne babes
desire ye sincere milke of ye word, yt wee may grow yerby 1 Pet. 2. 1. 2

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Neither can yt faith ever take kindly rooting in an heart like unto yt high
way, or yt stony or yt thorny ground: for it must bee above yt heart in yt word
and yt world in yt heart. Yet all yse preparatory and precedent qualificatios
are not yt sanctificatio and regeneratio effected by yt Spirit dwelling in us by
vertue of our union with Christ, though yt bee from yt Spirit. First by ys
faith wee are spiritually united to Christ, and ingrafted into him so yt wee
dwell in him and hee in us, before wee can derive remission, reconciliatio, adoptio
regeneratio from him. By ys faith wee are made members of his body, and branches
of yt vine whereof his father is yt husbandman. Good works and future obedience
are but ye effects and fruits of Christ in us and us in Christ by ys faith. And
no other grace, can thus qualify us, thus receive Christ, thus rely on him; thus renounce
all righteousness, and it selfe, and give and ascribe all unto God freely giving
and Christ effectually meriting: It receives eternal life as immediately from
Christ as our first estate of justificatio. And there must needs bee some special
reason, why ye Evangelists and Paul in all his epistles so often affirme
yt wee are justified, saved, partakers of eternal life by faith without any
mention of works. And this faith is yt conditio, ye only conditio as giving
right, not only ~~of~~ to justificatio begun, but continued and consummate. For by it
wee are united unto Christ and by it from Christ wee receive righteousness
at first and glory at ye last. That good works may bee a conditio of ye new
covent there is no doubt, but yre are many sorts of conditios, and its a great
fallacy to say, because yy are a conditio therefore yy are a title. A puny
and smatterer knowes that yre are many ~~and~~ sorts of conditions, and
can distinguish ym. Good works are to bee reckoned amongst ye benefits wch
wee receive from Christ by faith. If good works bee yt title of justification
yn so farre as yy are a title, ye covent of workes must needs bee in force

§ 11. After ye discourse concerning 1 ye party to be justified, 2 ye
and
meanes whereby he becomes ~~justifiable~~ Justification it selfe ~~is~~ is to be considered
The Judge as you heard before is God, its God that justifieth. Rom 8. 33. And
Jesus Christ is our Advocate with ye Father, who is ye Judge 1 John. 2. 1. 2.
The generall notion was before, is to be a sentence: a sentence ~~[illegible]~~ not
of ye law, wch is ye rule of judgmt. nor of God as lawgiver but as Judge
And of ye sentence 2. things are to be observed 1 That it is passed by God
within ye soule, where he erects his tribunal 2 That it is alwayes so joyned with
ye execution ~~at least in part~~, as it is never separated from it, but seemes to be
ye very same with it. 1 It is pronounced and declared in us, not by any
prophetical revelation and immediate inspiration but by a reall and working
manifestation, and ye reall manifestation is ye execution. ffor wee must not
conceive that Gods judgmt is like mans, wch first pronounceth ye sentence
and yt afterward putteth in execution and yt [illegible] many tymes [illegible]
part by another. It is [illegible] in his judgmt. whose sentence was ye very
execution of ye partyes offending. Neither is ye ye sentence of conscience, nei-
ther can it be so. That justification is such a sentence is evidt. because
peace and joy in ye hope of Gods glory and manifestation of Gods love shed in
our hearts, by ye holy Ghost given unto us ~~doe alwayes follow~~ ye death
of sin, ye life of grace, ye dominion over sin, ye spirit of adoption are alwayes
in some measure
found in ye justified by faith, ~~but~~ And how should ye Ephesians after yt
believed be sealed with ye holy Spirit of promise cap. 1. 13. If God did not
declare and pronounce ye sentence by execution. And all yes are divine effects
and farre above ye ~~[illegible]~~ power of men, conscience, Angels. And I do not
can
think yt any man prove evidt. by any other kind of sentence ye justified man
believing in Christ ~~but yt~~, in all the Scriptures. And ye principall part of
ye sentence of execution, if I may so speake, is ye making of us righteous and
taking away ye dominion and power of sin, by ye holy Ghost renewing us.
ffor one of ye greatest penaltyes inflicted upon us, is the taking away ye sancti-
fying spirit from us and delivering us to ye power of Satan: ~~[illegible]~~
and ye restoring of ye spirit, must needs be ye principal part of ye execution
And from yt it followes, yt wee are not fully justified till wee be fully sanctified

2

§. 1. Some Divines affirme that receivinge Christ as king and
Lord is of ye essence of justifying faith as justifying: and yet and in this is
to plucke up Antinomian doctrine by ye roots, wch is done many wayes
and in yt it shal be true. To understand this ye better wee must consider
1 in what respect Christ is a king 2 what ye receiving of him as ~~a~~ kinge
may be 3 how yt tends or operates to ye justificacon of a sinner. For
ye 1 wee must observe yt Christ is king in a 2fold respect 1 as God
according to his Divine nature; and so hee is king together with ye father
and ye Spirit by creacon, preservacon, redemption. ~~Hence yee considered hee~~
~~is God and man~~. And in respect of creacon and preservacon all creatures
are subject to and under his power even his enemyes. As hee is Lord re-
deemer hee hath acquired a power ~~[illegible]~~ in a speciall manner over all flesh, yt is mankind
2 Hee is king as man exalted to ye right hand of God: and this regal
dignity and power hee received by commission and donacon from his heavenly
father as a reward of his sufferings: but this power is not primitive and
supreme: And yt kingdome is to be delivered up unto ye father when all
enemyes are subdued. In yt respect hee is ye ~~officer generall and~~ chiefe
officer in ye administracon of yt kingdome. A 1

§ 2 To receive him as king is ye act of subjection and acknowledgment of
him 1 as ye supreme universal governour of ye world especially of mankind
since ye creacon of ye world, as hee is ye creatour, preserver of it. and
also as ye redeemer of mankind since ye fall of Adam and ye promisse
of ye blessed seede of ye ~~[illegible]~~ woman. 2 as ye supreme officer and administratour
of Gods kingdome especially of ye Church as hee is man exalted to ye
right hand of God

§ 3 This act doth not cannot operate to ye justificacon of a sinner
And here its to be noted 1 That no man before Christ ascension and sitting
at ye right hand of God could subject ym selves unto him ~~[illegible]~~ And yet ye
sts of former tymes were justified without any such subjection. That ye

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authours of ye assertion doe understand it of ye fuller subjection
unto Christ incarnate and glorifyed is evid^t. because ye ~~understand~~ declare
and expresse yemselves ~~accordingly~~ that the kingdome of Christ is his
kingly office. Now no supreme Governour can be an officer: for an officer
is one yt receives power from ye supreme by commission. And they usually
call it his kingly office. and alledge such places of Scripture as speake
of Christ as sitting at ye right hand of God. 2 This subjection is no
~~act~~ formal act of faith, though it be an effect or consequent of faith.
For Christ must be beleived to be king and Lord at ye right hand
of his father, before hee can bee so acknowledged, and subjected unto. And
as obedience is essentially distinct from faith, so likewise subjection must
needes bee. 3 A guilty party ~~yt shall receive~~ to bee justified receives
God as Judge sitting on the throne of grace, reconciled and made propi-
tious by ye blood and intercession of his sonne as priest, dispensing remission
as merited by yt sonne. The sonne as king is no mediatour or advocate
then. as such hee may comd men in ye name of his father, and judge men
by commission from his father, and ~~for~~ in his fathers name justify or condemne
ym. And in this respect faith it selfe may bee an act of obedience and
no wayes differ from any other good workes or dutyes performed. Yet by yt faith
as by yt worke wee cannot bee justifyed, then. against this use yt of faith were
but an act of obedience and a good worke, wee could never bee justifyed by it
4 It may be questioned whether any man can receive Christ as his king
before his first justification as some call it. For hee cannot receive him as his king
till Christ receive him as his subject to enjoy ye priviledges of his kingdome
Before man bee justified hee hath no peace with God, and yr is enmity
betweene ym, and reconciliation with God before adoption, followes justification
And adoption is ye naturalizing and admitting of beleivers justifyed into
the kingdome of Ch.

§. 4. That God hath made Christ king and Lord, that hee hath set him his king upon his holy hill of Zion, that hee hath given all power in heaven and earth, that ~~all~~ Angels are subject unto him, yt hee is ye head of ye Church, yt hee must reigne till all his enemyes are subdued and made his footstoole is evidt in Scripture. And also its certaine yt all to whom ye Gospel is made knowne are bound to subject ymselves unto him, and being willingly subjected are obliged to obey him; and that whosoever will not obey his commds shall bee adjudged by him to eternal paines is as cleare out of ye Gospel. But where can it bee proved, yt yis subjection is ye act and not effect of faith? And what place of Scripture, wch speakes professedly of justification by faith can bee alledged, where ye kingdome and subjects of Christ is mentioned, and Christ represented and considered as a king and not as a priest and mediatour. For a priest and mediatour are all one. And according to ye Doctrine of ye Apostle to ye Hebrews its evident yt hee is called a mediatour as a priest as appears Heb. 8. 6 & ye 9. 15. as likewise 1 Timothy 2. 5. And hee is never called Mediatour as king. That hee yt is king is prophet and priest, and hee yt is priest is king yr is no doubt; and faith must receive him both as prophet and beleive his doctrine; as priest and beleive his satisfaction and merit, as king, and beleive hee is invested with regal power, and that his lawes are binding upon ye paine of eternal death, is very certaine. But all this doth not prove yt justifying faith as justifying and deriving from him right to justification before Gods tribunal receives Christ as king, and yt ye hearty receiving of him as king wch yt make to bee subjection is essential to yt act of faith whereby wee acquire a right unto righteousness and eternal life

§ 5. It is affirmed by some That justificatiō continued and consummate is not onely by faith but by works. And it may bee granted, That yu who continue in ye State of justificatiō and they also that are finally justifyed must not onely have faith but according as yu have opportunity must have good works 2 That good works ~~[illegible]~~ as good shallbee justified yt is approved, and rewarded by God according to his promisse 3. That ye party persevering to ye end and doing good works shallbee justifyed by his works in some sense ffor ye Scripture useth yt expression. But it is to bee considered whether ye Scripture speakes tropi=cally, as in many places it doth or properly, when it saith wee are justified by works. ffor all will grant, yt by works wee cannot bee justifyed so as wee are justi=fyed by faith. Its true yt God being just will approve yu yt do yt wch is just and good works as doing yu: and hee hath bound himselfe by promisse so to doe. 4 That faith as a duty comanded by G. and performed by man ~~[illegible]~~ considered in ye generall notiō doth not differ from good works had by it as such wee can no other wayes bee justifyed yu by works 5. The good works of persons regenerate as imperfect and done by persons wch have sinned and doe sin, differ frō ye good works of Angels and of Adā in innocency. 6. The righteousnes of those who shallbee justifyed at first and also at last judgmt must bee perfect, able to endure ye severity of Gods justice so as yt nothing can bee chargable upon ye party to bee justifyed: accor=ding to yt who shall lay any thing to ye charge of Gods elect? Rom 8 33 And therefore yu cannot bee justifyed by good works or by faith as a worke because both are imperfect and performed by sinners. And its ye same reason and ye same cause why wee cannot bee justifyed by in Pauls sense by good works, wch is ye reason and cause why wee cannot bee justifyed by faith as a worke: and if you exclude faith as a worke you must exclude all obedience in doing good works as such. 7. There can bee no justificatiō of a sinner and guilty person tho. hee doe good works by ye grace of ye regenerating spirit without satisfactiō and merit of an innocent party, whose satisfactiō and merit God as supreme Judge shall accept for ye guilty sinner. And by yt onely yu guilty sinner may bee so justifiable as yt hee can no wayes bee charged with any guilt whereas tho, hee hath done never so many

§. 7 But its written Blessed are they wch do his commandmts, yt they may have right to ye tree of life &c. Rev. 22:14 wch words seeme to affirme yt obedience to Gods comndts are such a condicon, as being performed give right unto eternal life. To answere hereunto, 1 Some copies and in particular ye vulgar translaton reade it Blessed are they wch have washed yre robes in ye blood of ye Lambe: and if yt be ye true reading yn by vertue of ye blood of ye Lambe purifying and justifying ym, yt have right unto eternal life. 2. But supposing our translator to follow ye true copies, yet ye keeping of ye comndts may note only ye qualificaton of ye parties who have right, not ye title by wch yt have right: for such as keepe Gods comndmts have right by yr faith in Christ raysed from ye dead and making intercession in heaven. 3. The word ἐξουσία doth ~~nott~~ not alwayes signify Jus et potestatem, a title; but often signifyes liberty, licence, permission And soe its taken 1 Corinth. 9. 4. 5. 6. 12. and yt five tymes.

§ 8. We read it written thus Wash you make you cleane put away ye evil of your doings. Cease to do evil do good &c. Come now let us reason together saith ye Lord: though your sins be as scarlet yt shall be as white as ~~ye~~ snow &c. Esay. 1.16.17.18. And repent you and be converted yt your sins may be blotted out Acts 3.19 Forgive and ye shall be forgiven. Luke 6.37. Many such places there are wch seeme plainely to assert yt faith alone is not ye condicon and title to justificaton and remission I answere, 1 no man can doe these things without faith 2 that faith wch doth not these is not sufficient 3. These may qualify us and make us capable of remission, and be a way and meanes to obtaine a freedome from Gods judgmts 4. yet they wch do these things pray for pardon for his names sake, his mercyes sake, for Christ his sake, whom they believe to have expiated their sins by his blood. 5. some of These may be such passive qualificatons as are required in us for ye right hearing ye word, and disposing ye heart for ye receiving of yt heavenly vertue of saving faith: for all these may be done in some measure by moralists for ye averting of temporal judgmts. The Jewes must humble and afflict yr soules, yet it was ye expiatory great sacrifice, with ye blood whereof ye high priest entred into ye holy place, whereby yt obtained expiaton: and it was yr faith in ye great sacrifice of ye Messias whereby yt obtained right to remission of sins

Faith it selfe in respect of ye moral part is plainely such a repentance & conversion, and virtually as ye roote or principle includes all other graces. I meane that faith whereby wee immediatly have right to ye justification wch brings peace, and ye sealing spirit of God as ye earnest of eternal life. Yet ye faith is not the [illegible] condition, if I may so speake, as it a pure moral worke and duty but as terminated on Christ as satisfying and meriting as you heard before. Yet this faith must be so understood as that its necessary antecedts, its proper effects, adjuncts and other graces wch have necessary connexion with it or dependence upon it. And ye condition is as large as ye promise of ye new covent. For faith cannot be faith without some antecedent preparations of ye heart besides ye causes: and it cannot be sincere without ye necessary consequents, yet it essentially both in habit and act differs from all antecedents and concomitants, wch may bee called [illegible] by a trope but not properly. The summe of all is wee must have faith and good works too, by divine institution yt cannot be separate, yet by good works no man can be justified, by faith hee may. And wee must doe good works with ye zeale and diligence as tho: wee should bee justified by ym, yet when wee seeke justification and life before ye tribunal of ye eternal Judge, wee must so beleive and rely on Christ as tho: wee had no works at all, wee must renounce ym, and plead for mercy and not justice to bee justified by Christs satisfaction and merits wch wee beleive and not by ye works wch wee have done; and acknowledge by grace wee are saved and through faith, and yt not of our selves it is ye gift of God; not of works least any man should boast. For wee are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works, wch God hath ordained that wee should walke in ym. Ephes. 2. 8. 9. 10.

§8 The pure morals as given to Adam together with ye positive law of knowledge of good and evil as ye only condition of life is abrogated: but wch as a law in f[illegible] not norma judicij. For it is properly norma judicij [illegible] and if it be yet, its not in force. Christ hath satisfied for ye violation law, and instead of yt faith in him should be ye only condition: and ye yt commands faith wch virtually includes an universal obedience to all doth take away the former law, tho it make some use of it: and as ye o[illegible] rule of judgment and remedy. And tho wee cannot violate ye law but wee must violate ye law of faith workes, and yet be ~~guilty of~~ chargeable with one sin, yet he cannot be justifiable in yt manner. 8 ffaith alone can receive Christ as satisfying and meriting for sinners; faith alone can unite us to Christ as satisfying and meriting and so by it wee derive a right unto justification and eternall life immediately from Christ the propitiation for our sins by vertue of ye promisse, wch promisse and the mercyes promissed were both merited by Christ upon satisfaction made. And here is specially to be noted that ye promisse doth not give a right merely and onely as a promisse made ex mero motu et pura voluntate but as promisse merited and made for and in consideration of ye sacrifice of Christ accepted of God as supreme Judge; and ye ~~things~~ mercyes are to be considered not merely as mercyes but as merited by Christ. Neither is ye promisse made unto faith as a worke or a good worke or act of obedience purely moral holy and just but unto faith a duty performed by a guilty person (by ye spirit merited and restored) unto God atoned and propitiated by ye blood of Christ, and receiving Christ as having ~~as~~ satisfyed and merited. yet it had not beene suitable unto ye holines and justice of God to have made it ye condition except it had been morally holy and just. Except it had beene such wee could not have communion with God ye Father who is light and in whom yr is no darknes nor with Christ so as that his blood might cleanse us from all sin. So yt faith as it is an obedience unto God whatever ~~differ~~ that it agrees in generall with ye faith required by ye moral law of God as creatour, yet in speciall it differs much because it must be terminated upon ye sonne of God made man and sacrificing himselfe for us sinfull creatures. ffor hee yt beleiveth with ye heart yt God raised Christ from ye dead shall be ~~is~~ justifyed. Rom 10. where wee may observe yt faith is an assent & an assent unto ye truth concerning Christs death & resurrection.

§. 6. Its evident out of Scripture that rewards and remission of sins are promissed to such as repent, are mercifull, forgive others, and do good works yet wee must consider well how these words and promisses are to be understood And to ye purpose wee must know 1. That yr is such a connexion betweene faith and all Christian dutyes, yt where faith is, yre all other Christian vertues are to be found some way in some measure: and where any one is in sincerity yre is faith and all ye rest. 2. That when God doth promisse remission of sins and a reward, to such as are mercifull, such as forgive others, such as love God &c.

and but one of yse vertues and graces are named, yt is a tropical and
Synecdochical expression, and by one all ye rest (~~especially faith~~) ~~is~~ must to be
understood ~~as yt [illegible]~~ and faith (ye root of all) especially. So yt any one
of yse as a prop. character sufficeth to point out ye person to whom ye
reward is due: because such as ye converted yt ~~[illegible]~~ cannot one be without
all. 3. The reward is neither given nor promised to be given but for Christ
seen as meriting and interceding, neither for Ch. but as received by faith
as meriting and making intercession. 4. Good works and new obedience
may be called conditions of ye new covenant in a large sense because of yr
connexion with faith; because yt have some affinity with faith; because
yt issue from faith; because yt are performed by grace derived from
Christ as made ours, and dwelling in us by faith; because yt are com-
manded by God propitiated by ye blood of Christ and have a pro-
mise of reward; because yt are evidences of faith; because yt make
us capable of communion with God; because by ym we have ye pos-
session and actual enjoymt of ye reward merited by Christ; because when
yt are wholy wanting yr is no faith; because if we neglect to doe ym
or doe ye contrary, we contract new guilt, and must renew our faith yt
we may obtaine remission, wch is not obtained by ym done before or after ye
renewal of our faith; because yt strengthen our faith: for ye more we
exercise our faith in doing good workes ye firmer it is and ye stronger our
union with Christ. Yet for all this yt are imperfect, ye party doing ym
a sinner, yt leave him chargable with sin; yt cannot receive Christ as made
atoner by his blood and as propitiated for our sins, this is ye prop. act of
faith, and not of workes: and therefore even in our final justification we
are justified by faith and not by works: and workes cannot be ye cond.
and both whereby we immediatly fro Christ, derive justification and
life. And let it be well considered whether any man not justified can doe
good worke acceptable to God, to whom he is not reconciled: wch if he cannot
justification is not by works, but workes by justification.

3.

Propositions principally to bee considered
in doctrine of justificatiō by free grace.

1 ~~The~~ Christ is mediatour as preist satisfying, meriting and making intercessiō for beleiving sinners.

2. In justificatiō God is to bee considered as Judge, and Christ as mediatour and advocate

3: ffaith as justifying is a practical and powerful assent to Gods promisse of remissiō and eternal life for ye sacrifice and intercessiō of Christ

4. ffaith considered as a worke in general and ~~and~~ an act of obedience to ye pure moral law of God is not ye conditiō and title unto remissiō and eternal life.

5 ffaith is not a conditiō by way of title by vertue of a pro=misse made ex nuda voluntate or of ye promisse of ye Gospel as a promisse in general.

6. ffaith is a title by vertue of a promisse, and ye things promissed are merited by Christ upon satisfactiō made unto divine justice

7. The final justificatiō and eternal glory are as immediately derived frō Christ beleived upon as ye first justificatiō

8. Repentance and new obedience are not ~~properly~~ the title-conditions unto eternal life properly but synecdochically, as having insepa-rable connexion with ye faith, wch alone receives Christ and unites us with him

9. That faith wch effectually unites us unto Christ is virtually universal obedience to ye pure morall law: otherwise it cold have no ap=titude to be a conditiō.

10. That law wch comds faith in Chr. doth virtually commād universal obedience unto ye pure morals, and binds to obedience ~~of~~ ye whole law. and yt ye precept and promisse of ys law are of equal extent.

11 That law wch is not regula judicii is abrogated as such; so ye law of works is not in force.

12. This law of works is taken away not by ye sin of man
For though it was transgressed yet it did bind unto eternall punishment
as unavoidable till it was abrogated

13. It was abrogated by ye law of faith ~~made~~ upon ye satisfaction
~~of Christ~~ made by Christ

14. Justification is properly a sentence given & executed. And ye
primary act executed is ye bestowing of ye sanctifying and comfort-
ing spirit to dwell in us. And no person is actually justified
that hath not ye sanctifying spirit abiding in ~~him~~ him

15. When Saint Paul saith To him yt worketh, ye reward
is reckoned or adjudged not of grace but of debt Rom. 4. 4. he
meanes by him yt worketh, him yt obeyeth perfectly without any sin

LETTER
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Old Swinford · Sept 22 · 73

ond Sr

I remember you told mee in your large Letter pag 2 yt I must suffer yr plainnes [illegible] plainly understand wt your plainnes is, & what you meant by yt I must suffer it: your plainnes [illegible] of Insulting & giving uncivill language, only in you in ye higher of plainnes where [illegible] would be vicious scolding, & I must suffer it yt is I must tamely yield up my selfe to yr [illegible] I bid any defiance to ye civill spirit of one Letter you resolve of yt wch shall take to it selfe [illegible] ption it selfe which shall scratch & claw mee like I look like some horrid monster [illegible] hath but I refuse a reference to mr W. & mr S. about yr manner of writing; but did I [illegible] saying I dare to see a thing engaging to do it. I dare shew mr W. & mr S. yr Lrs but [illegible] you truly observe it was not ye cs of conformity but some expressions excepted agt wch [illegible] any one but yr selfe, why then must mr W. & mr S read all yr letters. I [illegible] arguments agt conformity & mee then to help yu to a sight of yr sin in yr [illegible] expressions, but [illegible] will then I say I dare referr those expressions of yr Lrs excepted agt to their Judgmt but dare not referr reading of all yr Lrs to yu, yt is I will (if yu please) do ye former but I will not do ye latter, [illegible] have not broke my word with you (although you in yr plainnes say I have) so I trust I shall [illegible] seeing you are serious, or seeme to be so & desire help to repentance I will offer yu an enumeration [illegible] ye expressions of yr 1st & 2d Lrs which I excepted agt before I charged yu with snarling & grinning [illegible] called you to repentance as I do againe & do truly hope that yu do not allow yr selfe in this [illegible]

primi Lr 1. pag 1. you told my parishioners they had a worthy pastor & congratulated them in it, & yet [illegible] in your plainnes taxe mee with unfaithfulnes to my owne consce. you speak hypothetically pag 1. If I have not [illegible] some able nonconformist then yr selfe heard thither & [illegible] to answer it I have not dealt faithfully with my owne consce. — but pag 2. yu speak categorically & in yr plainnes, complacently thrust mee forward with [illegible] to my selfe. — & it might be remembred yt in yr 3d Lr yu say I am only ye parish curate, [illegible] pastor wch yu distinguish, in yr 2d Lr. — II. in Lr 2 pag 1. you [illegible] conformity for a gender [illegible] of passion & Lust wch are disorderly shamefull amongst sober men Judges wd & afterwards a [illegible] ing & drunkennes, & yet on ye same page yu have silenced yr opinion of ye heynousnes of ye sin, [illegible] no men fro conforming, you have spoken respectfully of conformists, & endeavord to keep up yr [illegible] censure diverse young men of extraordinary abilities humble conscionable men for stealing suddenly [illegible] ye practice of so great sin. — IV. pag 4. you fall upon confuting a story of Dr Parker, wch [illegible] falshood, & yu add according to yr plainnes. This is the way to & of conformity. V. pag 4 [illegible] Bilson & most of ye pious conformists would have been nonconformists if they had been tried by yr [illegible] Whereas I doubt not but to make it out of [illegible] of yu yt in all probability they would have sayd as [illegible] in the begining of his preface that this was their finale resolute persuasion surely the present forme of [illegible] governmt wch the laws of this Land have established is such as no law of god nor reason of man hath [illegible] alleged of force sufficient to prove they do ill who to ye uttermost of their powr withstand the alteration [illegible] contrariwise the other wch instead of it wee are urgd to accept is only by Error & misconceipt named [illegible] f Jesus Christ &c ———— VI. Livy or Cicero might have satisfied mee as much as Hooker [illegible] ye controversy of Episcopale governmt. — VII. conformists are men of Well VIII. I [illegible] tified by nothing. — ~~VIII~~ IX. Bps owne no pastors under yu & yet I was the worthy [illegible] d Swinford. — X. I have done my worst to make yu believe yt it was well satisfied my [illegible] yu proceed & shew wt drew & wt drove my wile. XII. it was my partiale will [illegible] ag 6. wt I say is worse & worse still. item yu longer ye worse. pag 7 still worse & worse [illegible] worse & worse still. & (in yr plainnes) not a word true. — XIV. pag ult: yu have [illegible] for yr nonconformity so clear yt yu never felt one doubt about it more than yu have been [illegible] yr Christianity &c — & yet it is to be remembred yu have suspended yr opinion of the heynous sin [illegible] yu have not done of infidelity, & would dissuade now fro it, keep up their repute. & by [illegible] yu have [illegible] of Infidels too. — XV. you conclude wth plainnes & are perswaded in yr heart yt [illegible] of ye certainty of gods word is ye Root of latitude in many yt are lothe for shame to [illegible] an enumeration of the Instances of yr plainnes (as I must now call it) if they [illegible] yey proceeded from a foul stomack, & it was no pleasant work to mee to point yu to [illegible] you call for it, & I hope you will not lick them up againe, and cast yu in the face of

~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible] Conversation~~
~~[illegible]~~

Sr

Yr ever obliged affection
unworthy fellow
E. Eccleston

For the Reverend Mr Baxter.

Leave this with Mr Simons
bookseller at the three
feathers in St Pauls
church yard
3
London

Animadversions on the Stickler, wch I received by Mr Gilbert as from Mr Lawson

Resp. 175

Qui Charitatem diligit, colit Consensum. The designe & attempt is to me very acceptable; ye Performer venerable & highly esteemed, & ye worke not altogether unsuccessfull. Note, yt wt I pass by I consent to. //

1 I understand ye first sentence as affirming yt both ye Habit & act of faith may be ye Condition: 2o yt of their owne Nature they have only an Aptitude hereto: both wch I gratefully accept. That this consisteth in all ye 3 acts wch you mention, (Assent, Acceptance, & reliance) I am past doubt. yt its made a Condition by ye merit of Xt & ye Promise of God I grant, in this sense: viz By ye merit of Xt remotely, by ye promise of God only immediately: but yn it must be meant of Gods Promise=making only: for as ye Mode of a Law is not made by ye Law, but by Legislation, ye Law being ye Matter of ye Mode; so ye Condition is ye Modus, & ye Promise is ye Thing, & ye Promise making is ye efficient of both. //

§2. You come indeed now to ye quick of ye Controversie, & goe a new way to worke such as I never mett with man before you goe, yt I remember: (unless Dr Hamond meane ye same, wn he yieldeth it, to be a Morall Instrumt; as it seemes he doth.) You avoid ye Doctrine of Instrumentality (disclaiming it in yor other Papers). I could gladly have received a cleare Distinction of Conditions from you, & therewth a discovery, in wt sence it is yt Repentance &c are Conditions, different from faith. And here 1o I must professe yt I will be no Contender agt yor opinion, as a matter of any such moment as deserveth sharp contending; supposing yor sence to be better yn yor words: 2o But yet yt I am not of yor mind in this point, & am loath to ascribe so much to man in ye matter of his Justification, as to make his faith to be [a Title, & an efficient politicall Cause of a right to Justification]. Yet am willing to receive any Evidence yt may evince it if it be tried. And it is matter of amazement to me yt some Brethren should be offended with me as giving too much to man, which I so much disclaime his being a Cause of his Justification, & yet accept of yor doctrine wch maketh him a Cause, as if it gave less to man. Such dealing tends to make nothing seeme strange at last from such, & to think yt they do more regard, Who speaks yn wt is spoken (as Salvian Epist. ad Salon: saith they did in his time); & (as Hierome saith they did by him) measure ye fault by ye Person & not ye Person by ye fault. // My Reasons why I yet consent not to yor opinion are these: 1o I find not any solid proofe of it. & 2o I canot receive it, being so loath to advance man in this worke yt I am resolved to goe no further yt way yn Cogent Evidence shall draw me. 2o But I canot conceive well wt Politicall Cause you can make it, unless it be a Meritorious Cause (as respecting Governing Justice): And this I am loath to do. 3o And I see no Reason by wch you will exclude Repentance, Confession of sin, Prayer for Pardon &c, from being Causes as well as faith, if you goe about ye proofe & could make it good. 4o I do apprehend ye Testamt of Xt or ye Gospell to be a Deed of Guift, & yt ye thing given is Xt himselfe & life in him (1 Joh. 5. 10. 11. 12), & yt ye Guift is free, having no condition but Acceptance, (wch is used to be silenced as Naturally supposed, & ye termes of ye Guift to run as Pure & Absolute, among men): So yt I conceive yt this Acceptance of a free Guift is not ye Title, but ye Condition of ye Guift, & so ye Condition of a Title. The Title to ye thing Given in all free Guifts, can be nothing but ye free Donation: as ye Testament ~~produced~~ is or Title to ye Legacye: &c. If you say yt ye Testamt, Deed of Guift &c is not made to me by name, but to all on a Condition, & so I must produce a Title to ye Deed itself, I answer, Its needless to produce a Title to yt Title; It sufficeth yt I can prove myself one to wm it is made & to be fullfilled: & yt will be done without a new Title by ye producing of ye fullfilled Condition, wch till fullfilled did only suspend ye Title, but being fullfilled doth not affect it, nor is it itself, but only doth remove ye prohibens, & procure ne non impleatur promissio, et ne diutius suspendatur Effectus et Executio Testamenti. So yt if we be called out in Judgmt to shew or Title to Remission & Salvation through ye blood of Xt, I have no Title to produce but Gods free Guift, expressed in ye Gospell. And if it be demanded how I prove yt Guift to belong to me, I prove it by producing ye Condition fullfilled, wch is but equivalent to my Name, or ye description of my person in ye Guift or Testament. And I think no man would have said if I had been named or described in it yt yt name or description had been my Title. But yet I adde this, yt if any will speake so improperly as to call his Name, description or neere Condition performed, his Title, I have no mind to contend about words; let him so expound it as to shew a tollerable meaning, & I shall let it pass: but wn you expound ye terme [Faith] so as to ascertain yt you take it expresly, pro fundamento Juris, saying it is an efficient politicall Cause, I canot but tell you yt I dare not assent, without better reason yn any I see. And now I am upon this point let me adde to make out my sense here together, yt I take all other holy actions wch in ye Gospell are made Conditions of Life, to be made such only either as ye pts, or modes, or necessary appurtenances of yt Acceptance of ye free Guift wch is ye Condition. And ye reason why God so ordered it (as far as we may give a reason of his doings) is from ye morall necessity wch ariseth from ye Nature of ye Object. E. g. The Guift yt is given us freely is Jesus Xt, a Saviour & Life: The very word, Saviour, importeth an office whose End is our Salvation, & so ye End must enter ye definition: Two things yn are essentiall to ye office of this Saviour: 1° The End; yt he be for our Salvation: 2° The meanes. Even yt wch was proper to Xt in our Redemption. Now for ye End, it containeth essentially, ye Terminus a quo & ad quem; for Xt doth save us, 1° from some Evill 2° to some good. Now ye Evill from wch is 1° The power of ye Devill & sin, 2° The guilt of sin & curse of ye Law, & deserved punishmt. The Good to wch he saveth us is 1° To God himself as our Creator & Chiefe Good, bringing our hearts from Selfe & all natures to him. 2° To impunity, Adoption & ye Crowne of Glory. These are ye Salvation wch Xt procureth, & in regard of wch he is called, a Saviour. Now as it is Essentiall to such a Saviour to be ye procurer of this Salvation, as his End; so is it essentiall to ye faith yt shall accept of such a Saviour freely given, to accept him for these Ends. For if it have not some Ends it is not a Morall action: And if it have not these Ends, it is not ye faith wch ye Gospell requireth: For if ye act be not suited to ye Object, as to its Essentialls it is not yt act wch ye Gospell requireth: it is not ye true believing in Xt: E. g. If any one would have received Xt as a Physition to cure a sicknes &c this is not ye Acceptance by wch men are Justifyed. Hence yn it appeareth 1° How ye Pure Godhead from wch man is revolted & to wch he is to be restored, is ye object of saving faith: Even as ye End of it wch is yet Essentiall to faith, as truly as it is to ye office of Xt: For as he is not only a Saviour in Generall, but such a Saviour in specie as is to recover lost Soules to God, so must he be so received or he is not received as Jesus Xt: 2° And hence it appeareth how far Sincere Love to God, is here contained; viz, as a Love to health is contained in our Acceptance of a Physition. 3° And hence it appeares how far Repentance from dead works, & towards God, is contained in this Acceptance of Xt: viz. As Sin Misery is ye Evill wch a Saviour (essentially) is to procure us deliverance from, so a Willingnes to be delivered from yt Sin & Misery is part of ye Acceptance of ye Remedy: Even as he yt Accepteth a Physition, doth accept him to cure him of his disease; & so a willingnes to be cured is part of yt Acceptance. 4° The same I say of a Willingnes to be Justifyed, pardoned, reconciled to God, Adopted, made an heire of heaven, & finally Glorifyed: ye Willing of all these & ye rest is not another work but ye very act of faith, as it looks unto its End (wch is essentiall to it) And thus far Repentance is part of faith (wch I remember you somewhere say is ye same thing.) The next thing yt is essentiall to ye office of our Saviour is, ye Proper Meanes by wch he is to procure us these ends: And these he performeth 1° As a Priest, by Sacrificing himself for us, & continually Interceding at Gods right hand: 2° As a prophet, by teaching us: 3° As a King 1° to give us ye Law of Grace: 2° to protect us: 3° to governe us, & lastly to Judge us by yt Law, by finall Justification, & to execute yt Judgment by Glorification. Some of these meanes are past, & some present & some future: & accordingly our Acceptance of a Saviour hath severall respects to ym: yt wch is past it believingly acknowledgeth (as Xts Satisfaction: wch is not in it selfe but in effectis to be Accepted, being not in se but in effectis offered to us, & in se to God): yt wch is presently offered, it gratefully Accepteth (as Xt himself to be Related to us in his offices, & as our Head & husband; & free pardon, wch he giveth as a King though he purchased it & intercedeth for it as Priest, &c); & yt wch is future, it believingly consenteth to & causeth Hope to expect. So yt ye very essence of ye Object as to ye End & meanes, doth tell us wt is essentiall to yt faith, wch is ye Acceptance of this object freely given. For faith hath two eyes, by one it looks to God, Glory, Eternall Salvation as ye End, & by ye other to ye Flesh, Cross, & ye word, & ye Spirit of Xt as ye meanes: I meane it Accepteth Xt himself as incarnate & Crucifyed for us, & as one yt is to conduct us to our Salvation by his word & Spirit. And so we find in ye 11th to ye Hebr. yt faith is so much described by its respect to its End, even ye Invisible things of Everlasting glory, as well as to Xt & his Cross! And doubtles it is no other yn ye faith by wch we are Justifyed yt ye Apostle there describeth (wt ever some feigne without proofe to ye contrary) so much of faith is ye Condition of Justification. And yn ye Modes of ye Object freely given come next under consideration. 1° It is a most excellent mercy, even ye Chiefe Good & ye meanes to it yt is given; & Good canot be accepted but by Love. Look so how neere Goodnes is to ye Object, so neere Love must be to ye Acceptance. Love I say to yt particular object, & not Charity in generall. 2° And as it is a Guift freely given to ye most undeserving & miserable, so ye very Nature of ye thing telleth yt it is to be Accepted, humbly, in a sense of unworthynes, with a disclaiming of all of Ld owne, &c. so with Confession of his prostration, & thankfullnes: for a free Guift cannot be accepted as free, if not with thy Confession of unworthynes & with gratitude. These are not faith itselfe no more yn freenes is yt thing itselfe yts freely given: But as yt is a Mode, & other ye like accidents & concomitants are considerable, so these are Modes, or appurtenances of faith, & so Necessary from ye Nature of ye thing. And thus they are not ye second or secundary Condition itselfe nor any Coordinate with faith but they are necessary Modes & appurtenances of yt Condition, & so have sumthing of Conditionall nature, but only in subordination to faith, & as dependant uppon it. wch makes it true yt Divines say, yt These Justifye faith, by wch ye person is Justifyed; though it be also true, yt in tantum ye person is Justifyed by ye Justification of his faith. As for illustration: An Epidemicall Disease hath infected a City, wch no man can cure but one Physition: He sendeth ym word yt he is willing to do it for nothing! They are all convinced (by ye suggestions of his enemyes) yt he is a Deceiver; He telleth ym yt all yt will believe in him shall be cured: Upon these termes he offereth ym his helpe: yet in other passages he further expresseth himselfe yt If they will take him for their Physition, & obey his counsaile, & take his medicines &c, he will cure ym. Here ye Acceptance of ye man himselfe to be their Physition is ye Condition: & its called a Believing in him, but yeir former unbeliefe through ye defamations of his enemies, necessitated ye speciall mention of yt act, wch is implyed in Acceptance, & is part of ye Condition. Now if any should say, yt for ye Patient to Receive his Apothecary yt brings his medicines, or to open his owne mouth, & to swallow ye medicine, yea or to be willing of health &c, are none of ye Conditions of his cure, & should goe about to prove it by saying, yt only Believing on ye Physition was ye Condition; I should say, yt Taking him for their Physition is ye only Condition: wch is called Believing on him, Receiving him &c: but bee he is to be taken as a Physition, wch relation essentially comprehendeth Health as ye end respected, & Medicines as ye means to effect it (both wch enter ye Definition of a Physition): So ye Acceptance of him as their Physition essentially containeth, a Consent to take his medicines & a willingnes to be healed: And bee his medicines cannot be taken unless they be brought, received, swallowed, &c, so the Consent to these are subordinate implyed parts of ye Condition. And thus I have run beyond my first Intentions, to tell you my owne thoughts of these together, how far faith, Confession, prayer, or any ye like dutyes are Conditions, & ye difference betweene their parts in this businesse, yt so you may know how far to approve or oppose it, & not be put to seeke it by obscure parcells up & downe: In a word I thinke, yt yt Christ & life are Gods free Guift, & ye Acceptance of this free Guift is ye Condition of our Title, as ye Deed of Guift is ye Title itselfe: yet as ye object hath more yn one essentiall respect or part, & many modes or adiuncts necessary, so hath ye Act (wch must be specifyed by ye object). And these Scriptures including, never taking ffaith for any one single physicall act whatever, in ye businesse of Justification, but in a morall politicall sense, for many acts, whereof some are essentiall parts, & some inseparable modes, or properties. And so to Be Justifyed by faith, is to be Justifyed by becoming a Christian; or taking Christ as offered in ye Gospell. Now to ye except. //

" you ~~holy~~ say yt 1o faith is a Title & an efficient politicall Cause, not only bec it qua-
" lifyeth ye Subiect & makes him a fitt subject to receive ye sentence of Justificn; yt it thus
" qualifyeth ye subiect is from ye Nature of faith: yt its a Title is from ye promise &c. I ans.

1o There is a naturall & morall qualification of ye subiect. ffaith doth ~~[illegible]~~ morally qualifye ye subiect. ffor ye performance of a meere Condition is no more. 2o It is not from ye meere nature of faith yt ye subiect is morally qualifyed. ffor if man had Believed, & God had not made this ye Condition of Justificn it would not have morally qualifyed him to receive Justification. 3o The Promise makes not faith a Title, but a meere Condition; as is ye Acceptance of a free Guift. Prove any of these things wch you here assert. 4o I conceive ye truth to be this: yt faith hath an Aptitude to be ye Condition of our Justificn ex natura rei: but yt it be ye Condition is effected by ye promise wch so constituteth it: & both goe but to qualifye ye subiect to receive ye thing given: & as a Condition only it Justifyeth. // yet I confesse yt some Conditions there are among men yt are Titles &c. but yt is not as meere Conditions, as ye Acceptance of a free Guift is; nor as Conditions, wch only suspend a Title till performed; but when ex natura rei they are moreover Meritorious Causes, so yt ye Reward is not of Grace but of Debt. //

§.3. The Question is, wt is ye obiect of faith; but not of faith thus giving right, as you say. You may not state my Question contrary to my profession, nor without my Consent. //

§.4. You resolve ye Question in one word, wch (though not exact) is so comprehensive yt I willingly stand to yor resolution: for you comprehend in ye obiect Gods promise, Mercy (not only pardon) Xts satisfaction & merit. Though I must still tell you yt we must (said Dr Preston) make Xts owne person as offred to us in ye Gospell to be ye

Saviour & Head, to be ye principall object of this faith: for whereas you only say t
[Xt as Mediator is ye fountaine] its true: But its one thing for faith to respect
Xt as offered to ye Father in Sacrifice, & another thing to Accept him as offered
to me in ye Gospell to be my head & Saviour. God hath given us eternall life, & this
life is in his Son: he yt hath ye Son hath life, &c. He yt is married to Xt, hath his riches
with his person. || §5. Yor first Proposition I embrace, excepting those benefits
yt necessarily antecede Xts humiliation, as ye first promise & guift of Xt himself, to be incar-
nate for us &c. And to [his humiliation] I would adde [his perfect holyness & obedience]. ||
§6. Yor 2d Proposition also is readily entertained. || §7. The like I say of ye 3d Propos. ||
§8. I know not well how to understand yor 4th Prop. If you take ye generall act, to be
somewt antecedent to, or distinct from ye severall distinct acts, I know of no such generall
act, yt concurreth to Justification, at least. But if you meane yt these distinct acts, do
as parts compose one whole, (in sensu morali-politico), I agree to it; supposing yt we
speake only of those distinct acts yt respect ye object in its necessary considerations. ||
§9. Yor 5th Prop. is without doubt true of all those benefits where Right & Possession
are separable: but in some Relations (as pardon of sin, & Reconciliation with God) ye
immediate Right is inseparable from ye possession, if not ye same thing. For ye benefit
itself lyeth in a Right. As in our Adoption we are made Heires of ye Kingdome of heaven:
& wt is it to be an Heire, but to have Right to ye future possession? & so we need
not feigne another Right to this Right. So our first pardon of sin is a Right
to Impunity: & we need not feigne an Antecedent Right to yt Right, present & actuall. ||
§10 Yor 6th Propos. I like, with some explications, or limitations: viz, 1o Before we
can Assent to Xt as a Prophet, we must believe him to be a Prophet; but we may before
Assent Fide Divina believe yt he is a Prophet, because God testifyeth it. For a man may believe
God, telling us wt Xt is, before we believe Xt as a Prophet. 2o The same I say of Obedience.
Our first act of Believing or Accepting Xt as King, may be an Act of Obedience to God who com-
mandeth it, though not to Xt as King. For men oft believe in God before they believe in Xt
& obey him in some sort, before. 3o Nay a man may Assent to Xt himself affirming himself a Pro-
phet, by reason of ye evidence by wch he compelleth us to Assent. || §11. The 7th I assent to. ||
§12. The 8th also I assent to, though some deny it. || §13. The 9th I yield in yor
sense of ye word Justification, who will take it only for a Sentence. But I cannot but be
confirmed in my former opinion, rather yn removed, by all yor discourse on yt subject;
& still believe yt Scripture speaks of constitutive Justification, as well as of Sententiall.
And whereas you confess yt Justification & pardon are all one, I think he must do much
yt must perswade me yt there is no pardon but by a Judge as such, wn hitherto the
world hath thought yt a Judge as such cannot pardon, in proper sense, but yt it be-
longeth to ye Rector as supra Legem violatam. I think in respect to ye violated
Law God so pardoneth, by his power to dispense with his Law: but in respect to ye
Promise, or Remedying Law it is his pardoning Instrument, or pardon itself written, & so
pardoneth as Free Donor, & in some sort as Lawgiver, as yt Promise may be called
his Law of Grace. But yn as pardon is less properly taken for a Judiciall Sentence of
Absolution so God pardoneth as Judge. But I must tell you yt as this our difference is but
about words, so I am satisfied yt it is a more improper phrase to call ye Sentence
of ye Judge, a pardon, yn to call ye act of ye Law (or Promise) a Constitutive Justification.
§14. I easily agree to all yr 4 particulars, wch you say truly, will be granted. ||
§15. Your two observations I see no proofe of at all; 1o I find not where it is said
yt Xt is a propitiation only through his blood; as excluding his perfect obedience: unless
(For his whole humiliation, I suppose you include) 2o Nor see I any proofe yt it
is by faith in his blood alone, excluding faith in his perfect obedience, or ye receiv-
ing his person as ye Lord Jesus Xt, my head, husband & Saviour, yt he is a propitiation
to me. || §16. Yor Conclusion hath not ye least ground in any of yor pre-
mised propositions, yt I can see; & its a meere begging of ye Question, without either
proofe, or any light to lead us to believe it. 1o Yor reduplication [as Justifying] either
respecteth ye effect, or ye Causality of faith in Justifying. If ye former, yn [as Justifying]
it only signifyeth (or rather is ye Antecedent of such a consequent), but this speaks
nothing of ye nature of it. 2o If ye Causality, I say, None is proved, except so called
a sine qua non: & it is but its Conditionall office yt can be meant. & so its all one as to
say [Justifying faith, as it is ye Condition of Justification]: & in no other sense can
admitt of yor qualities or reduplication. And this speaks not yet ye nature of
faith, nor proves yt it must be yt act alone. The comon distinguishers of fides

quâ Justificat from fides quæ Justificat, do meerly beg yᵉ question in
their distinction, supposing yᵗ fides qua fides Justificat; qua yᵉ solus hic
fidei actus qua talis Justificat: wᶜʰ indeed all yᵗ is in yᵉ nature of yᵉ act
is but its Aptitude to yᵉ office, & it is yᵉ office of being yᵉ Condition (wᶜʰ yᵉ
free donor put uppon it in his promise) wᶜʰ is it yᵗ is yᵉ formall nature of its
Interest (interesse) in yᵉ Consequent (or Justification). So yᵗ faith Justifyeth not
qua fides, or qua hæc fides (quæ est apprehensio Xᵗⁱ) as some say, nor qua
titulus (qui est fundamentum Juris) et Causa efficiens Politica, as you
say; but meerly as yᵉ Condition of a free guift, being such an accept-
ance of it as is suitable to its quality. yoʳ terme [only] yᵗ I gainsay;
& call for yoʳ proofe. I leave to Mʳ Blake, proved yᵉ contrary & am
content yᵗ his Reply be weighed therewith by yᵉ impartiall & Judicious,
you say [yᵗ it is by virtue of yᵉ promise] & I desire no more. Shew me
yⁿ where yᵉ promise doth say yᵗ [Justifying faith as Justifying Receives Xᵗ as
Priest, expiating sin in his humiliation, & in this respect only] Prove this [only]
wᶜʰ I could never yet see proved (Mʳ Blakes ~~[illegible]~~ proofs I may well
call none.) You say yoʳself before yᵗ Xᵗ doth Justifye as Judge: & yᵗ its pre-
requisite to oʳ Justificaᵒⁿ yᵗ we receive him as prophet, priest, & King: & you deny not (I
easilie affirme) yᵗ yᵉ Receiving him as King & prophet, & repenting of sin, are Con-
ditions of Justificaᵒⁿ, though not Titles: all wᶜʰ is intimated also here in yoʳ
first sentence (with yᵉ 2ᵈ). So yᵗ I may conclude 1ᵒ yᵗ you say as much as I affirme,
& yᵉ same thing; viz, yᵗ these are Conditions of Justification. I say no
more. & this you say. 2ᵒ yᵗ you say More yⁿ I, [yᵗ yᵉ accepting Xᵗ as priest, is a
Title] to Justification: for yᵗ I have little yᵗ difference I dare not make man an
efficient Cause of yᵉ pardon of his owne sins, as you do; & I see no warrant for it.
3ᵒ yᵗ you consequentially contradict yoʳself in saying yᵗ [other acts also are Conditi-
ons] & yet yᵗ [this act only Justifyeth] or [yᵗ Justifying faith as such receives
Xᵗ as priest expiating sin in his humiliation & in this respect only]. For in wᵗ sort
one act of faith is a Condition of Justificaᵒⁿ, by yᵗ act are we Justifyed,
so far as belongeth to yᵉ office of a Condition: But by yoʳ confession other
acts are Conditions of Justification (though not Titles & efficients) & therefore
I shall conclude with yᵉ recitall of my owne thoughts, from wᶜʰ I cannot see
any reason yet to be removed: yᵗ is, I believe yᵗ you do well (& as well
as any man yᵗ ever I read or dealt with) assigne yᵉ severall benefits wᶜʰ
we receive to their severall Causes in Xᵗ: & yᵗ as you say, his Priestly acti-
ons procure ~~them~~ meritoriously, & yᵉ other parts of his office have yᵉ severall
effects yᵗ you assigne to yᵐ. But I do not believe yᵗ ex parte nostri these
severall effects are to be parcelled out to yᵉ severall acts of oʳ faith apprehend-
ing yᵐ, or Xᵗ for yᵐ distinctly: but yᵗ yᵉ entire acceptance of a Saviour
as offered in yᵉ Gospell (in regard of all yᵉ essentialls of yᵉ object) is yᵉ one
undivided Condition (though consisting of severall acts) of oʳ Interest in Xᵗ
first, & of his benefits (Justificaᵒⁿ & Salvation) wᵗʰ him: So yᵗ ex parte
Xᵗⁱ its true yᵗ it was not Xᵗ as King but as Priest yᵗ was sacrificed for
my sin, & accordingly faith must receive him in these distinct Considerations;
yet quoad effectum God hath not any where made ex parte nostri, our
beliefe of his Priesthood, or consenting to be Justifyed by him, to be any more
yᵉ Condition (or Title) of oʳ Justification, yⁿ he hath done, yᵉ beliefe of
his Kingly office, or yᵉ consent yᵗ he be oʳ head & King: But contrarily he hath
laid all uppon yᵉ entire Believing in, & Accepting of yᵉ Lord Jesus Xᵗ.
As if a condemned woman be saved on condition yᵗ shee will marry yᵉ prince
& thereby also made partaker of his riches & honoʳ: its true yᵗ on his part
he doth not save her as he is rich, nor enrich her as he is honourable; but
as he is rich he enricheth her & from his honoʳ he makes her honoʳable, &
by his clemency he saveth her; yet on her part yᵉ effect is not so parcelled
out among her severall acts as respecting these objects. Shee is not made
rich because shee married him under yᵉ objective notion of a rich man, nor
honoʳable because shee considered him as an honoʳable man &c, but shee hath
all these together by taking him who is all this, to be her husband: &
her consent to take him in yᵉ relation as one to be loved & faithfully ad-
hered to, is as much (at least) yᵉ Condition of her enriching, as yᵉ taking him
purposely to enrich her. For her acts produce not yᵉ benefits by yᵉ na-
turall reception (or physicall way of derivation), but they are yᵉ effects of
his will, who constituteth yᵉ Condition he setts. And if I would (as I will
not, without more reason yⁿ I see), make comparisons betweene these severall

acts of faith, wch of yours is intended as ye principall pt of ye Condition of
or Justification, I should rather think yt it is yt act wch mans heart is
most backward to, & Gods honor most concerned in: but it is usuall in all
constitution of Conditions, to give men yt wch they are willing to have, on
condition of somewt yt they are of themselves less willing of, yt ye guift may be
a means to tie down ye Condition: for though God must give ye grace
to performe it, yet he providentially adjoyneth his fitt means as Rector, by
wch it shall be done. And as I am acquainted with no body yt is un-
willing to be pardoned, or willing to be damned, so I do not read yt ever
God said [I will be thy Teacher & King; or I will give thee leave to live a holy
life & mortify ye flesh, or I will give thee holyness & mortification &c, on condi-
tion yt thou wilt consent to be pardoned, or not to be damned]. But still I
say (as ye Assembly in their Catech.) yt it is by faith alone yt Xts righteousnes
is received [Receptione ethica metaphorica] & yt this [faith is an embrac-
ing of Jesus Xt freely offered to us in ye Gospell] Qu. of Vocat. || I end with this
request, yt you will be pleased to remember yt I hold 1o ye plaine part 2o & ye
sure part; viz yt God hath promised pardon to him yt Receiveth Xt Jesus ye Lord, or yt
accepteth Xt as offered in ye Gospell, or yt Believeth on ye Lord Jesus: but you
& others more yn you hold ye curious mincing part, & an uncertaine yet (& for
my part I think confidently yt its certainly unsound): & so before you
so fall to mincing ye Condition of Life, & ascribing our benefits to one act of
faith, & another to another, & another to a 3d &c so on who knows how far,
you would consider whether you do not needlessly jagge ye business with
distinctions, & whether you perplex not poor souls without any Edification
to ym, & whether you can prove wt you say from Scripture; & remember
yt its on you yt ye proofe doth lye, for wch we wait. But do not
think you have proved it, by proving ye things wch I hold as well as you,
viz yt there are severall acts of Xts severall offices wch have their severall
effects; & yt faith apprehendeth its object in its severall parts & respects: but
1o yt ye apprehending Xt as Priest only is ye Condition of pardon, 2o or yt ye saving
apprehension of Xt wch I defend, or ye particular respective act wch you defend,
are either of ym Fitness or Efficient Politicall Causes of or Justification. ||
And yet though I cannot digest this notion of Efficiency & Fitness
my thoughts are, yt yor meaning is little different from mine. ||

Animadversions on those Papers wch I received from Mr Talents as written by Mr Lawson, with relation to my writings. ||

Ad §1. I am informed of so much of yor meaning by my Reverend brother Mr
Talents yt I may well conclude I am at least one of ye [some] of wm you
here speak. I must say yt you begin with some injustice to me, in ye first sentence
& second it with yt wch is too neer kin to it in ye 2d. & wn ye cause is thus layd
down in ye beginning, its easy to judge wt ye proceeding must needs be; bec the
foundation will have influence on ye whole. 1o yt I should affirme yt Receiv-
ing Xt as King is of ye essence of Justifying faith as Justifying] is not so, as farr
I can remember my own words: for I liked not ye phrase of reduplication of wch I
gave an account pag. 7. to Mr Bl., & so shunned it as being very much abused, & lyable
to easy misunderstanding. I told you I would not use ye terme of [Justifying faith] but
with prefacing my sense, & yn complying in yt phrase wth others, bold bec it is not gen-
nerall, & lest it seeme to intimate yt I take faith to be ye Efficient cause of Justificn as
you do. But much more did I shun ye [qua Justificat] bec it seemeth to inferr yt God thus
mentioned: I only say so that we are Justified by faith as by a Condition of a Guift
& yt Accepting a Saviour entirely (to save from guilt & power of sin) is this Condition.
And yet according to my sense ye distinction of fides quae Justificat et qua Justificat is no way
usefull to it, it is commonly applyed to, as I then shewed; 2o You do not rightly English
of my End in this affirmation [yt it is to pluck up Antinomianisme by ye roots] for
though I may apply it to yt among other uses wch it is serviceable to, yet yt is not

my End in holding or affirming this truth, as if I choose out ad to believe or affirme as I find it fitted to obviate those opinions I dislike: My end in affirming it is to give Christ ye glory of his office, & acquaint those yt know it not with ye nature of their duty, & especially wch Salvation lyeth on: wch needs should not be so past over, as to seeme to set up a lower use of a received truth as ye End of my affirming it. You know if you will state Questions & yn dispute ym agt me, you should do it in my words, or by Consent: or els you cannot be said to dispute agt me. || To ye rest of ye first § I easily accord. || Ad § 2. I pass this over also as granted. || Ad § 3. Our present question (if you speake to me) is of Accepting of Jesus Christ ye mediator as Lord & Teacher as well as Priest. & we are not now to dispute about subjection to him in ye pure Godhead, without respect to his office. ~~Now to yor Argumts~~ And ye Question is not whether it Operate to Justificn. You know I avoid such phrases, & ye sense wch you seeme to intend, viz, an Efficiency, I ther I easily yield (as you well know) yt it so ~~operates~~ not. It's only whether this accepting Christ as Lord=Redeemer, or King & prophet, be any pt of ye Condition of Justification. || Now to yor Argumts. Ad 1m. I utterly deny yor Consequence. What though ye Saints before ye Incarnation were not bound to subject ymselves to Christ as Incarnate: will it follow yt we are not? And what if it conduced not to their Justificn: Doth it follow yt it conduceth not to ours. They were justifyed you say without it. And so they were without accepting of an Incarnate mediator yt was crucifyed, dead & buryed, raised ascended & interceded for ym, or without believing yt this Jesus is ye Messiah, it being enough to expect a Messiah of ye Tribe of Juda, in generall. But can wee be Justifyed without these. Sure our Creed & theirs differ. & ye object of our faith & of theirs differ. & consequently so must ye acts. || 2o As ye Jews were yn bound to trust in Deus Redemptor, ye 2d person yt had undertaken their Redemption by blood, believing yt he would be incarnate: so were they bound to subject ymselves to God Redeemer, yt had undertaken to appeare in flesh, & to believe yt he should be ye Lord incarnate at yt appearance. || 3o For yor note, about Christs not being supreame as man, I will not contend with you; but only desire to be borne wth myselfe, while I rather choose wth Scotus & other Schoolmen to say yt God is ye Primitive Supreame, & Christ as Mediator is Derivatively Supreame; but ye quarrell being meerly about words, I will overpass my reasons, & also some yt might be said about ye word (office) wch you stand on. || Ad 2m you say this subjection is no formall act of faith, but an effect &c. Wts ye proofe. Bec Christ must be believed to be King before he can be subjected to. Yts no reason. I deny yor consequence. It proveth indeed yt ye wills Consent or Subjection is no pt of ye understandings Assent, wch goes before it. But you have not proved yet, nor affirmed yt I know yt Assent is ye only act of faith. 2o If yor Consequence were worth any thing, it would as well prove yt the Acceptance of Christ as Priest, or as one yt hath satisfyed & merited, is no essentiall act of faith, but an Effect: nor yet ye Acceptance of his good or righteousness, nor a Recumbency or Affiance on him: For who doubts but yt we must first believe yt Christ is Priest, & did satisfye, before we can do any of this. 3o You do so little satisfye yorselfe yt I am forced to be ye bolder in examining yor doctrine before I receive it. I thinke it was you yt in ye Stickler before answered, say thus, [There is a Generall act of faith wch receives Christ in all his Capacityes] And is not his propheticall & Kingly office, some of his Capacity: And you adde [Before we can Assent we must receive Christ as an Infallible Prophet: Before we can obey & performe ye duty of faith we must receive him as a King: before we can rely upon his Merit we must receive him as a priest &c: all this must be done before faith can be alike] Quam bene Conveniunt. || You adde here [As obedience is essentially distinct from faith, so subjection must needs be] Ans. You know yt by Subjection we meant only, our accepting Christ as Lord Redeemer. And I see no shaw of proofe in yor assertion, no more yn of a proofe of it: & yor words must shew me not ye necessity; but rather ye forecited words of yor Stickler shew me reason agt it. Its all one as if you said [ye effect is diverse from ye Cause: ergo ye Cause must be diverse from itselfe] Learning of Christ as our Teacher is not faith, but an Effect of it: but yet Accepting him for our Teacher in order to our Salvation, is faith: Or els in my opinion, Believers & Disciples would not have bin so much Synonimall in Scripture as they be. So ye pleading of Christs Satisfaction with God or Conscience (& many other uses of it) is not faith, but an Effect of faith but yet ye Receiving of Christ as one yt hath satisfyed, is faith. Lastly, I am past doubt yt faith is not one sort of act only, but ye whole soules entertainment of Christ wholly. & yet I take it for no strange matter yt one act of it be ye Cause of another, & yet all make up but one saving faith. E.g. The understandings Assent (wch they call Historicall faith or dogmaticall &c) is a Cause of ye wills Consent or Acceptance, & both a Cause of Recumbency or Affiance. And so it is also in ye case in hand. ||

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Obj 3. I passe by yor phrase of or [Receiving God as Judge] who offers not himself so to or reception, &c. And I confesse I cannot perceive yt this is any argument, nor where yt strength of yor reason lyeth. God as Judge is reconciled by Xts propitiation. Ans: Wt followes? The Son as King is no Mediator or Advocate. Wt followes this? Why yt ye Son as King doth not propitiate by blood, nor is so to be apprehended. All's granted: save only yt I will never grant you yt Xt as King is no Mediator. Our Comon tongue hitherto hath bin to call Xts office in generall by ye name of Mediatorship (or a Redeemer) & to branch it out into ye 3 pts, of a King, Priest & Prophet. And as long as I believe yt Xts Kingdome is founded on his death & resurrection (Rom 14.9) & yt he rules us in order to or salvation, & yt by his Kingly power he protecteth us from enemyes, & saveth his people from their sins, & justifyeth us in Judgment &c, I shall believe yt as King he is Mediator still: but yor conclusion falls short of yr scope. If you had proved yt nothing else is necessary to Justification but to receive God as Judge propitiated by blood, yn you had said something. But till yn I conclude, yt besides yt it is as necessary yt we now accept ye Lord Jesus Xt as offered in his whole office of a Saviour in wch he saveth from power & punishment of sin. //

Obj 7. Yor 4th Argument is but a Question, [Whether any man can receive Xt as his King, before his first Justification, as some call it] Ans. You made no Question of this in yor Stickler, wn you said [All this must be done before faith can be a Title, or we receive & Xt give possession] And yt this is pt of ye Act is before exprest. But to yor Reasons. You say [He cannot receive him as his King till Xt receive him as his subject to enjoy ye priviledges of his Kingdome] Ans. They are both together in time: but in order of Nature they are not. First Xt doth Conditionally take us for his subjects, Disciples, members &c & this is first in him: next he giveth us yt Grace wch causeth us to Consent to his offer. next in order of Nature we do Consent by yt Grace so given: upon this Xts Conditionall Consent or Grant becomes Actuall, we no longer suspend it by non-acceptance. So yt in order of nature both or Acceptance is before Xts Actuall Acceptance of us, or Relation to us as Head; though after his Conditionall Consent, & offer, & his effectuall Grace. But wt would you gather hence? I say, as soone as man hath accepted an entire offered Saviour, he hath instantly a Right to Xt, pardon, sonship, &c, at once. You say [Before man is Justifyed he hath no peace with God, & there is enmity between yn] Ans: [And Reconciliation wch goes before Adoption followes Justification: & adoption is ye naturalizing & admitting of believers justifyed into ye Kingdome of God] Ans. 1o But its not proved yt these benefits are not all at once made ours. The same deed of Gift giveth yem at ye same time on ye same Condition. 2o If you could prove a difference it would be but in nature & not in [illegible] of time. 3o our performance of one & ye same Condition on wch all these benefits are given, goes in order of nature before yem all: If you will not believe me, believe yorself, who said before in yor Stickler [By wch we have right to Justification, we have right to all ye benefits following, as reconciliation, Adoption, Glorification] And before [All this must be done before faith can be a Title] 4o It is Xts Schoole that is his Kingdome, in generall respects having severall names: There he teacheth & rules. And wn he sendeth abroad his ministers this is ye work yt he setteth yn to do, to make them Disciples, & yt is to bring yn into his Schoole. & these are made subjects at ye same time. Which is our work of making men Disciples, yt is, making yn Christians, wch is Accepting entirely an offered Saviour, & ye forsaid relative benefits are instantly due per quandam Resultantiam, even as are soe relations may arise at once. So yt all these yor arguments I professe upon my most impartiall perusall are such as if I should demand for yn in so great a point as this is, my conscience tells me, you might take me for a man yt will let goe yt truth even for nothing. For they are ye most delusive yt ever I found you to make use of. Pardon me for thinking so, for I cannot helpe it this light doth so shine in my eyes, wch doth constrayne me. //

Obj 8. [You aske [How can it be proved yt this subjection is ye act, & not effect of faith] Ans. But many readers will take ye word [subjection] for Obedience or somewt I suppose you intend not, I pray you if you will deale with me candidly, let ye question be stated in ye termes I did put it in, & yt I agree to, viz Whether Receiving Xt as King & Lord, be ye act of faith & not only an effect of faith. To wch I say, you wrote for my edification, & [illegible] I wrote only to give you an account of my sense. Let it suffice yn to tell you yt I am expresse of yt matter allready; & I shall not needlessly trouble you with many of my [illegible] yet in a word perceiving this yt if by faith you meane Assent only or any [illegible] in [illegible] Priest / Consent of Receiving Xt as Lord King an act of ye will (for by Receiving, we meane Consent) must needs be after faith. And so is Receiving him [illegible] too, & yt Receiving his righteousnesse, & yt Affiance in him, & recumbency on him. But if you take not faith for meere Assent, but also for any acts of ye will, then ye proofe of my assertion is a task exceeding easy, & yet such as it is you require me to attempt. & therefore you shall have it as briefly as I can rid my hands of it. 1o If there be both ye act & object of faith, then it is faith. But there are. 1o The acts of faith are these 3 in order, all making up ye morall act, called faith. 1o Assent to ye truth of ye word: 2o Consent to ye Good contained 3o Affiance: The Acceptance of an offered Saviour comprehendeth all these, though it be principally denominated from ye 2d. Now ye Acceptance of Xt as Lord, King, Head, Husband, Prophet, hath these acts as well as ye Acceptance of him as Priest: 1o As we Assent to ye truth concerning his Priestly office properly [illegible] [illegible], so do we to ye truth concerning ye rest: 2o As we must Consent yt he be or Priest, so must we yt he be or Teacher, Lord, Head. 3o As we have Affiance in him as Priest, so have we as Teacher, King &c. So yt I suppose you will not fetch any reason from ye act as ~~[illegible]~~ elicite or imperate by ye faculty, why this may not be faith. 2o All yt doth so is of yt object wch must specifie them. And I will begin wth ye most effectuall argument for a Defendant at least, with many yt I have to deale with (though not with you). 1o This is ye comon confession of all Divines yt ever I mett with till now, to my remembrance, yt ye same faith wch justifieth doth at ye same time receive Xt as King, Teacher, head, as it receives him as Priest (though, say they, not qua justificat.) Now, though I know you can not so much for such charges, yet because I am so loaded with ye odium of affecting singularity, I pray you, drive me not here out of ye road, but give me leave to say as others, which I so confidently believe it. But I see there is no pleasing all men. You would have me more singular, for which I am so reproached for being singular (how truly let their consciences judge). But see ye world &c: some men yt so reproach me for singularity, & yt are [illegible] of yor opinion & yt mind (confessing with me, yt ye reception of Xt as Lord is faith), doe yet applaud yors, & condemne me, as a man condemned by so learned a censurer! So [illegible]genious is a contentious spirit! 2o The Assembly describeth faith to be an Embracing or Receiving of Xt as he is offered. But Xt is offered as Lord, head, teacher. Therefore yt so receiving him is faith, or faith so receiveth him. But yet more effectually, 3o If ye Receiving of Xt as King be yt by wch we are adopted, & by adoption naturalized & admitted into Xts Kingdome. But yt receiving of Xt by wch we are thus adopted is an act of faith. Therefore ye receiving Xt as King is an act of faith. Both parts of ye Major, I think are yor owne, in yor foregoing words. The minor I prove from Gal. 3. 26. [But ye are all ye children of God by faith in Xt Jesus.] (p. 4. Arg. 4): therefore I am secure of yt. 4o If Receiving Xt as Head, be an act of faith, then Receiving him as Lord & King is an act of faith. But ye former is true: therefore so is ye later. The consequence lyeth on these two cleare truths: 1o because to receive him as Head is to Receive him as King; because it is part of his headship; for so he is head of his Ch. as a politicall body whereof we are members: 2o Bec (if it were not so) yet there is eadem ratio of both. The minor is very certaine. It is comonly owned by or Divines yt by faith we are united to Xt or head. (And they make union to goe before justification in order of nature) Eph. 3. 17. Christ dwelleth in or hearts by faith (of wch more anon): but by yt wch he dwelleth in us, by yt is he united to us. And in ye unity of ye faith is ye body fulfilled. Eph. 4. 13. 16 & so they grow up in him yt is ye head v. 15. 5o It is faith by wch Xt dwelleth in or hearts: Eph. 3. 17. That is faith by wch we Receive him as King. As he dwelleth in or hearts as King [illegible] there & as a Received King. 6o If it be faith by wch we take Xt for or husband, then is it by faith yt we take him for or Lord & King. But ye former is confest by all: And ye latter is plaine; for there is eadem ratio, yea in yt we are subject to him as or husband also; Eph. 5. 23. 24. [The husband is ye head of ye wife, even as Xt is ye head of ye Ch. & he is ye saviour of ye body. Therefore as ye Ch. is subject unto Xt so &c.] 7o By faith we take Xt for or Master & Teacher, & become his Disciples. Therefore by faith we take him for or Lord & King. The antecedent is proveable from many Scriptures, wch I will not stand to cite now, & in yt Believers & Disciples are made synonima. The consequence is plaine, 1o in yt there is eadem ratio: 2o in yt Xt Ruleth us as Disciples as well as Teacheth us. 8o Christ himself is ye object of faith: therefore Xt as King is ye object of faith. The antecedent is granted by Christians as sure. The consequence is cleare in yt the title [Christ] signifieth his Kingly office as well as his Priestly: & it is essentiall to him as [the Christ] to be ye King anointed: therefore no man is to understand it exclusively as to this. 9o Christ Jesus ye Lord is expressly made ye object of faith in Scripture: therefore Xt as Lord is ye object. For wch he is expressly thus entitled & yt as ye object of faith, it is presumption for any to exclude his Lordship. Col. 2. 6. [As therefore ye have Received Xt Jesus ye Lord, so walk ye in him, rooted & built up in him & stablished in ye faith.] Here by ye foregoing words this receiving is called faith. But I remember [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] if this singular opinion of yors would hold, [illegible] I forbeare [illegible] for ye confuting of [illegible], & [illegible] [illegible] ye faith [illegible] it would be a notable essay for ye [illegible] special determining grace of ye Spirit, [illegible] more of [illegible] & [illegible] from ye [illegible] (I [illegible] [illegible] this neither) I [illegible] taking for granted yt (& yet I think it would not reach this) yt ye propitiation by his blood, & yt ye Receiving Xt as a Priest is only ye Receiving, & yt receiving him as Lord & King, Teacher, Husband & Head were but ye effect of faith, & not faith, then as it would be easy to see how faith goeth before ye spirit of sanctification, so men would have a stronger temptation, to be of yt mind yt [illegible] [illegible] faith, yea & so copiously dispute agt [illegible] yt we Believe of orselves (or by ye helpe of grace wch is determined by or owne wills), though upon believing we receive such a grace as determineth ye will; & it is not determined by it: [illegible] [illegible] yt Xt [illegible]

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Priest & propitiator, is ye Dogmaticall faith wch Devills have: 2o To be willing to be Saved & Reconciled by Xt & saved from Hell, is yt wch I should imagine all ye Devills in hell would be ready to yield to, if ye offer were made to them. 3o And if they did ye two former, yet had but a knowne Xt, they must needs have affiance in him for this benefitt. And for wicked men; 1o Many of them in Scripture are said to Believe, by Assent. 2o And those yt do so, may with a little Grace, be willing or Consent to be Saved & saved from Hell. 3o And it seemes by our daily experience of their boastings yt they have some Affiance. The wicked Israelites had: Isa. 48. 2. [They call themselves of ye Holy City, & stay themselves upon ye God of Israel] Mic. 3. 11. [Yet will they leane upon ye Lord &c.] But yet I doubt not but in these same acts there is a great difference betweene yt wch is done by a Common grace, & by speciall Grace. || Your next Question is [What place of Scripture yt speaks professedly of Justification by faith, can be alledged, wherein this Kingdome & Subjection of Xt is mentioned, & Xt represented & considered as a King & not as a Priest & Mediator]. Ans. These advantages yt you [illegible] get by ye wording of ye business after your owne fashion, may take your end on some other mens minds, but not on mine. I call it ye Reckoning [illegible] You had rather aske when Kingdome & Subjection is mentioned, yn when the Believing in Xt, or receiving him as King, is mentioned. & when you doe come to aske when he is represented as King, it must be with an exclusion [& not as a Priest]. As if I had ever affirmed any such thing, & had made Xt in one part of his office only, ye object, as you doe Xt in ye other part! wch my pen can expresse nothing plainer yn I have expressed, yt it is entire Xt in his whole office, as offered, yt justifying faith receiveth. 2o If by [professedly] you meane [as ye maine subject discoursed of in ye place], it concerneth me not to answer your expectation (though I may do it): For ye Scripture is to be believed in other places also. But if you meane [in ye true sense of ye text], I have told you allready, in some writings where it is done. And further in a word in Generall: 1. Wch faith is in Scripture denominated from, or described by ye Principall act, Assent, ye other (Consent or Acceptance by ye Will) is implyed, even as when acceptance or receiving is expressed Assent is implyed (as Ames noteth Medull. l. 1. c. de fide): Now this Assent by wch we are Justifyed, doth essentially containe Assent to ye truth of ye Kingly & Propheticall office as well as his Priestly. 2o ye Consent or Accepting act by wch we are Justifyed doth also containe ye Consent to this Relation of our Xt as King, as well as Priest. For we have no reason to limit in one & not in ye other. 3o Moreover I answer, yt all those Texts yt make Xt ye object of yt faith, without exclusion of any part of his offices, do make Xt as King ye object. And indeed this is ye maine Argument yt prevaileth with me in this Cause. If God make our Believing in Jesus Xt ye Condition of our Justification, we must not exclude any essentiall part of his office without warrant. If God require an Israelite to sacrifice a Sheepe, he yt will say yt he meaneth only ye head of ye sheepe, or only ye heart, must bring good proofe of it. Christ is ye Anointed of God to ye office of Teaching & Ruling as well as Sacrificing: And if God saith He yt Believeth in Jesus Xt shall be Justifyed, I have no need to prove yt he meaneth it of one part of his office as well as ye other: but he is not The Xt in one part alone: but as ye Xt must be believed in: And it lyeth on you to prove ye limitation & exclusion who affirme it. It is enough for me to prove yt Jesus Xt is ye object. 3o Specially when he is propounded to us to be believed on to Justification, expressly under ye title of our Lord Jesus Xt &c. wheresoever he is propounded to our faith as Jesus, a Saviour, there is he propounded as Teacher & King, unlesse you can prove an exclusion & limitation. For he is not ye Saviour as a Priest only. I will not stand to cite any Texts, because I presume no higher yn to give you an account of my owne apprehensions of your writing, & not to attempt ye change of your judgment, & because I am now giving ye proofe of this point to others more fully, whose judgments are yet unresolved herein. || As for your next Note, yt [ye Priest & Mediator are all one, & yt Xt is never called a Mediator as King] I confesse I am not of your mind: And againe, because I am loath to be singular, you must here also give me leave to [illegible] in ye common road till better Evidence drive me out. For I remember not any Protestant yt is of your opinion in this. And I am so far from thinking yt a Mediator is ever meant of a Priest, & never of a King, yt I think ye word is never used in ye Scripture for Priest only. I remember but 6 places in ye New Testament where μεσίτης is found & it seemes to me yt they answer not your observation. In Gal. 3. 19. when ye Law is said to be Ordained by Angells in ye hand of a Mediator, I do not believe yt it is a Priestly or sacrificing Mediator yt is there mentioned: It was Moses being ye Prince or Supream ruler of ye People under God, received ye Lawes wch he was to Rule them by at his hand & delivered them to ye people, because they were not to draw so neere to God themselves. The maine reason of his Mediatorship lay in his being a middle mediating person or an umpire: but ye Matter of it was in Receiving & giving Lawes. And so is Xt a Mediator in Delivering to ye world ye Law of Grace wch he doth upon ye purchase of his Redemption, & in order to their recovery & salvation. And in ye next verse, Gal. 3. 20, ye Apostle telling us wt a Mediator is, takes his rise from yt instance of Moses, & giveth us no other tion, but yt he is not of one] but between two, yt is, an interposing person, or an internuncius. And thus Xt is as King being sett by a derived power to Rule & dispose by Authority from God, to bring ym to God. And in 1 Tim. 2. 5. though ye ransome of Xt be mentioned in ye next verse, yet yt is mentioned but as one act of his office, & so he is said to be ye one Mediatour between God & man; it seemes to me to express his whole office by wch he effecteth ye salvation of his people, as a Middle person; And who hath ever doubted but as a Prophet he taught his Church in this Middle Capacity, & as a Prince ruleth ym in order to salvation, & shall present ym Justifyed at last to ye father. And ye Heb. 8. 6. seemes to call Xt a Mediatour with respect to Moses mentioned verse 5 as well as to ye Priests vers. 3. 4. And so he is said to be ye Mediatour of ye better covent. Where note, yt by a covent is most frequently understood some Law or Constitution of God himself. (as Grotius shewes at large in ye Præface to his Annot. in Evangel.) & I think you say so yrself in one of yr Papers to me): And yt it concerneth ye Prince more yn ye Priest to deliver a Law. Yea I have before shewed you where Moses is called ye Mediatour of ye Law (wch was ye first Covent); & if you can shew ye like of Aaron, it is no more yn to shew yt it belongeth both to King & priest. But I doe not find Aaron so called. And even in Heb. 9. 15. where ye Apostle speaketh purposely of Xts death, yet he seemes to call him ye Mediatour of ye New Testament in a larger sense, as comprehending both his purchasing & sealing ye Testamt & his Establishing it & delivering it & making it, & fullfilling it. wch comprehend ye severall parts of his Mediatoriall office. || The same I may say of Heb. 12. 24. where Jesus is againe called ye Mediatour of ye New Covent. And he is ye Middle person in delivering & confirming & fullfilling this Covent, as well as by his sacrifice. So yt you are so far from proving yt Xt is called Mediatour only as Priest, & not as Teacher or King, in all texts yt use this word, yt you canot prove it of one, but ye contrary is Evident in one at least. || A little after you say [yt faith must receive him both as prophet, & believe his doctrine, as priest, & believe his satisfaction & merit, & as King, & believe yt he is invested with regall power &c.] Ans. If I had observed this sooner I might have spared my labour before, in proving yt it is an act of faith & not a meere effect to receive Xt as King. It may be you can reconcile yor meaning in these two passages; but so canot I. || But you say [this proves not yt this justifying faith as justifying & deriving from thence right to justificn before Gods tribunall receives Xt as King, & yt this hearty receiving Xt as King is essentiall to yt act of faith whereby we acquire a right to righteousness & eternall life] Ans. The last stating of ye Question I like better yn ye first. For still I say ye reduplication is ambiguous, & seemes in ye usuall sense a begging of ye question. Faith as justifying doth only justify: faith as deriving doth only derive. But faith as this faith in specie, yt is as ye Believing in Xt doth neither justify nor derive right. For to be haec fides is but its nature, by wch it hath an aptitude to be appointed by God to ye hono & office of being ye condition of his gift. If this phrase suppose no else yn yt haec fides qualis, i.e. qua includens et apprehendens Christi sacerdotis doth justify, or yt faith is an efficient politicall cause of or justificn, these are ye things yt I deny & expect ye proofe. But yt [this hearty receiving Xt as King is essentiall to ye act of faith whereby we acquire a right to righteousnes & eternall life] I undertake to prove fully in a faire dispute, & have done it allready to Mr Bl.. only remember yt yn by ye word [acquire] you must not meane an Efficiency, & by [act] you must meane ye Morall act comprehending more yn one Naturall act. ||

Ad § 5. There is nothing in this yt I observe wch is contrary to any thing yt I hold (though a stranger would thinke you intimated such a thing), but ye same wch I have oft said. Except yt in genii. you seeme to intimate yt one act of faith & not ye rest give this right (of wch before): & yet you say not so expressly. Also in ye last words, where you note yt faith is 1o an Assent 2o an Assent to ye truth of Xts death & resurrection; I doubt not to prove, if you deny it 1o yt faith is not only an Assent: 2o Nor an Assent only to Xts death & resurrection, but also yt he is ye Great Prophet & ye King of Israell & God did not direct Pilate in vaine to write over his head [Jesus of Nazar: King of ye Jewes] yt they yt would look up to a crucifyed Xt as ye Israelites to ye Brazen serpent, might read wt a saviour it is yt they must Receive; & might know yt it was a crucifyed King yt they must believe in. ||

Ad § 6. All this § about Justification by works hath little or nothing in it contrary to wt I assert. Only I note yt where you say yt men not justifyed canot doe workes acceptable before Justification, I ans: I thinke I shall as stiffly adhere to yt assertion as you will, ~~yt~~ sincere obedience

may be a Condition of ye Not losing, or Justificn & of Justificn at ye last Judgmt
as Matth. 25. et passim. 2° when you say yt works cannot be ye Condition & title im-
mediatly of Just. I answ: 1° Works in Pauls sense are no Conditions; 2° Works in James sense
are no title: nor doth he say yt works were a title, nor faith neither. 3° yr word [Immedi-
atly derive Justificn & eternall life] either signifies ye nature only of faith & works, wch is
but their aptitude to their office or interest in Justificn, & so I acknowledge, yt faith only
is ye grace yt receiveth Christ by acceptance, & so I call it ye only Receiving Condition; but
I believe yt Repentance (as in some respects distinct from faith strictly taken) is a disposing
Condition. Or 2° by deriving you meane an efficiency of Justificn, & so I deny it both to
faith & works: 3° But yet I say yt in ye formall reason of a Condition, faith & repen-
tance stand together, & Justificn is as Immediatly thus derived by one as by ye other, if
it may be called deriving. And surely you yt make Repentance & faith to be all one, must
needs be of this mind, for ought I can yet see. I say no more to this. 3° The same I answer to
yt passage where you say yt Remission is not obtained by works before or after faith. I say
1° Repentance is a Condition of our first Remission: 2° Sincere obedience is a Condition of our
not losing it, & of our Justificn at Judgmt. But neither of them are titles. // Lastly when
you tell us on wt account Works are Conditions, I take it for granted yt you only meane
yt those things enumerated are ye aptitude uppon wch God made them Conditions; but yt ye
thing yt made them Conditions is Gods promise, or God in yt promise. For this you acknow-
ledge of faith itself before. And yt in all this we are agreed. //

Ad § 7. I hope you are more just then to intimate in this § yt I make Obedience a title.
Yor word [give right] &c is ambiguous: If you meane it properly & causally, I never said as
you. If you meane yt Repentance is no Condition of Right to pardon, nor Obedience of Right
to ye Reward of Eternall life, yt I deny it, & you deny it in ye latter. As to yor
answers (too nothing to me I think) I say 1° I hope you will not patronize ye other
Interpreter. And I have heard of no copye yt befriendeth him but ye Alexandrian in England,
wch yet gives him no reason for ye addition of [in sanguine ejus]. Beza saith yt this
translation is contra omnium Græcorum Codicum fidem. To yor 2d I answer yt the
Obedience there mentioned is only a Qualifying Condition (wch Dr Twisse often calls
Causa Dispositiua) & not a title, or Instrumt, I ever held, & yet yt will not con-
fute me wch yt wch I still assert. To yor 3d I say 1° Its strange to find allmost any
usuall word at all yt is taken but in one sense: 2° You should have told us whither here
it be not taken for Right as our Translators doe, & as commonly it is used. 3° A License
& a Right are oft ye same thing. // Ad § 8. You against oppose me by defend-
ing me. tho you have repeated ye texts you say they prove not yt faith alone is ye Condi-
tion & title of Just. who ever said they did. Not I. But they prove yt faith alone is
not ye Condition, & you have not yet proved it a proper title at all. In nu: 3. You say
yt these may qualify us & make us capable of Remission, & be a way & meanes of
Just. And I never said more of them (adding as before you do yt they are Conditions)
I say yt Repentance is a Qualifying Condition of pardon, & Obedience, of ye Reward:
& yt faith only is ye Receiving Condition: And yet I thinke we must be agreed whither
you will or not. You adde in n. 4. yt yet we aske pardon for Xts sake, Just: True.
But not for our faiths sake. Still remember yt our Question is not at all of ye proper
cause of our pardon ex parte Christi, but wt ex parte nostri. And when you say yt it was by
faith in ye great Sacrifice of ye Messiah whereby they obtained right to remission and
Just. True: but not by yt alone. but by Receiving Xt as Xt, an entire Saviour, as
offered in ye Gospell. // As for ye rest of this §, it saith ye same yt I say, save only
yt still it makes faith a title & condition, when I make it but ye Condition of a Title.
But I am confident yt its little more then in words yt all this difference lyeth. //

Ad § 8 (it should be 9) Of this I have had occasion to say more to you on yor for-
mer Papers: And I find yt it is but in words or little more yt we differ. I easily ac-
knowledge yt ye works you mention are not only ceased to be ye only condition of life
but (wch is more) any Condition at all. But whether this be by Abrogating ye Law
of Nature, or by ye superadding of a Law of Grace to dissolve its obligation to punish-
ment, & whether ye remaining Precept & Commination of ye Law, be distinct from ye Law
of Grace as a part from ye whole, or as another Law, & so whether you will say
ye Law of Nature is norma Judicij so far as to ye Conviction of sin & of ye need of a Saviour
& ye Law of Grace ~~sentences~~ to be ye Rule of ye final sentence & whether both ye Law of Nature
shall be ye Rule of ye Damnatory sentence or ye Law of Grace only, these things I have heretofore
[illegible] meane ye same in substance. //

LETTERS

The Propositions Considered. 64

1° The first Proposition is of undoubted Truth: but if the word [only] had been meant according to yor sense, I doe not believe it. //

2° The same answer I must give to the second. //

3° I think it an untruth to say that faith as justifying is this or that wch you describe it to be: If the reduplication respect the effect, then faith as justifying doth only justify: If it respect the formall reason of faith's interest in the effect (as conducing to it as a Meanes) then faith as justifying is the Condition of Justification & faith as the Condition of Justification justifyeth. But as to the nature of faith, tho it cannot be thus properly spoken reduplicatively that justifying faith as justifying is assent &c: No more than it can be said that this practicall Assent as such is justifying faith; wch is not true. Only this is true that [this Assent & Reception of Christ as such is capable & apt to be made justifying, that is, to be the Condition of Justification]. Yet I know that quâ & qualenus are used so variously & oft so largely that they may have a tollerable sense: But in the most ordinary strict reduplicative use, it is not true to say that [fides justificans quâ justificans est Assensus, Consensus, fiducia, or any other act] so that as to the nature of the act, it is more proper to say only that [fides quæ justificat est Assensus, &c]. Let them that assert more, prove it. //

4° & 5. The 4th & 5th I easily consent to. //

6° When I have it proved that faith is a Title I shall receive it, I hope. //

7 The 7th I yield. And yet it will not follow that there is no other Condition of finall Absolution & Glory, than of our first pardon. Nor do you affirme it. //

8 To the 8th I say: 1° Its strange how Repentance & faith can be all one (as you say) & yet faith be a Title & Repentance none. 2° I believe neither of them are Titles. //

9° If that faith wch uniteth to Christ be virtually ~~al~~ universall Obedience to the Morall Law], its incredible that Receiving Christ as King 1° should be no act but an effect of it, & 2° should follow Justification wch union with Christ goes before it. //

10 I would here know 1° whether that Law wch commandeth faith do only virtually command universall obedience, or also actually. I suppose that when you say it [bindeth to it] you meane actually. 2° But what you meane by the precept & promise being of the same extent I am not certaine. 1° If you meane that God promiseth us all that he commandeth us; its not so. Nor do I think you meane it. 2° But you seeme to have respect to a passage of mine to Mr Blake, where I say that under the first Covenant the precept & the Condition of the promise were of the same extent (viz perfect obedience): but not so under the Gospell, where perfect obedience is commanded, but not made the Condition of life. If this be it that you are opposing, you oppose the full scope of most of yor papers to me, wherein you maintaine that perfect obedience is commanded, & faith only & not such obedience made the Condition of life, & this by the same Law of Grace. So that I know not how to reconcile yor words: But I suppose you can: & yet I must suppose that I yet reach not yor sense. //

11 This verball controversie is not worth the insisting on any more, where it can have but such briefe touches. I confesse the cessation of the Promissory & Justifying part of the first Law, from whence it is usually called by Divines a Covenant. But I confesse not the Abrogation or cessation of the precept or Commination, but that a Remedying act of Grace is annexed to them: & whether you will call these now two Lawes, or two parts of one Law, I will not contend. But I conceive there is some difference between [Obliging to death for every sin, or making it Due] wch the Law of Nature still doth, & [Obliging to death only for finall Infidelity & Impenitency]; & between, A dissolvable obligation, & an remedilesse obligation. There is yet a threatning that makes death the wages of every sin, how small soever; & there is a threatning that makes death remedilessly the wages of finall Infidelity & Impenitency, & all other sins when they are found in such. Its one thing to threaten Death simply, & another to threaten it with the losse of the Remedy that by grace was offered. And in the sense as I take it, that is, for the foresaid remaining precept & threatning of the Law of Nature, it is part of the Norma Judicii, tho not that by which is the finall Decision. //

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12 The 12th I easily grant, but I think it not taken away at all. But the Promise to Adam, I yet suppose did cease upon his first sin, before the new promise: but he had utterly disobliged God the author of the promise, & made himself & all his posterity so uncapable of the benefit of it that it was become a thing naturally impossible.//

13 The former answers serve to this.//

14 Is it not enough that Justification is said to be a Sentence by execution, but you must say that it is properly so. If Execution be properly a Sentence, I know not wt these termes signifye: but I am sure I am not single in my Error. 2o I am glad you make the giving of the sanctifying & comforting spirit, to be but the Principall Execution, & not the only, as you seemed before. 3o Quere: whether deliverance from Hell & fruition of God in glory be not the principall execution, rather than sanctify & comfort him.//

15 Your exposition of Paul I willingly own: yet think it considerable whether he have not some respect to Jewish conceits of such a Merit as none ever had, no ~~at least of any a kind of Merit by the works of their law~~ not Adam.//

To yor next Sheet about the Justificn of a Sinner by ye Propitiation through Xts blood.

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I thinke he is no good Christian yt beleiveth not yor Thesis: Nor in ye first 2d, 3d & 4th § I see nothing yt I dissent from. Nor in ye 5th but yt ye words about Abrogating ye Law expresse somewt yt under debate. // To ye 6th § I say 1o I deny not yt Justification is a Sentence: or yt Pardon is a Sentence. But I deny yt this is ye only Justificn or pardon. For I still beleive yt there is a Pardon by ye Promise before yt by Sentence, & yt this is or Constitutive Justificn; & yt it is this yt is first ascribed to faith, & ye next in order after it. And I thinke yt there is a Pardon wch consisteth in Execution & not execution, posterior in order to yt by Sentence; & yt these are 3 distinct Acts, all necessary to or full liberation: Though yt much of ye execution yt is done or taken off here in via may for ought I know be without any solemne Sentence. 2o I yield yt ye Sentence is by God as Judge: but so is not ye Pardon by Promise. 3o you say [Men may talke much of Sententia legis, & of Justificn in Law sense: but such expressions are Rhetoricall but neither Logicall nor gramaticall] Ans. 1o yet its well yt or difference is but in a word. You confess ye thing yt I plead for, & call it [Justifyablenes] wch I call [Justificn]: & they yt yield is procured on ye condition of or faith, before Sententiall Justificn. 2o You put me past my skill to discover wt ye Logicall & Gramaticall defects are, in using [Justificn] instead of yor [Justifyablenes]. 3o Our Divines agt ye Papists are wont to confess yt to [Justifye] doth first signify [to make just], & accuse ym for being too Gramaticall in adhering to yt signification, bec the Papists speak of it as done by inherent Righteousness. 4o May not I as truly say to you yt to talke of a Pardon only per Sententiam Judicis, & deny ye Pardon by ye Law of Grace, is more Rhetoricall —— 5o And do not you speak as improperly or Rhetorically as I in ye use of ye terme [Justification], wn you take it for Gods execution only, & call yt his Sentence, & I take it for all three. 6o I doubt not but I have been to seek shewed when Scripture useth ye word Justifye & Justificn in ye sense yt you say is neither Logicall nor Gramaticall. I conclude yt yet in my opinion, To Justifye is 1o To constitute Just by pardoning, 2o To sentence as Just, 3o & to use as Just in Execution thereof. // You say yt [ye Law determineth Jus obstrandum & is norma obedientiae et Judicii] Ans. True: but moreover ye sanction constituteth also ye Jus habendi, or Debitum praemii, & beneficii: & this is ye principall part of ye Law of Grace it being a Promise, Testamt & free Donation: And this use is in order before its being Norma Judicii. // The 7th § hath nothing to be dissented from. // In ye 8th §. When you say [He merited an Indefinite right for man to Salvation] I will not now stand to question, whether he did not moreover meritt a determinate Right for his Elect. And wn you adde yt [by pleading this blood for such as believe he obtaineth ye actuall collation of remission, adoption &c] Quer: Whether it may not also be said yt by pleading it for ye Elect he first obtaineth ye actuall collation of effectuall Grace, insuperably causing ym to Believe. // Where you conclude yt [Xt in this Sentence is not considered as King, Lawgiver, Judge, but as Advocate & priest by his blood] I ans. 1o I doubt not but as in constitutive Justificn he is considered as Testator & Lawgiver, so in ye Sententiall & Executive he is considerable as Judge & King as well as Priest & advocate. Joh. 5. 22. All Judgmt is given to ye Son: so he is Judge in every Sentence. 2o In yor Stickler you say yt [Xt as he Justifyeth is a Judge] I am not able to reconcile those. I confess with you it is ye wisdome to [illegible] most ye Scripture dialect: but ye skill is to know it. I do not thinke you use it in this passage where you make Xt a Mediator only as Priest; nor where you make him ye object of ye act of faith by wch we are Justifyed, only as Priest. I cannot find yt this is Scripture dialect. // In ye 9th § 1o you acknowledge first yt wt I call Justificn Constitutive, or Pardon of sin, as immediately following or faith, & going before ye Sentence. // Next you prove faith to be an Assent wch I easily grant. But I doubt withall yt you confess it seem to be also an Acceptation of ye things represented: & so Acceptation is not a meer effect of faith (tho an effect of Assent wch is ye first act of faith) // 3o When you say [Assent is a great [illegible] of ye Soule, a Separation from sin, a returne to God Redeemer, wch is yt we call Repentance] I hope ye my definition of faith will not be taken for too large wch ye most approve yet; nor shall I by ye be supposed to equall Repentance & returning to God & separation from sin, too much wth faith, wn you make it all one. // 4o I very much like wt you say of ye efficacy of a strong Assent & ye insufficiency of a weake one. But wt will you say 1o to ye Common offence yt you place ye difference but in degree, 2o to Mr Blake, yt saith ye Devills Assent more strongly yn we? This seems a plausible & knotty objection: tho: I thinke, answerable. //

yor next touch about Receiving Xt as King & Lord, I find hath no evidence, but is unprov[ed]
In ye 18th § 1o I accept yor concession yt faith gives Right to Justification
& makes us Justifyable, before yt Sentence, & yt ye reason is from ye Promise grounded
on ye Sacrifice & intercession of Xt. 2o And I gratefully accept yor next Con-
cession yt [This faith & Assent is not accepted of God, can have no aptitude
" to be a Condition, as some call it (& you for one) if it rely upon Xt only for
" pardon, freedome from punishmt & not for holyness too: A wicked man may desire
" freedome from punishmt, not freedome from sin]. 3o And I gratefully accept also
" you yeild [yt by this faith we are spiritually united to Xt & ingraffed into him
" so yt we dwell in him & he in us, before we can derive Remission, reconciliation
" adoption, regeneration from him. By this faith we are made members of his body]
For now I may I hope take it for granted yt ye Accepting of Xt entirely as
King & Teacher as well as Priest, is an act of faith & not only an effect;
& yt this is before Justificon, & go[es] not only before Adoption & after Justificon.
And this Uniting ingraffing faith is it yt I take for ye Justifying faith, or
(to speake in yor language) yt wch gives us right to Justificon viz is ye
Condition of yt right: For Receiving Xt we receive pardon & life with him.
4o And I gladly accept yor asserting those severall acts of this faith [1. Thus to re-
" ceive Xt. Thus to rely on him, to renounce all righteousness of its. & to give & ascribe
" all to God freely giving & Xt effectually working] 5o And yt you adde yt [This faith
" is ye Condition, ye only Condition as giving right not only to Justificon begun, but
" continued & consummate] For in this comprehensive sence as it takes in not only Re-
pentance, but all yt you here mention, it containes yt wch my Antagonists call works.
For their opinion is, yt it is but one act of ye soule yt is called Justifying faith, viz
Recumbency; & yt he yt takes any other acts to be any pt of ye Condition of or
Justification, doth plead for Justificon by works. Yet here I must againe say
1o By [Giving Right] if you meane yor politicall Efficiency, I am not assu-
red of it yt faith so gives it. 2o I believe not faith is ye only Condition of Conti-
nuing or not losing or Justificon, or of or Justificon at ye last Judgmt. If (a pos-
sibile vel impossibile) a believer should cast all further obedience (with his faith)
& live after ye flesh, I believe yt he would thereby cease to be Justifyable (as
you call it) & to have right to Glory. Yet still I think with you yt after every
sin, its faith & repentance (wch confesse or pray for pardon through Xt, & they after
pertinaciety) yt are ye only Condition of this Receiving a pardon de novo; but
not of holding it wn he hath it; though yet I think not yt without ye losse of
faith & repentance it could be lost, nor yt they or it shall be lost. If you adde
" [yt Good works may be a Condition of ye new Covent, there is no doubt] I say
And yts all yt I say. For I determine not yt they are a Title [But (say you)
" there are many sorts of Conditions. & its a great fallacy to say yt because
" they are a Condition, so they are a Title] Ans. But I hope you do not by
this intend to intimate yt this fallacy is mine, or yt ever I said so. If you
do, you do not well. [A puny (say you) & smatterer knowes yt there are
many sorts of Conditions & can distinguish them]. Ans. But will not you
tell us how to distinguish them but a puny & smatterer knowes them. Some
former I know, & wt I thought I have told. I am willing to learne more,
I must here complaine of this transition as one of yor baulks. You
know yt the very just distinction of Conditions is ye thing yt is wanting
to end this controversie. You know yt it is not I only yt am more ignorant
then ye puny & smatterer, but yt of all yt have made a stir agst me hitherto
or yt have written (yt I know) of Justificon, no one hath yet brought forth
yt necessary distinction of Conditions wch must be ye instrumt to untie
ye knott. You referre me not to any yt hath done it. You say yt Obedience is a
Condition, & I say its a Condition. I endeavoured to shew wt Condition I took
it for. How could you more usefully (to me & those yt contend hereabouts) have
bestowed yor labor yn in telling us exactly wt sort of Condition Obedience is
& giving us ye true difference. Will you say nothing

we know allready: Why then you would have beleeved most that you have heretofore:
said & writings may acquaint you that we doe not know it allready. And
so I intreat you to give me a sufficient distinction of Conditions in yor sense, &
to apply it to ye case in hand: ffor I confess my selfe ignorant, & expect to
learne as much (in this) from you as any man. But perhaps you'le be discouraged
bec I receive not yet that wch you do allready deliver, viz that
faith is a Title & efficient Politicall Cause. But if you give me (with ye
rest) yor Evidence of it, wch I yet see not, you know not how soone
I may receive it: ffor my understanding lyes open & wants but light.||
you against say [If good works be ye title of Justificn &c] Ans. They are
no Title: & if I knew who it is yt said they are a Title, I would joyne wth
you in blaming him. || To yor || th §: I would not for a great deale but I
had seen this §: & yet I have but a piece of ~~it~~ (yt more to blame they
yt keep ye other sheet of yor papers from my sight) ffor here I discover of yor
mind about Justificn then ever I saw before. But first may I not justly
chide with you yt would write to me so largely heretofore on this subject
& yet conceale yor mind till now. I canot thinke you have since received this
opinion about ye Nature of Justification: And why then would you not make it
known! yea when I had heaped up many argumts agt yor opinion on a mistake
thinking you had meant some discovery by proper Sentence or revelation
to ye intellect, yt were justifyable, yet would you not open yor mind in yor
next writing!! But I accept it gratefully at last. How far I am of yor
mind (before I knew yor mind) you may see in my Confess: pag. 40. Prop. 25. 1
And first I confesse yt an Executive Pardon or Justificn there is, &
justly thinke it hath been too much overlookt: but I canot beleeve yt 2
there is no other. 2o I confesse yt this Executive pardon is ye last & most
perfect to wch ye rest do tend: but yet I beleeve yt there are two other
sorts yt do forgoe it viz By Gospell Grant, & by Sentence. 3o I doe beleeve
yt some Penaltys may be executed in this life & remitted, without 3
a Sentence, even as ffathers chastize or pardon their children: But as I am
not sure it is so of any, much less of all: so I am sure yt as to ye Eternall
punishmt it is not so. 4o I doe also beleeve yt ye Executive pardon wch you
speake of in this life, is but part & ye smaller part by far of or 4
Justificn or full pardon; & yt we have in this life a proper pardon of ye
guilt of Eternall punishmt, wch executively will be done in ye life to
come. ~~only~~ And you seeme to be less resolved in this yor §. at ye top of ye
page then you are at ye bottome. for at ye top you say [That this Sentence
is allwayes so joyned with ye Execution, at least in part, as yt its never
separated from it, but seemes to be ye very same with it] where there are
two qualifying words [at least in part] & [it seemes]. But when you goe farther
you say [And I doe not thinke yt any man can prove Evidently any
other kind of Justifying sinfull man, beleeving in Xt, but this, in all ye
Scripture.] Though I have said wt is before expressed for part of yor
opinion, & have had a hand in publishing much more of it in Mr
Hotchkis his Exercit. of fforgivenes of sin, then ever I read in any
Protestant before (by wch you may see I am none of yor extream
opposers), yet I must ~~therefore~~ say I am very far from yor opinion
in this point. I must confess yt if it would hold, it were a very
considerable invention to end ye Controversies betweene us & ye Romanists
about Justification; but how righteously is a further question. I
have truly declared my selfe one of those yt had rather make Controversyes,
even betweene us & ye Papists, narrower rather then wider, & fewer
rather than more: And I doubt not but even in this point there be
just ground of narrowing them, as many moderate men have showed. But
yet I am far from seeing just reason to give them up ye Cause, & to deny
the very being of yt Justification wch we have hitherto maintained agt them.

I shall now crave yor patience while I oppose some Reasons yt move me to dissent from this yor opinion, wch you express in ye end of yt page, specially in these words

> [I do not thinke yt any man can prove evidently any other kind of Sentence
> full man believing now, but this in all ye Scriptures: And ye principall pt of ye Sentence
> of Execution if I may so speake, is ye making of us righteous, & taking away ye dominion & power
> of sin by ye Holy Ghost renewing us. &c]

Reas. 1. The very singularity of this Opinion is enough to make it suspected. I say not Rejected, but suspected. For I am resolved to try & receive ye truth, as far as I am able to discerne its Evidence, though it were agt ye Judgmts of never so many. But yet I thinke yt any sober man will be ye more cautelous & suspicious in the case yt few have gone yt way before him, even few of ye wisest of ye Ch of God. Now its well knowne yt a Judgment of God distinct from Execution is so comonly believed by all ye Ch: yt its hard to find many yt ever doubted of it. For my pt I know but of few if any: & besides yorselfe I never heard of one Protestant, to my remembrance yt was of yt mind. So I must see good Evidence before I may receive it.

R. 2. It seemes to me to deny an Article of or Comon Creed: viz yt Judging ye quick & dead. For if you thinke it is but Glorifying or Punishing yt is meant by Judging there, you must suppose halfe ye same Article againe repeated in ye last words [The Life Everlasting]: But yt may not be supposed, for ye Creed is not tautologicall, especially in expressing ye same matter in divers Articles, & yt at such a distance from each other. And accordingly all Comonplace bookes of Theologie yt I know of do make ye last Judgment & ye Glorification of ye Saints & punishmt of ye wicked to be distinct places.

R. 3. By this course we must come to ye Papists in ye great point about ye very nature of Justification & Remission of Sin. For if God do no otherwise Justifie us but by Execution, & yt is principally by taking away ye power of sin by ye renewing worke of ye Spirit making us righteous inherently, yn it is plaine yt we are in ye wrong & they in ye right & yt to sanctifye is to Justifye, & sanctity is passive Justification, even ye Justification by wch we must stand before God as Just. I do not mention this to clogge yor opinion with any odium, nor do I intend myselfe so nominee to disclaime any doctrine bec ye Papists hold it without better reason. A subordinate Justification by ye performance of Evangelicall Conditions I have maintained, & so much I have said for Inherent Righteousnes as may show yt I have no desire to undervalue it. Philip Codurcus his designe of making Justification to comprehend Sanctification as some speake of it, I would not have so far opposed as some have done: For it seemes to be but de nomine yt ye Controversie is; viz, Whether ye word Justification do not sometime comprehend Sanctification as well as Remission, & sometime againe is taken more strictly for Remission alone & is distinct from Sanctification. But to thinke yt there is no Justifying Sentence, but ye Execution, & yt this Execution lyeth mainly in Regeneration or renewing, & killing sin, this seemes too much. And yet yt ye Execution lyeth much in or Renovation, I do not deny as I shall further show. But yet I take this but for an Effect or Consequent of or Justification in ye Comon sense of Scripture, yt is, 1o of or Justification by ye Promise & 2o by ye Sentence (wch you seeme to deny), though I confess Sanctification a pt of or Executive Remission or Justification. If yor doctrine be true, yn or owne Holynes, or faith, love, feare, obedience are ye very matter (if not ye forme) of ye Principall part of or only Justification: wch seemeth hard.

R. 4. Why did you so largely in yor former writings to me, maintaine yt there is no Justification but by Sentence: & deny yt wch is by ye Promise (or Law) to be Justification or pdon, bec it is not a sentence of ye Judge. And now you deny yt there is any such thing as Sententiall Justification. If yt wch is not a sentence of ye Judge, you before maintained is no Justification. But this Execution is not a sentence of ye Judge. Therefore it must be no Justification. If you say yt speaking Metonymically it is a sentence, I answer, 1o yt is, speaking properly, it is none. 2o So it may be of many other things. 3o So ye sense of ye Law or Promise is Metonymically a sentence. Why yn did you deny it ye name of Justification, if yt must needs afford it ye name?

R. 5. By this meanes you deny all Justification. For in yor first you deny yt of ye Law & assert only yt wch is by Sentence: Now you deny ye Sentence (or ye certainty of it). And yor Executive Justification you destroyed before because this is no Sentence.

R. 6. If there be no such thing as pdon or Justification by ye Promise, or by Sentence, but only Executive pdon, yn there is no such thing as a pdon of future penaltyes: But ye Consequent seemes false to me: Therefore so must ye Antecedent. The poena damni & sensus proper to ye life to come, may be & is pdoned to us in this life: not only as we are reprieved from yt penalty of sense, but ye obligation is dissolved; & though we are not yet in Glory & so ye sentence of or Glorification is not executed, yet ye penalty of ye losse of future Glory, & ye sin by wch we came short of yt Glory, are remitted before or actuall Glorification. And many ~~future~~ (conditionally future) penaltys of this life are remitted

R.7. If there be no Legall or Sentenciall pardon (for pardon & Justificn you still make to be all one) yn ye pardon in this life is so small as comparatively to be next to none, in regard of yt in ye life to come: ffor sure in ye Executive sense it is so: ffor yn we shall be possessed of glory, & freed from yt Damnation yt others are cast into; But if in this life only we have hope in Xt we are of all men most miserable. I am not one yt denyeth a pardon or Justificn to come; but I see no reason so far to extenuate yt wch we have here, as to restraine it to ye meere execution.//

R.8. If Pardon be principally by Renewing ye Soule, yn so far as ye Soule is unrenewed, it is unpardoned, & all ye remnant of ye sins yt adhere even to ye regenerate are unpardoned, as to ye principall pardon. But yt seemes not to be true: ffor as all ye regenerate have ye remnants of many sins, & daily offend, so Scripture saith yt all their sins are forgiven ym, & there is no Condemnation to ym &c. I think ~~yt~~ this Argumt sufficient agt ye Papists doctrine of Remission only by Internal grace: ffor yn remaining sins are unpardoned: But sure ye remaining sins of ye godly are pardoned as to ye destroying & eternall punishment, & yt seemes to be ye principall pardon, bec this is ye principall punishment.//

R.9. If Pardon be principally by Renewing grace, sin ye present habits of sin & privation of holyness is ye principall penalty yt we have pardoned to us, or are delivered fro: And yn 10000 sins may have no more pardon, in ye maine, yn ten: for those yt have sinned but a while are sometime as viciously habituate as some yt have sinned longer. go it seemes yt there is some greater pardon yt such greater actuall sinners are capable of, though they have not more vicious habitts yn some others.//

R.10. When ye ~~present~~ Habitts of sin are pardoned by yt way of Renovation, I would know whether it be ye present Habits yt are remitted, wch were in ye soule immediatly before yt Grace. If not, yn all yt present body of sin is unpardoned, wn expelled. If it be remitted; yn it was ye meritorious cause of itself. & so was both ye sin & ye punishment. ffor pardon hath a double respect: one to ye demerit, or guilt, & ye other to ye punishmt. And so ye sin must be pardoned, 1o as meritorious of punishmt. 2o & as ye punishmt of its own merit. If you deny ye former, & say yt ye present habits of sin are only ye punishmt of former sin; yn ye present sin either deserved no punishmt, (or is not pardoned: but it deserved punishmt: & is pardoned wn ye man is renewed. And if you say yt ye present habits of sin (or absence of ye Spirit) are ye punishment of ye present sin, yn you make ye cause & effect yt is, ye sin & punishmt to be simul natura: wch [illegible] be.

These 2 or 3 last reasons bring to my remembrance, a discourse yt I had with yt truly Venerable Bishop Usher: when I was speaking about ye state of ye Controversie between us & ye Papists about Justification & Remission of sin; as supposing yt we were not at all so great odds wn we debated it under ye notion of Remission as wn under ye name of Justification; he answered me yt The Controversie between us is not how we are pardoned, whether by faith or works: but indeed whether there be any such thing as pardon of sin at all: & this he had manifested to some of ym in Conference: I marvailed at his assertion: But he answered me as ye reason of it: yt ye Papists generally by Remission of sin do meane only ye subduing, expelling or mortifying of sin by infused Grace. And I well remember yt many of ym speake to yt purpose. And Mr Wotton makes it their unanimous doctrine. de Reconcil. Part. 2. li. 2. c. 24. n. 6. p. 318. he saith [Eorum communi omnium Pontificiorum fide creditur tanquam articulus fidei Catholicae et Concilii Tridentini decretum, ut ostendam cap. 38. Remissionem peccatorum esse physicam et interiorem in homine mutationem.] And Cap. 25 he proveth it from their owne words, as also Cap. 30. wch Capp. 31. & 32 he confuteth at large. But by this rule no sin but present Habits should be Remitted, in their owne sense: ffor ye thousands of sinfull acts yt have bin heretofore Committed are not capable of such a Remission: for they are past long agoe, & go cannot be destroyed agn, but only ye effects of ym may be removed. But doubtless those past sins are capable of Remission, as well as ye present remaining habits.//

R.11. If pardon & Justificn be only in Execution, yn Infidells & ungodly persons have in this life as much Pardon of ye future Punishmt of ye life to come as true Believers have: ffor ye non-execution is extended equally to both. The Saints are not in Hell, nor ye ungodly are not in Hell. But ye consequent is certainly false: go so is ye Antecedent.//

R.12. If there be no pardon or Justification but Executive, yn pardon & Justificn do make a Qualitative or other Physicall change & not a Relative. But divines do justly agree on ye Contrary (I meane ye generality of ye Reformed) yt Justification passive is a meere Relative change, & not a qualitative.

R.13. By this meanes also you make ye Godly to be under Condemnation, & yt as opposed to ye only Justificn. For ye Godly are under some Executions of penalty, & do yet want ye Execution of some Pardoning Grace. They are afflicted, have too much sin, & they are not yet in heaven. But for all this there is no Condemnation, at least no such Condemnation to ym yt are in Xt Jesus Ro: 8.1. //

R.14. If then be no Justificn but Executive, yn there is no Justification but ye wicked & Infidells partake of, as truly as ye Saints. For they have much good conferred on ym, & much evill with-held or taken off. But there is a Justificn wch ye ungodly do not partake of: as many texts of Scripture witnesse. //

R.15. If then be no Justificn but Executive, yt Glorificn is a part of Justificn. But there is a Justificn wch Glorification is no part of: For ye Apostle makes ym two distinct members of ye golden chaine, Rom. 8.30. whom he Justifyed them he Glorifyed.

R.16. It will follow also from this yor opinion yt there is no Justificn but this, admitts of daily alterations; sometime a man is more Justifyed, & yn lesse: for Executions thus alter in this life. But sure there is a more permanent Justificn. //

R.17. It will follow also yt every mercy yt we receive doth Justifye us, & yt we are Justifyed by ye abatement of Corrections, & yt every Sermon or providence yt is a meanes of or Sanctification, or ye increase of it, is also a meanes of or Justificn & its increase: & yt every holy effectuall motion of ye Spirit on ye soule is a Justifying work: & yt there is no other sort of Justificn. But this seemes not so

R.18. It will follow also, yt or first Justificn is not by faith as cause, instrument, condition, or any antecedent. For, 1o we receive much mercy from God before in ye word & other meanes, & outward things, & motions of ye Spirit: so these should be so far Justifyed: 2o The giving of faith itself & Repentance is a great part of or Renovation; especially seeing yt illumination, & ye loving of God as or ultimate end is as soone as faith. & so if ye giving of this first Grace be an act of Justification, yn we canot be first Justifyed by faith causally, conditionally, nor antecedently, but only consequently, as it is part of or inherent Righteousnes. But this is contrary to ye scope of Pauls doctrine yt makes or Justificn, yea or first Justificn to be by faith, & to ye penitent. //

R.19. If God have ordinarily some instrumentall Executioners of his Justice & pardoning grace, yn hath he ordinarily a sentence before Execution. For he must reveale his will to those Executioners, concerning ye inflicting of such punishment for such crimes, & ye taking off such punishmts as in pardoning he taketh off. And yor owne words intimate ye Consequence, while you give it as a reason of yor opinion, for ye Executive way only, yt God doth not as man, put his Statutes in Execution by others. But ye Scripture fully declares yt Angells good & bad (& other creatures) are ye frequent, if not ordinary Executioners of Gods Justice & pardoning grace (as Zanchy de Angelis, among many others, & many of ye Schoolmen before him, have shewed at large). //

R.20. When you make or Principall Justification to consist in Renewing us by ye Holy Ghost (or giving us inherent righteousnes) you take those things for granted yt will hold much dispute. 1o Its not easy to shew how every sin is truly a punishmt wch must be done before you prove ye Expulsion of it to be an Executive pardon. For pardon is ye pardon of some punishmt. Certaine it is yt sin as sin is not a punishment: For God is ye cause of punishmt: but not of sin as sin. And certainly sin is no punishmt inflicted by God as ye author of it. It must so be only sin as misery to ye sinner, & yt only as permitted by God, yt is this punishmt. And though some sin be so, its a doubt whether all be so. It being not so of ye first being or causing of sin yt is or punishmt, but only ye non-liberation, it must needs be only a penalty of ye Law of Grace in it, & not of ye Law of works. For Adams first sin was not ye punishmt of any sin: And ye Law of works meddled not with pardon or deliverance inclusively or exclusively, but yt was reserved for ye Gospell. And 2o In supposing yt ye absence of ye sanctifying or assisting spirit is this penalty you say but ye same thing. 1o By ye Spirit I suppose you meane a supernaturall cause of or holiness, & yt possessing us & enabling & exciting us thereto. Now you know it is a controversie between ye Protestants & Papists whether Adams holiness was supernaturall yt is, as you phrase it, ye Spirit of God; or rather Naturall as being ye perfection of his very nature concreated in him. The protestants

latter commonly, & so we must not be too rash in taking yor Ad as ye old Papists
maintained (most of ym) yt Adams Grace was supernaturall & so yt ye holy ghost was
to have bin ye Cause of our Sanctity in Innocency, if we had yn gone to heaven, so
in Conformity hereto many latter Papists affirme yt Xt. hims. was to have bin
or head & Saviour in Innocency, & to have guided innocent man to Glory: And yt
Xt & ye Holy Ghost have but changed their worke since ye fall, as engag-
ing for ye Recovery & Restauration of man from sin & misery, who
before they were to have Conducted by Innocency to felicity. But ye
Protestants owne not either of these, but suppose yt Xt became ye
mediator only upon ye fall for mans Recovery, & yt ye Holy Ghost
is his Spirit & Agent sent only in Subordination to him on ye Gospell
designe of Restauration, & yt mans Holyness before was naturall
wch needed indeed Divine assistance to preserve it, but it is only ye losse
of it yt needed ye sending of ye Holy Ghost, to restore it. 2o And it is cer-
taine yt wn Adam fell from God, it was not by any withdrawing of ye Holy
Ghost. For if so, it was withdrawne either without his desert or with it. Not
without it: For God would not so deale by ye Innocent as to forsake him first,
especially if this Spirit was necessary to his perseverance. Not by his de-
sert: For before ye first sin Adam deserved no evill, nor forfeited ye Spirit.
3o And yn it is not easy to prove yt it is penall to any Infant to be void
of ye Holy Ghost. So yt many doubtfull things are supposed, in this doct-
rine of Justification by Inherent grace.//

Let us now see whether Scripture indeed be as silent in ye point as you
here suppose it to be: & whether it assert no Judicium or Justificn or Condemnation but
executive.//
1 In Matth. 25. 12. 21. 23. 26. 30. & from 31 to ye end, a Sentence
antecedent to ye Execution, is so expressly asserted by ye mouth of Xt hims.
yt I know not wt you can call an Evident proofe, if you will deny this
to be such. If you say yt God hath not a right & left hand, nor a voice to
speak by: & so this is but an Allegory: I answer, I yield it easily yt quoad
modum proferendi sententiam, it is expressed allegorically: & who knowes
not yt most (by far) yt is said of God in Scripture is spoaken by Meta-
phors: But yet it followes not yt it is not a truth wch those Metaphors
do expresse, & so yt it is not a Sentence distinct from Execution wch this
allegorie expresses, wn it is so fully asserted in ye word. It is sufficient yt
God do by a full manifestation to ye sinner & ye world determine his cause,
& committ it to Execution: And (though it were done by an immediate illumi-
nation opening to all their understandings yt fact, ye Justice or Injustice of
it, ye due reward or punishmt & his will for ye Execution, yet this is
truly a Divine Sentence, Justifying or Condemning ye sinner.//
2 In Matth. 7. 1. 2. [Judge not yt ye be not Judged: for with wt Judgement ye Judge
yee shall be Judged] The last words shew yt ye word [Judged] is not so equi-
vocall as yt our Judgmt should be only executive while ye other is only
mentall & orall. It is not a meere executive Judgement (if such at all) yt
is prohibited us in this text: so it is not a meere executive Judgement
yt is threatned. And tho: I deny not but it is a Judgement by men yt is here meant
in part, yet but in part, but (as Chrysost. & others restraine it only to Gods owne
Judgmt hereafter, so) yt truest exposition doth disjunctively at least extend it to
both. For it doth not allway goe of men requitally in this life. Yet it doth not
meane yt God will misrepresent ym as they do others, but yt he will severely search
into their faults & judge ym, as they without authority did search & judge others.
The reasons yt Grotius gives to prove it to be Gods Judgmt yt is here threatned
will doubtless prove yt this is included, though humane censure not excluded.//
3 Joh. 8. 26. [I have many things to say & to judge of you] This is not meere execution.//
Rom. 2. 13 [For not ye hearers of ye Law are just before God, but ye doers of ye Law shall be
Justifyed.] yt Justification wch is made equipollent with [being Just before God] is
not a meere executive Justification.// And verse 15. 16. [In ye day wn God
shall Judge ye secrets of men by Jesus Xt &c] yt Judging of mens secrets wth op-
posite witnesses, accusing & excusing, is not a meere executive Judgement.//
And Rom. 3. 4. [yt thou mightest be Justifyed &c] though it be not applyed to man
ye Object, yet doth it shew how ye word (Justifye) is often taken in Scripture.//
And ye phrase of [ye Law Judging] was not yn thought unfitt Joh. 7. 51. // Joh. 12. 48
[He yt rejecteth me & receiveth not my words, hath one yt Judgeth him: ye word yt
I have spoken ye same shall judge him [illegible] But here

doth not execute ye sentence or ye wrath of God, but judgeth him as one
he hath violated & ye meaning of the [illegible] testifying agt him. // 1 Cor. 6.
yt judgmt in wch ye Saints shall judge ye world & Angels is not meerly execution
for it is there made like ye present decision of controversys at Law. But [illegible]
ye last Judgment of God, in wch his Saints shall be in a sort assessors wth [illegible]
Luk. 19. 22 [Out of thy owne mouth will I judge thee] yt is not only [out of thy owne mouth
I will punish thee] but I will in my decisive judgmt prove & declare thee punishable
1 Cor. 4. 3. 4. 5. ye wordes Judge & Justifye doe apparantly speak of somewhat distinct
from execution. For it was not execution by men yt Paul took for a small thing
2o nor was it a non-execution uppon himself yt he mentioneth, but ye not
ye deciding finall sentence uppon himself. 3o Justifying therefore is not there taken for
Renewing, but as ye opposite wch is to finall condemning. 4o ye judgmt of ye Lord is there
as consisting in bringing to light ye hidden things of darkness & making manifest ye
counsells of ye hearts yt every man may have praise of God. Therefore it is ye explo-
ration of ye cause & ye sentence thereuppon, & not execution only. // Moreover
if there be no sentence but meer execution, wt is ye meaning of those Scriptures
yt tell us yt we shall all stand before ye Judgment seat or tribunal of Christ. Rom.
14. 10. 2 Cor. 5. 10. Tribunals are for sentence. // Math. 12. 37 [By thy words shall thou
be justifyed, & by thy words shall thou be condemned] This is plainly a sentence & not
meer execution. // Luk. 18. 14. It is not meer execution yt is meant wn it is said
[he went downe to his house justifyed &c]. // Act. 13. 39. [By him all yt believe are justi-
fyed from all things from wch ye could not be justifyed by ye Law of Moses]. This can
not be meant of meer execution, but of justificn by ye Law. Grant first, & sentence
after. // Then wt thinke you of all those texts & long disputes of Paul about justifica-
tion by faith in this life. Rom. 3. from ye 19 to ye end, & Rom. 4. throughout, & Rom. 5.
9. Gal. 2. & 3. & 5. Jam. 2. from ye 14 to ye end. Can you think yt imputing of Righteousness
is only by renovation or sanctification. or yt to be justifyed by Christs blood is only to be
sanctifyed by his blood. or yt to be justifyed by faith is only to be regenerate or sanc-
tifyed by faith, or reprieved from hell (as ye wicked also are) or yt by justificn by
works, James doth meane such sanctification & reprieve by works, & no more.
Is it possible yt all these texts should make ye present justificn of ye faithfull to
consist only in execution here, yt is, in sanctification & keeping off temporall punish-
ments, & not actuall tormenting us; & yt both justification in Law sense, & also by
sentence should be totally excluded. Paul makes vocation (wch gives ye first
renewing grace) to be before justificn, & glorification to be after it. Rom. 8. 30. And
yt makes ye opening of ye eyes & turning from darkness to light & from ye power of
Satan to God to be before [receiving remission of sins] & receiving ye inheritance to
be after it. Act. 26. 18. I shall pass most of ye texts without reciting, 1o bec. I have
done it on an other occasion in my Confession, 2o bec. ol Divines have done it
oft & largely agt ye Papists. The Scripture makes faith, repentance, conversion, to goe
before remission of sins (wch you say is ye same with justification). Now repentance is ye
change of ye mind from ye flesh & world, & so from sin to God. & conversion makes us
new creatures; & so ol sins are radically mortifyed (Luk. 24. 47. Act. 2. 38. & 10. 43. Mar. 4. 12.
Act. 26. 18) Therefore it is evident yt they are not ye same thing; & yt God doth not pardon us by
giving us faith & repentance & conversion. If these must goe in order before pardon, then
pardon is not by giving them. So when confessing, forsaking, forgiving others, are made conditions
of forgiveness, yt forgiveness consisteth not in causing us to confess, forsake & forgive others.
Col. 2. 13. he hath forgiven us all trespasses. Therefore that remaining sin wch yet adhereth to us is not
yet forgiven, if ye forgiveness of yt sin consisteth not in ye mortification or extirpation of it. For while
it is there, it is forgiven. Rom. 8. 33. Gods justifying is opposed to charging & condemning. Therefore it is
not meerly execution. // Lastly there is a condemnation distinct from execution (that of ye
Law & by ye sentence of ye Judge, from wch execution hath its title) as appeareth Joh.
3. 20. 21. Luk. 6. 37. Math. 12. 41. 42. Rom. 8. 1. Math. 12. 37. Joh. 3. 18. &c.: Therefore there is a justification
besides execution. // Thus I have given you my reasons agt your opinion so far as I am
forced to dissent. I still believe yt no one of ye three sorts of pardon or justificn [illegible]
[illegible] viz In Law-sense by ye promise: In sentence: & in execution. 2o And I grant [illegible]
men have grieved & forfeited ye Spirit, ye returning of ye Spirit to help us again, is a [illegible]
doing act or effect: & so far ol sanctification may be said to be part of executing [illegible]
3o But bec. it is pardon in Law sense & by sentence (specially ye first) yt I have usually [illegible]
of pardon in Scripture, & yt of execution is an effect or consequent of [illegible]
[illegible] then [illegible] of sanctification is an effect or consequent of [illegible] of pardon
[illegible] or degree of pardon in [illegible] before [illegible]

Worthy freind—

Having occasion not long ago to congratulate some of yor parish-
ioners, that they had so worthy a Pastor, & to persuade ym to their
duty to you &c, yt I may be impartiall & true to my Conscience,
I will exercise as much freedome wth you. When you were here,
I had for my own satisfaction craved ye Argumts yt satisfyed you to
conforme, but yt I thought it would seeme a reprehension ra-
ther & be ungratefull to you, & engage us in a longer debate
yn we had time for. But being persuaded yt so ingenious a per-
son, would not venture without some considerable reasons, I
am ready to wish for a sight of ym, if possibly they may prove
stronger than I have yet heard; & so may greatly accomo-
date me yet before I dye: And as I shewed you an enumeration
& offered you ye full Confirmation, of those reasons wch make
me thinke Conformity to be (materially) a very heynous Sin
or rather a multitude of such; so if you requited me wth a
just refutation of ym it might stand me in great stead.
But I confesse ye notoriety of ye case doth leave me but small
expectations of seing what may change me. But faithfullnes
comandeth me to say, yt where I shewed you so much & offe-
red you more, if you have not wth some abler Nonconformist
heard ye like & been able to answer it you have not dealt
faithfully wth yor own Conscience. Had a Contemptible person
offered to prove to me, yt such a course were heynously sin-
full, I should have heard his Reasons before I should venture.
But this on ye by: My busynes now is, as your hearty friend
to give you a few words of advise for ye future—
1° That you will preach Catechistical necessary truths wth
all possible plainesse & seriousnes, condescending to ye peoples

capacity, & avoid by-opinions, controversies, & ~~[illegible]~~ expositions
unsuitable to ym, as much as you can. 2° That you
will be very much in private Conference wth yr vulgar

of your parish, about their knowledge, & ye state of their
Soules: And shew ye world yt Conformists are as true to their
trust & as faithfull labourers for mens salvation as
NonConformists, by doing as much wth all families in order,
by Catechising & personall Convincing Conference, as we
were wont to do, & more. By wch also you will learn wt
preaching they most need. 3 I advise you to watch agt ye
Com̄on Temptation of ~~[illegible]~~ new Conformists, yt you looke not on
your selfe as having now a different Interest, as being of
a different party: & so to preach & judge according to
yt Interest. But know no party but Christians, nor no
Interest yt shall stand in Competition wth yt of Christ & mens
Soules. If you do thus, & serve God in labor, patience, Serious-
nes & Simplicity, wth ye wisdome wch is first pure, yn peace-
able, gentle,— without partiality &c I shall rejoice for ye
peoples sake & yours, & hope yt though temptation thrust
you forward wth some unfaithfullnes to your selfe,
yet yt (as various perceptions make great matters va-
riously judged of by men) you have in sincerity & selfdeny-
all devoted your selfe to God. But if you fall to yt preaching
wch is most for ye ostentation of parts, & selfe exalting &
to a Lordly strangenesse to ye poore, & a neglect of ye la-
borious private part of teaching, as not necessary, & to
judge of other men according to your own Interest, grow-
ing bitter or contemptuous to those yt censure your Con-
formity, or avoid you in it, & letting out your passion agt
such dissenters as stand in ye way of yor reputation (when
you know yt their Reasons agt Conformity are yet un-
answered); If you grow to thinke & speake well or ill
of men, just as they speake

well or ill of you; you may grow ere you are aware to — I am loth to ſay what — And yu will ſhew yt ye predominancy of Selfiſhnes & Carnall Intereſt brought you into ye way wch you have choſen. But I do ſo much hope & perſuade my ſelfe of better, as Encourageth me to beleive, that you will take in good part, (without yt diſtaſt wch ſuch a Spirit would be guilty of) this plaine & faithfull Counſell of

Your very hearty friend & Wellwiller

July. 9. 1673. Ri: Baxter

For Mr Eccleston at Sturbridge
in Worcestershire

LETTERS

fol.202. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Sr

My p'suming to accept your offered reference was, because I doubted not but you were a man of truth, so far as to stand to so late an offer; because you told me yt you loved to think twice before you wrote, and not to trouble ye world wth Retractations (wch must be by Non-deficient or Impenitencie, wch I suppose you professe not) offering yt to referr it to any one's judgmt save my own, I doubted not but you would have stood to two so unquestionable, to avoid a Retraction. As to yor Reason agt it, it is such as it seemeth doth seeme reason to you, but so far from it some, yt I perceive Reason is an ambiguous word. You know yt it was not ye Cause of Conformity wch we were to referre; but only ye Case of my own sin in manner of my writing to you, to save me from dying in impenitencie according to yor friendly prayer for me: I desired no censure of you, but of my selfe: And is it a good Reason both to breake yor word, & to deny me so harmlesse a help for my repentance, wch you prayed for? viz. because 1° I misstate ye question, 2° & you meane to answer me? x. For misstating ye Case 1° If you said to me, yt you did not apprehend Conformity to be unlawfull, it was out of my hearing: 2° I take a year for a little time; you take it for a competent time to examine Conformity: When 40 yeares (for so long I have studied it) hath not been enough to teach me what you seeme to have so quickly & fully learnt; wonderfull disparity: Though you be not bound to read all yt is written on ye subject every just judge heareth ye summe of what both sides can say: Therefore (though ye main burden be ye new Conformity) for ye old Controversies hereabout I must suppose yt at least you have read Gersom Bucer agt Downam, & Baines Diocesanes tryall & Blondell, & Parker de polit. Eccles. & Didoclave, passing by all yt rest, & of ye Ceremonies, Ames his fresh suite, & Bradshaws Argumts; And a year will scarce do yt much well. 3° But do you thinke, I supposed yt They must judge of my Case, whether Criminall or not, by my own stating it? 1° Were they not to peruse all ye Letters ymselves wch is ye visible Evidence? Could they not there see whether it was brotherly admonition, or inhumane snarling and grinning (those words being none): 2° Had not you ye advantage of being p'sent wth ym (wch is very great) and opening ye case true or false as you pleased without my contradiction; & must not arbitrators heare both sides speak? Will you refuse ye tryall because ye Defendent misreports ye Case (wch you have full Liberty to Contradict)? xx. And what if you will answer my Papers about Conformity? must I not therefore be helpt to Repentance for my sin? If you say I should see it my selfe, I answer, our differences shew you yt I have not yor judiciousnes, nor cannot know so easily as you can. And it is such texts as these yt render ye Case so hard to me, as to need assistance, Lev. 19:17. Thou shalt not hate the Prov. 28. 23. 13. 4. Matth. 18. 15. Jam. 5. 20. Psal. 141. 5. Prov. ~~[illegible]~~ 9. 7. 8. & 19. 25. 2 Tim. 4. 2. Eph. 5. 11. Joh. 3. 20. Pro. 25. 12. & 24. 25. & 27. 5. & 13. 1. Tit. 1. 13. & 2. 15. & 1. 9. 1 Cor. 4. 14. 2 Chron. 19. 10. Ye shall warn ym yt they trespasse not agt ye Lord, & so wrath come upon you & your brethren. Col. 1. 28. Warning every man &c. And such Examples as Gal. 2. 11. 12. 13. 14. Phil. 2. 20. 21. & many the like: I pray you desire ym to weigh these texts: And yet performe your word, & shew ym all yt hath past between us, for my Conviction. // As to your Accompting wth me about my papers, & I fear not any truth wch you can shew me; for I take it for my friend: (or else why hath it cost me so dear to seeke it?) And if you Convince me of ye Lawfullnesse of Conformity, I thinke it will be no simonie to give you in Gratitude an hundred pound a yeare out of my gaines. But you have killed all such hopes, if I had any, by ye Contrariety of yt wch you & I call Reason and proofe. And (I yt am not so indefectible as to prevent Retractation) repent yt ever I medled with you for your own sake: For by forseeing & forewarning you of your Temptations, I have hastened them. I find my displeasing forsight telleth you againe, yt by yt time you have sufficiently published your wisedome, so many furious ignorant Zealots round about you & elsewhere, will call it by a harder name, yt you will be tempted to thinke it your Interest to hate & villifie & scorn ym (under a better name) & so to come to ye end of your journey before ye time: And how much a very little Temptation can do with you I have a little tryed: In faithfull plainnesse I understand now what sin your old acquaintance feare in you; & I desire you to agree with me, yt we may both of us remember not only Dust & Eternity, but our sin & ignorance, & may both of us unfeignedly suspect & search our hearts, & earnestly pray yt if we are (even extremely proud) God would prevent our fall by humbling grace. IX. But if you will revive my hopes of profitting by your intended Accompt, yea if you would have me believe yt you talke not idly & only by designe, I must forewarne & entreate you, yt you speake to the Question, wch really we differ about, & do not with an alienated mind or pen, turn your talke for yt in wch we are agreed. I shall else take you but as if you talked to your shadow or in a dreame. Therefore spend not your words for any thing conceded by ye NonConformists in ye Treaty of 1660. Either wch is in Bp Ushers forme of Governmt offered by ym, or ye rest granted. The Question is not of Bps in Generall, but (as you here well say) of Episcopacy (& all ye Church Governmt) as now stated. If you speake to me & not to some body else, you have these things of Church Governmt to speake to; (I pray do ym distinctly & plainly if you would have me Conforme) 1° That a sole Bp of many hundred churches & Altars without any Bps under him, or any Presbyters yt have no more power of ye Keyes yn ours, be agreeable to Gods word, or lawfull? 2° Whether it be Lawfull to deprive so many thousand Presbyters of ye power of ye Keyes as farr as they are in England? 3° Whether it be Lawfull for ye Church Governmt by ye Decretive power of ye Keyes in tryall, admonition, excommunication & absolution, to be exercised by Laymen in ye name of ye Bp. (wch is our Actuall church Governmt). 4° Whether all these are so Necessary yt no man is bound ~~in his place~~ in his place & calling, to endeavour any alteration of this Governmt, though he hath vowed it to God by a Vow unlawfully imposed & taken. You can state no question wth me but by my Consent: because without me you know not where we differ. These (wch I wrote not to you because they are printed) are ye doubts about Episcopacy together wth ye Argumts about it in my first Disp. wch you have to Accompt wth me about: Remembering yt I told you ye forme of some of those Argumts (yn hastily & too carelessly written) is culpable: but it is ye Reason wch I expect an answer to wth ye sense of Antiquity. And as to ye other two Controversies in ye end of my Papers, Assent & Consent to all things & no man obliged by ye Vow, seeing prohibition hath restrained me from Argumentation, Assumptions, & Conclusions, I expect yt you only tell me what you blame in ye Propositions: Only desiring you (if you will stoope so low) to know my sense of ye later by reading wt I have said of Vowes out of Dr Sanderson &c. in ye 3d Part of Christ. Direct. // And if your Interest & wisedome direct you to publish it (wch you intimate to be doubtfull) I must entreate you, as you will escape ye just imputation of partiality & deceitfulnes, yt you leave out nothing of all ye Letters yt about this businesse have past between us (And yt you will endeavour to procure me Liberty to print my Reply, if you find it feasible) And in citing Mr Hooker, Mr Fowler, Dr Sanderson & ye rest, yt you will not tell me their Opinions only, but cite those Argumts wch have satisfyed you, & should satisfie me, in ye forementioned Controversies. Wch if you doe,

and make me of your mind, my interest will comand me to esteeme & predicate you, ye happyest tea
er & Greatest Benefactor that I have had since I learnt ye substance of Christianity, & to
trait for you (yt you may not be put to it) ye hard name of a foole wch it pleased you to tak
to your selfe, if you medled with me; & to remaine till death

Your obliged thankfull servant & disciple
Ri: Baxter

Sept. 16. 1673.

To the Reverend Mr Edward Eccleston
at Old Swinford in Worcestershire

Old Swinford. Sept 11. 73.

Revd Sr.

1. I received yr Lre of Aug 30th this day; but do not accept the reference which yow propose in the end of it, especially for 2 Reasons. 1. bec' yow have misstated the case, I never denied to yow the falsenes of the report of my Judgmt about the lawfullnes of conformity but only of the report of my being then about conforming & going to Kidermr, I sayd to yow to this effect, yt I did not apprehend conformity to be unlawfull, yet not then my duty till I had a clearer call; moreover yow say at my late coming to London yow heard I had inclinacon &c — yt was so lately as now above a year & a Quarter since, for in May was 12 monthes I (with Mr Foley's family) went to London. then yow adde not long after hearing he had conformed which was compleatly a year after, a competent tyme (yow might charitably suppose) to examine scruples (if I had any) about conformity. [illegible] Again the furious zealots wch yow say I signified great displeasure against as informers, 1. it was not upon affirmacon but supposition & suspicion of such. & yt 2 rather as possible de futuro then otherwise Actuall, & I knew wt some of the Londoners had sayd of mee upon the Accompt of my private discourses above a year since & them especially I intended. — but 2 my true reason is bec' I intend to accompt wth yow about yr letter of 11 pages, which I have begun but have frequent avocations by the necessary businesses of my curacy, & have not yet my bookes from Welley but will endeavour to have them next week, & in due tyme (I suppose there is no hast) I shall either in a private or more publique way vindicate conformity from your aspersions & try whether Mr Hooker Dr Still: Dr Sanders. Mr Fowler & Mr Baxter have sayd nothing which may help to satisfy a man yt doubts of the lawfullnes of Episcopall governmt as now stated. I [illegible] shall not be further tedious at this tyme but rest Sr

Yr obliged affectionate
friend & servt

Edw. Eccleston Rector
of Old Swinford

[illegible]

For the Revd Mr Baxter
Leave this with Mr Nevil
Simmons Bookseller att the
three Feathers in Pauls
churchyard
London

Old Swinford. July 14. 1673.

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Ever honoured Sr

I recd yr Lr of July 9th on Satturday last & returne yw by this very many & all those try
-ned thanks for ~~those~~ the pious & pertinent admonitions & counsells which are the conclusion of yr Letter but
as yow more then intimate the primary intent of your writeing to mee, & Although yr style savours
either of some jealousy which yow have conceived of mee, or of some malevolous whispers which y
have received concerning mee, yet doe I impute it to yr Sincere Love that yow deale so freely with m
& plainly caution mee agt that to wch I may be possibly tempted & of which are probably allready conv
by some whose hearts & tongues are sett on fire against all that differ from them in things of doubtfull dispu
& which they either never strictly studied or never well understood but for ought I perceive implicit
believe in the infallible heads of their severall parties, & are too too apt to reckon their Anticeremon
vehemency a principall part of their christian zeal, I know to whom I write & shall not need to begg pa
for giveing such a character of the temper of some dissenters, yow have over & over againe told them &
words of what spirit they are & in severer expressions then I shall adventure to use in this private scribb
I thankfully acknowledge that I have yet no particular reason to complaine, & I must hope that the
good respect which I meet with will be continued, at least my endeavour shall be by prudence mode
faithfullnes & diligence in my place not to merit the contrary, my feare is lest some of my priv
discourses (which are unavoydable) should be represented to yow as savouring of an immoderate
but I beseech yw to judge candidly of mee upon such reports, for either I have done in judgmt & con
what I have done or I have not. If I have (which I challenge for a supponendum except th
latter can be proved, yow know the maxime ~~[illegible]~~ supponitur ee bona qi non probatur ee malus)
then it is not likely that I should be able to be silent except my mouth were sowed up when I hea
the English Episcopacy called Antichristianisme, church usages Idolatry & superstition, holines approp
-ted to the dissenting Sects, & the whole body of the conformable clergy reprobated & damned by th
intemperate zeale of furious & censorious ignorants, I say wn I hear such things (as I
have done many a tyme) if a totall silence be expected from mee upon perill of being pronoun
an enemy to the people of god, if a modest negation of such wretched affirmations be such a mortall guil
such a certaine mark of a spirit in which Selfishnes & carnall interest is predominant, If thing
come to yt passe I shall resolve rather to lye under condemnation from others, then by an unmanly
Silence (when I apprehend speaking may be to any good purpose) to condemne my selfe for w
which I take to be so farr from being as yow call it a heynous sin yt it is lawfull, & fairly to
justified from all the charges brought in Against it, & I suppose yow were pretty sure of my op
when yow did tantum non cloze with a Bishoprick, & reprehended a grave matron (that d
-suaded yow from clozeing) for hindering yow of an opportunity of doing such eminent serv
to god, & bad her look to it as shee has often sayd, then I say yow did not judge (as I supp
conformity to conteyne such a multitude of heynous sins, which leads mee in a sort of prepo
-sterous method to take some notice of the former part of yr Lr, I say some notice, for I have
not leasure enough (being a going for Worcester to take the oathes with respect to the late ac
to consider it so fully as yow may expect, nor skill enough (for I perceive yow wrote
festinante calamo) to reduce the particulars of it to proper heads. 1. Sr yw hint a
wonderingnes a readines to wish for a sight of those reasons which moved mee to conforme if
possibly they may prove stronger then yow have heard. alasse Sr yt wch weigheth many wi
mee may be very light in the ballance of your judgmt, yt wch I acquiesce in may be very
unsatisfactory to your piercing witt, such reasons as I think competent yow may judge
otherwise, besides I do not pretend to have found out any new reasons for conformity nor any stron
then yow have heard & read, I have no new light in the controversy about Episcopall governt
now stated, but yt light wch shined in yt excellent writings of old Episcopall divines (such as Hoo
ecclesiasticall polity, Sandersons Sermons especially his two prefaces,) & in the moderne
& moderate writings of conformists (such as Stillingfleets Irenicum, Fowlers dialogues
writings of which I think I may say in your owne phrase that yw know they ly unansw
& I believe are like to do so) that light was clear to mee so soone as the filme contract
upon my understanding by contrary education could be pulled of, & your owne books (in whi
it is to be supposed that yow are well read) are irradiated with something of the same l
as I can shew at better leasure if it should be denied & yow can not be ignort that it is don
by others. II. yow say yt yow shewed mee an enumeration & offered mee a full confirmation of yr Rea
against conformity. Sr 1. I thank yow for all yr communicativenes to mee, & in particular for le
mee see those reasons which made yow so & so to think, & 2 I professe to yow they were so fa
from makeing mee to be of your opinion that they rather confirmed mee in my owne way I discerned
substance of wt yow could say for nonconformity was but that which is so dayly urged & so easily
Answered by those that think it worth the whyle to examine such things of

come Abroad on that Accompt. 3. I must be bold to tell yow that some of your Reasons did only militate against that conformity of such as had covenanted & were in different circumstances
from mee, & wt the force of them was or is I am not concerned as to my owne particular to enquire. & 4 that I did not observe & do not remember any of them which I judged cogent & conclusive. & 5 if yow
vouchsafe a debate upon any one of them I am so confident in the goodnes of my cause although not in the greatnes of my abilities that I undertake to vindicate the lawfulnes of what I have done
& in a word for as much as sin is the transgression of a law & where no law is there is no transgression I think if yow charge my conformity with being a heynous sin yow are obliged to discover
some law of god against it lest yow be guilty of bearing false witnes agt yr neighbour, or of makeing more sins then god has made, ~~which~~ (an addition to the scripture which I know yow
would not be guilty of.). & now I have no more but to intreat your favourable interpretation of the permisses, which I do the more earnestly intreate becs there is no person living to whom I
Am sensible of obligations equall to those which I ly under to your selfe & my different sentiments in lesser matters will never be able to lessen my esteeme & reverence of your judgmt ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ in the great things of Religion. & so I commend yow to the Lord & rest Sr yr ever obliged friend & unworthy fellow Servt. Edw: Eccleston

my [illegible] desires his service to yow.
& thanks for yr Advice As to his carcasse.

x 205

Old Swinford. Aug 26. 73

Honoured Sr

Your Lr of Aug 2 did not come to mee till very late on Saturday last viz the 23d Instant, wch I thought fitt to signify to yw by this first opportunity lest yw should think mee unable or negligent to returne some Answr to it all this whyle.

I confesse I stared to see such a bulk given to my hands endorsed wth Eyght characters, & still I admire yt my script of one single page should need eleven for the confutacon of it, for the Question betwixt us being only [Whether conformity be materially a heynous sin?] ye neg: mine, ye aff: yrs, & the probation therefore (as well as becs of yr undertakeing) incumbent on yw, I conceive yow might by one or 2 ~~Argumt~~ pertinent arguments (driven to the head in some 3 or 4 syllogismes apiece) have expressed the substance, spared the pains & attained the end of so many pages, this prodigality of yr pen remembers mee wt a Reverend Bp sayd of yow that yw knew very well wt to write but yw knew not wt not to write.

But yet it may be the largenes of your letter was the principall accomodacon of it to yr designe, for I was farr more overcome with the length of it then with the strength of it, & my Understanding was more confounded with the number of yr particulars & words then convinced by the weight of yr reasons & Arguments, as [illegible] in due tyme may be made appeare to yw

But for my part I am not mr of the Art of extemporale writeing, & I love to think twice before I write once that I may not trouble my selfe & others with recantations & retractations, with non putarams which are insipientis always, not always incipientis; Besides dayly businesse of many kinds swalloweth up most of my tyme, And I am for ye present separate from my little library, all which put together necessitates mee to deferr my Answer to yr letter, & I shall take tyme to blow upon it a little, for sundry passages of it Are glowing hott, & had like to have sett mee all on fire, as I perceive yr selfe was when yw wrote (altho' perhapps unsensible of any thing unusuall to yr selfe, being in yr element)

I was going to conclude this, but I beseech yow whyle yw are trying & judging the spirits of others forgett not to try yr owne, doe it proceed from the Abunde of yr wisdome or humility or moderation or from something else, from a divine nature or an ill nature that yow write at such a rate; one is impudent, another is a liar, conformists upon latitudinarian principles Are secret infidels, yw are as sure that conformity is a sin as yw are of Christianity is true, I am rash confident a liar unfaithfull to yw & my selfe, yw can tell wt drave mee to conformity & wt drew mee to it, every word yt I write is worse then other, it was will yt satisfied my Understanding & I have done my worst to make yw think so: Enough, Enough Sr, is this yr charity, & moderation & mortification? or is not this wretched censoriousnes? are not these the Expressions of mighty selfe conceit? I durst referr the matter to any one but yr selfe, & if yw can not [illegible] debate a matter of doubtfull disputation without all this inhumane snarling & grinning no wise man will meddle with yow, & yw may see a tyme to repent it, which god grant to yw that yow dy not impenitently in that wch yw yet live impenitently in; I am troubled to take this boldnes with yw, but 'tis private & what yw need, & less yn yw have done to yr Supisions many a tyme I now conclude

Sr yr most affectionate oblig'd Edw Eccleston.

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X

nothing but Syllogism, but why did you not note yt Reason agt it, with

I perceive was Reason indeed: Assumptions may incurre a Premunire.

For the Revd Mr Baxter This

Leave with Mr Nevil Simmons

Bookseller at the 3 feathers

in St Pauls churchyard

London

Deare Brother.

The reading of your last, did justifie some of my feares, and Command my Compassion;
knew you not, or else I had not dealt so freely with you; (nor ever medled with you)
be patient wth these few words, wch I am willing may prevent more. x That I called
ye (on ye by) to try your Cause & Course, me thinks to a preacher agt sin, should seeme
durable. Do you do no such thing by your hearers? I doubt not but you do. Sin
and great sin) is not so amiable or harmlesse a thing, as yt a holy minister, should be
offended for being advised to search & make sure worke yt he is free. If yours be no
sin, when yet your foolish friend did think so, is it friendly in him to be silent
from yt counsell wch tendeth but to your safety? If it prove a sin, what good will it do
you to take it for a duty! Would you have no friend in ye world tell you of any fault
wch he judgeth great, and you judge none. You will ym have little benefit by a friend;
flattery will not prove friendship at ye last. As for your charges here on me, wth your
prayer for ~~[illegible]~~ repentance, I unfeignedly take ym thankfully as from ye provi-
dence of God, believing yt I have need of oft rebukes & warnings, & of great
suspicion of my selfe, & to search lest I have offended, & not rashly to go on with-
out feare, & turn my offense agt ye monitor. It is not unlikely but yt I am far
more Ignorant, & uncharitable yn you, & whether as bad as you say, I hope I
shall search wth willingnes to amend: And it may be from this Ignorance & badnes
yt I canot see yt I have in this deserved your accusations. But I hope admonitions
will not be my hurt or losse. XX. I must again intreate you to remember yt I
professed to argue but as a Defendent, however I made bold to give you ye first
admonition: I mean not as a Defendent agt you personally, but as to ye nature
of ye Comon Cause wch I plead, & ye persons interest, passing over our first occasion
For it is we yt are not only accused; but much more, as evill doers: And I confesse
yt if we lose ye publick advantages, for our ministry, & cast our selves on so much
sufferings, for taking a duty to be a sin, (unles invincible ignorance excuse
us) we must needs be haynous sinners; & I will not blame you so to censure
us. And when we think yt to be sin, wch we suffer for not doing, nature
teacheth us to give our reasons of it with sobriety in due time; & friendship
teacheth us to warn our dearest friends of it so far as to try ye case. XXX. As
to your saying yt you stared to see such a talke. The proverb is, Theres diffe-
rence between staring & stark mad: I am glad it is no worse. But had you
sent me more yn I had sent you, on no worse a designe, as fiery as I am, I
should have thought your labor had ye more obliged me. But, good friend,
seeing yor meeknes & charity is more yn mine, let it come neerer yt of ye poore
NonConformists, in ye fruite of Patience. When so many hundred of your weake
brethren have endured heavy accusations, silencing, & many extreme
poverty, (some living hardlyer yn you are aware of) for 11 years to-
gether, suffering all this (& many an imprisonmt & fines) as evill doers, upon
ye account of this same Controversie & no other; Have not you ye patience
to receive & peruse 3 sheetes of paper on it from a friend without staring.
And its like ye first of yt kind yt hath bin sent you. O how much more have
I read on the other side? Is Mr Hooker &c briefer in his way of disputing
How much more patience do your brethren exercise, & what harder things you
three sheetes of Paper have ye Conformists tryed ym with. XXXX. I once thought to give
you nothing but Syllogism, but why did you not note ye Reason agt it, wch now
I perceive was Reason indeed: Assumptions may incurre a Premunire.

I once thought to venturing on so fast a friend: But now I tell you again, I meddle not
with Assumptions nor Applications of ye Propositions to our ~~Case~~ Case: I knew you not ||
V: I know what Bp you meane (wth whom I parted wth his greater professions of
esteeme, when he was neere dying, yn I can hope to deserve) He spake ye words
to my selfe, upon my Treat. of ye Reas. of Christianity: But ye reproofe hath more
praise yn I dare own, yt I know very well what to write. I suppose you will retract
it upon second thoughts. || VI. That you were overcome wth ye length of my Letter
signifyeth not so much strength & patience, as a youth in ye vigour of his Spirit
should have; though decrepit age or languishing weakenes may be lyable
to peevishnesse: Nor yet is it from ye strength of your understanding yt it
was confounded with so many particulars. I made no doubt but you excell me
as much in ye methodicall anatomizing of matters, as you do in knowledge. But
yt my Reasons seeme of so little strength to you, may possibly be from your
greater judgmt for ought I yet know. || VII. But of your profession yt you
love to thinke twice before you write once, & not to trouble your selfe &
others wth recantations & retractations, acquaints me yt you have
twice thought of what I have now & before received from you: But I
had hoped once thinking might wth one of your height have hit righter
of many things. And you make me afraid of your Infallibility, lest there
be no hope of your retracting any thing yt you have written or shall
write. O do not so resolve of yor actions also. I find in ye world, yt Repentance
is a hard worke though one would thinke it should be a cheape Condition
of pardon. || VIII. That you had like to have been set all on fire, is a
Confession to humbling: It came not from your meekenes, patience, humility,
nor feare of sinning, nor love of friendly admonition. That I was to too,
is your utter mistake, (pardon yt unmannerly word, It doth not call you Lyar)
But he yt had drunk hot waters in a cold day, thought yt it was hot weather
with his neighbours. But if it be my elemt, why did you never befriend
me wth one cooling word till now? I never took a flatterer for a
friend. || IX. I heartily accept your admonition to try my spirit. But truth
must be my Light. I will take ye help of all your ~~particular~~ charges. 1o In
Generall whether it be from an ill nature to write at such a rate:
Make not your Will ye Rule, & I will take your further help. 2o [One is
Impudent (say you) another is a Lyar] Do you never preach agt Lyers,
nor Impudency: Do you never reprove any as Swearers, drunkards,
fornicators, prophane, ungodly &c.? Do you do it from an ill nature
when you do it? How many & many bitterer words for supposed missing
it in arguing (& not on ye Causes before us) have ye excellent Bp
Downame, Dr Sutliffe & many another given to ye NonCon for nought? Is
there such sin as Lying & Impudence or not? I hope you will not justifie
them. If they be published visibly in print by ye actors, are they
not in season, to be called by their names, as well as drunkenesse,
fornication &c? Do but suppose yt 40 men had printed bookes agt
you, & one had said yt you came to yor living by Simony & another
yt you had denyed ye Kings title to his crown, & so ye rest: would
you not have thought it hard if you might neither defend your
selfe in answer to ym, nor yet tell any yt they are Impudent

calumnies and lies. God loveth lying no better yn other sins, nor no better in a Levite or Priest than in a Samaritan. One printeth a few weekes ago yt I write yt its lawfull to take armes agt ye King, if any one of ye Peeres will have it. Another yt I say It is lawfull to resist ye highest powers by arms if it be for Religion. Another gathers ye Arguments wch ye Army used for ye Death of ye King, & I recite wth expressed detestation when it hazarded my life, & he maketh ym my own, & writeth a book in Confutation of ym as mine. Another writeth a multitude of untruths, about my coming to Kederminster & wt I did there to ye Vicar. Another saith as aforesaid of our sayings at Worcester house, & a multitude as grosse. If men should print booke after booke to tell ye world, yt I was an Adulterer, or a drunkard, or burned such a man out of his house, & killed such & such a one, shall I be so foolish as to Confirm ye present & futur ages in ye beliefe of all this calumnie agt my selfe, for fear of being uncivill to ym. The conformist Parson of ye Parish yt I now live in hath a eleven years ago printed, yt its said, yt I killed a man in cold blood wth mine own hand (who never stroke a man yt I remember in my life) & yt I have a wolfe in my necke &c. And many Papists have dealt as grossely by me; & many Quakers, Ranters, Anabaptists &c: And I am ill natured to tell ym, or to tell a friend in secret either yt they impudently belie me. Did you think so wn in your last you so let fly at some for Reports agt you to me, yt never said a word of you. The wisedome from above is without partiality & without hypocrisie. 3o You adde [Conformers uppon Latitudinarian Principles are secret Infidels.] you thought on this twice, & will not retract it. Is this truth, or considerately said? my words were [I feare yt a secret doubting of ye certainty of Gods word is ye roote of latitude & indifferency & venturing in many.] And do you doubt of it? Do you think yt there are no such doubters? What not of ym yt write agt ye certainty of ye Scripture? (I dealt wth one in ye End of my Reas. of Christ. Relig.) nor those that speake agt ye life to come? Or do you think doubting will not cause venturing? But did I talk of conforming on Latitudinarian Principles? or did I talke of secret Infidels either? Is every doubter an Infidel? Or doth ye preheminence of your knowledge & charity above mine give you authority to turn my words to what you list? & to put what false construction on ym true or false you please & this after twice thinking? 4o. The next is [You are as sure yt conformity is a sin as you are yt christianity is true.] Is this truly said of you? I say not yet yt I call you a lyar: But put me not yet out of hope yt you will retract such things as these: I hope Impenitencie shall not passe for your honour. You do not only change my words, but some of ye plaine sense. I said only yt [ye evidence of truth for my Non conformity seemeth so clear to me yt I know not yt ever I felt one doubt about it; further yn I have been tempted to doubt of christianity it selfe by any abominated suggestion of Satan &c.] A man is not equally certain of all yt he never doubted of. My meaning was here freely (but wth foolish opennesse as to a supposed speciall friend) to confesse yt once I was assaulted wth such an odious temptation to doubt of ye Scripture truth; & so far as yt laid any hold upon me, I felt my selfe grow indifferent to conformity

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‡ And I will not seeke honour by pride and hypocrisie, so as to p'tend yt my faith was
never either mixt with ye least doubting or assaulted with Temptations to it. If
yours be such, your perfection will teach you to pitty us below you in our Imper-
fection. But I say truly again, As I doubt not but it is a sin to Take God's
name in vain, further yn I doubt of ye Truth of ye word yt saith so, no
more did I yet doubt but Conformity would be a sin in me (I say not ye same
of any others). And is this true or false? If false prove it, if you better know
my heart. If true, Is it a Crime to know it, or to say it? Had I doubted I had bin
told yt in Doubtfull cases, I must obey ye Prelates: And because I doubt not,
I snarle & grin. Do not you seeme to be as little doubtfull of ye Con-
trary? And is it so criminall in one yt hath studyed yt same Controversie about
thirtie yeares longer yn you have done (as to yt old part) to be as Confi-
dent as you? How came you to be set in such a superior ranke to us
poor moles? Was it by Grace, or by preeminence of nature? I tell you
yet, I Doubt not // 5. You add as my words yt you are, rash, confident,
a lyar, Meane you to recite my words or but yor exposition? The last
is yours & not mine. As to ye words, I find yt I have said yt wch should
make you see your Temerity & too much confidence. And are you not
confident? wch is yor duty if Evidence of truth support it. You are very
tender here: whether yor Actions or any of these lines savour of any Rash-
nesse, I had rather have a Judge yt more feareth sin. The word Lyar
is your own; It is not my Copy of ye Letter I wrote to you, as attribu-
ted to you: But of one of your sentences I said, Not a true word? And
if yt prove true, (& almost all these yor citations of my words be untrue)
Am I more faulty for telling you of it, yn you for doing it? 6. You add [un-
faithfull to you & my selfe] be patient, Dear brother, Do you give a
discharge to all reprovers or monitors? If not, why may not this be
born? It is ye thing indeed yt I blamed you for & yet do? 7° You add
[You can tell what drove me to Conformity & what drew me to it] Is
this true? Or is it inhuman to tell you of it, wn you thus heape up
untruths? If my Copie lie not, I said not, [I knew] but [yt you did
your worst to make me feare it] 8° wch is yor next offense. And is it
laudable to do so, & inhuman to tell you so? Remember yt if all these parti-
culars confound you, they are no more yn I had from you //
x. I accept of yor Enough, Enough. And your resolution yt no wise man
will meddle wth me, seemeth not me to agree wth yor foregoing resolu-
tion to answer me, & not to retract what you write. But I now hereby
confesse yt you are able to do it, & do retract (for I am not ye Impenitent)
my expectations of any more answer from you, & do disoblige you from
all obligations thereto: And though (for want of memory I suppose)
you are inhuman to yor selfe, in making yor selfe culpable [for ever
medling wth me ~~hereafter~~ heretofore] and call your selfe unwise (wch I am
not so unreverent as to do), yet I am content yt you prove your selfe
wiser for ye time to come, & so let us bid farewell till we come to our
finall sentence. //

LETTERS

fol. 209. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

m. But I am loth so to lose ye benefit wch you offer me, of Referring it to any one but my selfe: And I unfeignedly thank God for your admonition, & it concerns me to take heed, lest I dye impenitently: Therefore I entreate you (privately for your ministry sake) to let mr Noisby & mr Sparry (Grave peaceable men) see all your Letters & mine; & I will write to ym yt adjure ym to deale plainly with me, & so do you: And I am very like to confesse my faults or greatly to suspect my selfe upon their bare judgmt. And how thankfull must I be to you & ym if you save me from dying in impenitency. // XXI. But as to wt you tell me I did, & have done to my superiors, were you a faithfull friend, & yet never tell me a word of it untill now? Did you think if you had, I would have called it inhuman grinning? If I know my selfe I would have thankt you: And I had rather now you had cited ye particulars; or else you further not my repentence. But to deale freely with you I see reason enough to hope for little benefit by your light. It falls out well yt at our parting you lead me into ye true method by your Reference yt I may speake to you before two, on ye termes wch you have motioned. But I will presume to Conclude with this friendly & faithfull further admonition to you. // Deare brother, I find so certainly yt we are all quicker in seeing ye faults of others, yn our own, yt as I suspect my selfe & hope for benefit by ye Reference you have offered for my Conviction, so I advise you (pardon ye rude presumption) to ye like. I am a stander by to you, as you are to me: Should I tell you again, yt I feare you have any sin, you may say again, I am wretchedly Censorious. But I may warn you as one acquainted somewt with human pravity; O think of Pauls words before you are a Bp, 1 Tim. 3. 6. Not a Novice lest being puft up wth pride, he fall into temptations & ye Condemnation of ye Devill: O brother, how many hundred bookes have I read more yn you? besides above 20 yeares more experience? & yet I sincerely professe (though I am past doubt of many notorious evident verities) I was never so conscious of my ignorance (greater yn you have found in me) as now. O how frail a thing is man! How darke his understanding! How little cause to be proud of his wisedome! And how full of sin! And how little cause to abhorr ye supposition yt he is a sinner & lyable to sin! A proud man is ye first born of Satan! abhorred of God & man! And what greater sign of pride, yn to be turgid wth abhorrence of reproofe or admonition! who more befriend us yn they yt would save us from sin? whose will be ye greatest gaine or losse? Will any thing else be our terrour at death & judgmt? but yt & wt for yt? Doth God say Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart, but plainly rebuke thy neighbour, & not suffer sin upon him? And is it Gods Spirit yt teacheth us to take but a private admonition or caution, for wretched Censoriousnesse? The pride of man, lengtheneth not his shadow, nor advanceth his honor with God or good men! Are we in good sadnesse, or hypocrites, if in ye pulpit we confes our selves miserable sinners (or at least in ye Reading Deskes) and yet take yt man for inhumane & intolerable, yt telles us after but halfe as much? Will God be mocked? will he not take down ye proud? Will not a humbling day make confession easyer to them, & a friendly reprover be acknowledged to have been at least a man? But for a Youth to swell wth pride, whom nature teacheth to be conscious of a lesse furnished understanding, wt an aggravation is it? But yet for a Preacher how much worse? Will you preach agt any thing but sin? And will you not preach agt it as ye thing hatefull to God, ye killer of christ, ye cau of hell & all calamity? And wt if it be controverted? (as christianity is rejected by five par of ye world; & protestantisme by three parts of christians, & some of yt wch you subscribe to by ye greater part of Protestants &c), many a fornicator & drunkard now hath taken it for a doubtfull thing whether they sin or not, in yt wch we preach agt. You will not therefore say yt you are wretchedly censorious for preaching agt ym. To justifye ye perjury of thousands & to covent agt part of my baptismal covent, are things wch I fear my selfe. I never charged you with ym. your conscience shall do its proper worke in time. But I beseech you, whatever you thinke, tell not all your hearers, yt if you shall plainly name sins, no greater nor surer, yt yor preaching is inhuman grinning. They will soone enough thinke so of themselves: Nor tell not those yt judge you a sinner, yt you grin wn you call ym furious Zealots. Make ym not believe by yor unusuall degree of tendernesse, yt you are extraordinary proud & guilty. Of all men on earth I take those to be most miserable, who take it to be their office to tell others of their sins, & all men to be bound to beare patiently their reproofes, & yt they are inhuman grinners unfit for wise men to meddle with who will tell ym of theirs, or so much as suspect & caution ym. How sadly will such spend their dayes in studying & preaching their own condemnation. I beseech you forget not ye neerenesse of ye grave & judgmt. Looke higher yn Ecclesiasticall prefermts. They end in dust. Death levelleth & humbleth all. Professe not impenitence to escape ye dishonor of retractation. Augustin was a wiser man yn I. I had said yn you, but I know not whether you have strength enough to beare it. I advise you but to what I advise my selfe; for I heartily pray; both yt ye Lord would save me from pride & Hypocrisie, & also from betraying ye trust of my calling & office, by cherishing sin, & flatterings sinners (my selfe especially) in a time of searching dreadfull judgmts, through a carnall desire to be accounted moderate, & escape ye censure of being wretchedly censorious, & lest my preaching, Letters or verball admonitions, be called inhuman snarling & grinning; & yt he will give me true Repentance for all my errors on either of these extremes.

And after this admonition I have no more but once again to tell you, yt I consent to ye proofe of yor wisedome by medling wth me no more, (except you can yet further my repentance for any sin); & yt you revenge yor selves on all my papers written or printed by sacrificeing ym in ye flames, wch did endanger ye setting you all on fire. God teach us both to know him & our selves. I remaine

Aug. 20. 1673.

Your most hearty wellwiller

Ri: Baxter.

To my Reverend Brethren Mr Thomas Wilsby & Mr Ambrose
Sparry, Silenced, but faithfull Preachers of Christs Gospell

Reverend Brethren, Upon ye motion of your Parish Curate Mr Edward Eccleston we
both Referr to you this following case of Conscience, intreating your free & faithfull
arbitration. The said Mr Eccleston being a very young man unordained
acquainted himselfe with me, professing some more respect yn I desired from him.
At his desire I motioned him to Mr Foley for his family: Sometime he sought my ad-
vise whether he should be ordained by Presbyters only: I persuaded him agt it
lest any change should put him on ye straits of Reordination, &c. At his late coming
to London being told yt he had some inclination to Conforme, I talkt wth him about it
& shewed him 20 particulars enumerated, wch Nonconformists canot consent to;
offering him ye full proofe of any one of ym if he desired it: He spake to me as
if yt report were false, & he had no such purpose, & said not a word agt any
thing I offered him, nor ever agt any of my bookes written on yt subject.
Hearing yt he was to remove, I so much valued him, yt if ye Kings License had
granted me a settled ministry in London, I told him I should be glad to have
him my Assistant, of wch he professed himselfe willing: But I being called only
to Preach for Nothing, had nothing to maintain another, & so of yt I
said no more: not long after hearing yt he conformed & was ordained, I
thought yt if he had been friendly enough to me, & faithfull enough to his
conscience, upon such an opportunity he should have told me what satisfyed
him, either to have helpt me to the same if right, or to hear wt could be
said before he resolved, wn I had offered him our proofe. But it was my judg-
mt & practice never to persuade any man from Conformity, unles he constrein-
ed me, by asking my advise, lest ye church should be a loser by it: And he is
ye first with whom (to my Remembrance) I did otherwise. But having lately
occasion to tell some of his hearers my (over hasty) gladnes yt he was their Teach-
er, & persuading ym of ye Lawfulnes of publick Comunion with him accord-
ing to ye Liturgie, my great Love to him, & care of his future comfort & his
peoples, moved me to offer him a little advise for his preaching & carriage
in his place; Premising on ye by yt I thought he had not dealt faithfully
enough with his conscience, in not hearing wt could be said on both sides, before
he resolved. Where note, 1° That I never censure those yt Conforme as such
if first they have but impartially heard & tryed all before they judge. 2°
That I had not been so bold with Mr Eccleston, but 1° because he was by me
taken for a speciall friend, with whom Love commanded me to be faithfull
2° & a humble Godly man, who feared & hated sin more yn ye detection of it
3° & a man about 30 yeares younger yn my selfe, & but a few moneths or-
dained. 3° And note, yt it hath long been my judgmt, yt in our speech a fourfold
Congruence is to be our measure; 1° A Congruity to ye Thing, yt it be not pri-
vatively or Positively false. 2° A Congruitie wth our minds yt it be not
hypocrisie or a lie. 3° A Congruity wth Gods word in ye matter & maner
as far as may be yt it may have Authority: 4° A Congruity to ye Hearers
for Profit, though not ever for pleasing ym. Perhaps these suppositions
have led me into an errour. Upon my said Letter Mr Eccl. returned
one, signifying his high displeasure agt some furious Zealots
as Informers agt him, wn I had not a word of him from any of ym:

And he confidently undertooke ye Justification of his Cause, accusing me o
false witnes bearing if I proved it not agt Gods word, wth more wch you will
see in his Letters. My returne to this, hath drawn another from him, in w
he attempteth to bring me to Repentance for this, & former sin, supposing my
words to be from an ill nature, wretchedly censorious, & to be inhumane
snarling & grinning rendring me unfit for any wise man to meddle wth
& prayeth I may not die as I live, impenitently in it. I am conscious (peni-
tently) of too much sharpnes in my style wth some men, as unsuitable
to their patience: But I fear dawbing wth sin, & flattering yt wch would
bring all profitable admonition, even from friends, to passe for railing, &
so drive it out of ye world; and I fear making other mens sins my own
especially in a time of many dreadfull judgmts; And lest wn others silence
me in publick, my sinfull manpleasing silence me also, even in
secret to my friend. Being in ye straites of this doubt, & heartily
desiring ye benefit of his Reproofe, I earnestly entreate you upon ye
perusall of his Letters & mine, to give me yor full Judgmt of my ca
& I adjure you yt you hide not any of my faultynes, but you hide
all his, lest it hinder his ministry: wch I yt more confidently expect w
I remember how many yeares, you wth ye rest of ye ministry of yt
countrey, (& some Resolved Prelatists) did sweetly & amicably con-
verse & dispute & marvellously agree, without any such thing as
inhuman snarling & grinning: And I doubt not but your wis-
dome, charity & moderation, is not lesse but more; Perform me this
desireable office faithfully, for

Your sinfull Brother Ri: Baxter.

To ye Reverend Mr Edward Eccleston ~~preacher~~ Curate at
Oldswinford in Worcestershire ://

from wt spirit soever you do it, you could [illegible] to me in a more [illegible] me to Repentance; And if I be unwilling to Repent & Retract my sin, I shall consequentially be [illegible]ing of forgivenes: For it is he yt confesseth & forsaketh yt shall have mercie & he yt hideth (& justify- his sins yt shall not prosper, & he yt hardeneth his neck yt shall fall into mischiefe: Shall I plead yt only enemie of God & me? & yt wch onely will by ye accuser be pleaded agt me to my perill. I know if escape sin, I scape all danger: And if Repent not I escape not. And since I received your [illegible] I have had so very painfull a fit of sicknes as to me wch conduced to awaken my conscience to a willingnes and diligence to know my sin. But it told me also, yt if I should Repent of serving God, because men are displeased at it, I forfeit his favor & my reward. I resolved therefore 1° To consider of ye cause between you & me; 2° Of my Intentions, 3° Of my words to you, to my superiours (wch you mentioned) & to others, 4 & last of all, to try these by ye word of God. 1. And as to ye first I found that my conscience bore me witnes yt I had done what I was able, in searching after truth & duty. 1. The Conformitie had been studyed by me as well as I was able to yeares, & ye new conformitie above eleven years, in my most mature capacitie: It was not as your case yt I studied it, but as my own: It was not as to you yt I first judged it sin, and haynous sin, but as to my selfe should I consent to it: If I was therein mistaken it was to my great losse, and on ~~[illegible]~~ termes of greater selfdenyall yn my Conformitie required: If I was too Censorious as to ye Evill of it, it was to my selfe, & yt many yeares before you were born. I searched (though I have lost ye riches & prefermts of ye world by it) whether human applause had no hand in my Nonconformitie? And I found 1° That I lost ye applause both of ye richest & (yn) ye greatest number by it: For wn I was first called a Nonconformist there was scarce one such in ye ministry in each countie in ye land. 2° And I found yt my judgemt from my first serious search had fallen into such a middle way, or halfe Conformitie, as did please neither partie: For from ye first I was for ye Lawfullnes of Reading ye ordinarie Lords dayes Liturgie, & kneeling at ye Sacramt & ye surplice though I never used I did not condemn. But ye crosse as a symbol or tessera of christianitie in baptism, I thought unlawfull: Episcopacie I so far liked as pleased not ye Nonconformists (& Lay elders I disliked); and our Diocesan species I so far dissented from as displeased ye rest. So yt I cannot ~~thinke~~ find yt ye praise of men did make me what I am. And I have since by writing, preaching, & practise purposely done yt (in obedience to my conscience) wch I well knew was displeasing to both parties. But yet I confesse yt before ye Bps were taken down in England, ye ejecting & silencing of so many ministers, about ye booke for Lords dayes dancing & sports, & ye presenting of so manie servants of God for fasting & praying, and for hearing sermons at ye next parish wn they had none at home, and ye multitude of dumb or drunken Readers wch yn possessed ye churches about me, & ye comon scorn yt hereby was cast upon strictnesse and Godlynes by ye people, did so much displease me, yt I once in a great congregation where many approved of these doings, did preach agt ye causelesse silencing of ye ministers, which was accepted wth so much (open) applause by ye approvers, as too much pleased me; & severall times after (about ye Imposing of ye et caetera oath) I did ye like. And I am to this day in doubt whether ye publick disclaiming of such publicke sins will more justifie what I did, or ye stirring up ye people thereby to distaste ye prelates who did it, do more condemne what I did. But I am now so sensible of ye later, and how bad it is to catch a distast of Rulers (though in a sort usurpers & persecutors) while they are tolerable, as yt I have oft alreadie Recanted what I did of this kind, & printed my Repenting retractation (Being not so happie as to be innocent) This is ye result of yt enquirie. But as to ye cause it selfe, my judgemt is not in my power I cannot change it: I know not what bookes agt it to read, wch I have not read, wch may give me any hope of a changing light. If I be ignorant it is unwillinglie; And I have bought my Ignorance or Error at a dearer rate of studie & suffering, than you have done your knowledge. Before I ever heard of yor name I concluded wth my selfe yt if I conformed I should be guiltie of no lesse sin yn 1° The justifying or Teaching perjurie & making ye sin of many 100000s to mine; 2° Upholding yt wch destroyeth Christs Instituted Discipline and his species of particular churches, and ye office of Presbyters: 3° wilfull corrupting his worship. 4° Making a Covent to do all this, & never to endeavour to Reforme; 5 publishing manie known untruths. 6° Covenanting or Resolving never to Repent. 7 And this ministerially & publickly, under pretense of doing it for God & for libertie to preach agt ye sin of others. And having thus judged for my selfe, you seem to expect yt I change my judgmt: But How & why? 1° Is it by ye force of your Argumts? You have given me none. 2° Is it because my Reasons are erronious or invalid? You have not yet offered me your confutation of ym. wch you should have done before you expected yt my judgement should change. Nay, you never saw ym, yea & you accepted not ye sight of ym when I offered ym to you. 3° Is because you are of ye contrarie opinion? X

why for you any more yn for others? Then I must change as oft as you, & be a common con-
formist & a Conformist wn you are for either: And what yn was my fault before you were borne
or known to me? 4 Is it because other men my superiors in power & Learning Judge otherwise
That Reason would not have served Bellarmin, Baronius, Perron, &c: And how shall I know yn
who they be yt I must follow? My understanding is not Free as my will is, & my tongue must
not lie. I take Calvin, Beza, Blondel, Salmasius, Rob. Parker, Amesius, Gers. Bucer, Dido-
clave, Baines, Broughton, Jo. Reignolds, Jo. Foxe, and a multitude such to be as much
my superiours in Learning and Pietie as any Conformists yt ever I knew or read. wt yn is left
me, to be ye Justifying reason of ye change of my Judgmt, about ye greatnesse of ye sin, wch you
seeme to expect? I can thinke of nothing else. XX. And as to my Intentions in writing
to you as I did, my Conscience will tell me of no other, but your double benefit: That
my true Love to you caused me 1o To desire your Comfort in ye due performance of your
office (with ye peoples happynes). 2o And yt you should at your entrance bring in as little guilt
as may be; And therefore (trie lest you had been partly unfaithfull to your Conscience
in ye Cause, yt if it proue so, you might Repent & be forgiven, & so have ye greater
peace and helpe from God. As for ye Intent of Insulting over you & Scratching & tear-
ing you, till you seemed a Monster, wch you mention, you had never hurt me, yt I
knew of; And few but men angred by hurt, delight in hurting: And wt glorie is it to
me, to Insult over you in a Secret Letter, wch none seeth but your selfe; unlesse
you intend to honour me for it? I must not belie my own Intents. XXX. And as
to my words 1o In Generall I have been long convinced yt they are too gentle toward
sin, & sometime to sharpe to ye sinner, and to brethren yt have erred in disputes:
Because adapting ym to ye matter I have not alwayes sufficiently considered whither
ye Reader could beare ym without offense. And I do Repent of all yt doeth more hurt
yn good, wn I know it, because it hurteth, whether it were sin or not: And I Repent
of all as sin, wch is not according to Gods Law, as far as I can discerne it. But as to my words
to you, either I was bound to thinke yt you could not beare ym, without swelling or be-
ing almost set on fire (as you speake) instead of a humble review of your actions, or
yt it was contrarie, & you would take ym well, & use ym to further your selftryall
& Repentance. If I was bound to Judge ye first of you, yn I was bound to Censure
you tenfold deeper yn I did, & yt before I had tryed you & could proue it. Pride
is ye Image of ye Devill & Impenitence is ye great Condition of Damnation: And wt
had you ever done amisse yt was known to me, yt I should be bound to Censure you as
person guiltie of any notable measure of such dreadfull sins? You might have
called me ill natured & wretchedly Censorious indeed, if I had been so uncharitable
as to say, [Mr Ecclestons Pride & Impenitence is so great, yt he is not able without fireing
& swelling to endure ye secretest admonition from a faithfull friend, to try himselfe
whether he was not tempted to some unfaithfullnesse in one particular action.] If I used
words wch you could not beare wn charitie commanded me so believe you could, I think
my mistake of you was my Dutie, & perr in charitie where I had no righter informa-
tion could not be my sin: And I am loth to repent of my charity to one yt gave me
no more cause. || But if I was bound to thinke otherwise, yt you were a humble chri-
stian, a hater of sin, & a Lover of ye Light, desiring to know even ye worst of your
selfe, as fearing impenitencie, yn wt reason had I to forbeare these words, un-
les any of ym proue prohibited by God? wch I next came to examine. || 1o As to my
unmeet expressions in my writings, I have retracted some, & am willing to do so by
all ye rest assoon as I can see ym. If you say yt I should not have used ym, I con-
fesse it; but I was & still am imperfect, & so is all my worke: I should never sin;
but I am not so happy: If it be said I should not write ym, I answer 1o If you nei-
ther pray nor preach till you do it without sin, or as needeth no repentance or
retractation, I doubt you are alreadie at ye end: 2o You do not so write your short
Letters, if I have any understanding, as to need no retractation. And even Austin did
not so write his bookes: And yet I wish ym not unwritten. || 2o As to my words
to my superiours, you did not so befriend my repentance as to tell me what they

ny. If it was ye conference at ye Savoy, my conscience hath much peace in remembring yt I
used plaine & faithfull dealing, in foretelling ym wt since hath come to passe, how great a rup-
ture they would make, & how many ministers would be silenced, & in importuning ym as I
did to have prevented it. If you meane my Gildas Salvianus, I there used not halfe
ye sharpnes yt Gildas or Salvianus did: nor at all as Alv. Pelagius, Corn. Mus, & abundance
other Papists ymselves have done. But I can neither justifie nor condemn my selfe till
ye case & words be known. // 3o As to your selfe, you cited most of ye same words before in a
former Letter; I told you in ye next how grossely you miscited ym: You repeate ye words, &
intimate no notice yt you tooke of my answer, so yt I thought you had not received it, till
some other passages in your letter undeceived me; By wch I see how full you are of
yourselfe, & your own, & how little roome you have to receive or regard what is said to
you. // 1o If I wronged your parishioners or you in saying yt they had a worthy pastor
I aske forgiveness: It was by a mixture of charitie & Ignorance. If you would perswade
me yt a faithfull pastor is a sinner, or in some things unfaithfull to his conscience, you
would tempt to wretched Censoriousnesse (as you call it) & unchristian uncharitablenesse
under ye deceitfull name of repentance. But you confesse yt I first spake of your fault
but hypothetically [If you have not enquired &c] But after you say categorically &c.
But 1o [Though] was there meant as referring to ye former [If]. And who useth to repeate
ye [If] in all following suppositions, wn it was before set down: [Though you did so]
was to me all one as [Supposing you did so]. 2o you leave out ye diminutive [Some]
meaning [some degree]. And did a temptation never in your life drawe you to any
degree of unfaithfullnesse to yourselfe; yt is, to any sin of negligence or temeritie?
Happy Innocent man if yt be true! And are you sure it did not so in this? What? a
man yt turned so silently, to an act wch his brethren take to be so great a sin,
as yt they should rather die yn do it, & refused or accepted not fro his friend in se-
cret ye Reasons agt it, yt he might fully heare both sides speake &c, to take it so
haynously to be called to a review, whether temptation thrust him not forward
to some unfaithfullnesse to himselfe? as if he were intolerablie injured to be suspected
of sin! Of this more anon. // You add [It might be remembred yt in your 3d Letter
you say, I am only ye Parish Curate, not ye Pastor, wch you distinguish in your
2d Letter]. Ans. 1o It is not true, yt I said any thing as Only, (yt you were only ye Curate) 2o
Names serve not me instead of Definitions in controversies! Both Curates & Pastors are names
of diverse significations. I find yt you are a man hard to please. I used ye name as yt wch
should be most agreeable to ye mind of a Conformist, who is so ready to write for ye pre-
sent Diocesan frame. I have hitherto been told by Bps and Curates, yt ye Parish Mi-
nisters are but ye Bps Curates, & he is ye sole proper pastor. Dr Hammond saith yt ye word
pastor canot be proved in Scripture to be given to any Presbyters but Bps (in his Annotat.
at Dissert.) And is this title of Curate now become an injury. Are you a Conformist
& know not yt ye Collect prayeth only for Bps & Curates to ye God yt worketh great
marvells, as containing all ye Clergie? wch are you yn? A Bp or a Curate? Know you not yt
in ye Litanie ye name of Pastors & Ministers was by our Convocation blotted out
to Bps, & Priests & Deacons put instead of ym & Pastorall care is put only [illegible] for ye [illegible]
prayers? Nor call ye Grinning fro me, wch I do not abhorr ye titles of militant as joyned wch ex animo you subscribe to & are readie your own
to write for. And I beseech you proceed not ordine retrogrado, do not subscribe or
swear first, & write for Conformitie next, & lastly learn to know what it is. And
its not ~~not~~ nothing yt in ye Ordination of Priests ye Text Act. 20. is blotted out, wch
was in before, by wch Bp Usher in his Reduction had proved yt ye church of England
gave some Pastorall power of ye Keys to Presbyters. However, sure [Curate] is ye Litur-
gick Conformable title for you. And yet this I must repent of. // Ad 2m. Ans. 1o That I
take Conformitie for so great a sin, is more to my own suffering yn yours, & was before
I saw your face. 2o You say [I take Conformitie for a greater sin yn sins of passion
& lust] But my words were [It would have been worse in me yn manie sins of meere
passion & lust]. Is this true reporting? Is worse & worse in one all one, And is
many sins of meere passion, & sins of passion all one. //

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But wt you meane to put into ye charge, yt yet I speake respectfully of ye Conformists, & en-
deavour to keepe their Reputation]: Wonderfull! yt I must repent of yt? Do you love ye contra-
But its like you take it for a Contradiction. If it were so, yt is not Scolding. But sure you
yt are wiser yn to have any thing to do with me (of late). Canot be so weake as to thinke
Must I not endeavour to keepe up ye reputation of a publick minister for his worke sake
and to speak respectfully of him, if he be but guilty of any sin, wch in me would be worse
yn many sins of meere passion & lust, yet disgracefull ones? what if he were an in-
sufficient Reader or a drunkard? I have been told by Bps yt yet I must speake respectfully
of ym: And I will not learn under ye name of Repentance, to do otherwise by every Con-
formist, though ye sin prove as great as I exprest. If sinning Priests shall have no respe
from you, they shall from me, though not their sins. You say also you have disswaded no
man from Conforming] my words were I disswaded no worthy man from Conforming
unless he put a necessity upon me, by asking my advise. If you write at this rate, you
must expect to be accounted faultlesse. Ad 3m. You say [you censure divers
young men of extraordinarie abilities, humble conscionable men for stealing suddenly
and secretly into ye practice of so great a sin.] Ans. 1o It was [into ye practise of yt
wch others judge a great sin.] 2o And what is ye sin to be repented of here? For saying
they did ill? They say so now ymselves (at least some of ym) and confesse it to me. And
will you become ye charitable Advocate of their sins agt themselves and me? wt a dreadfull
worke yn will you engage your selves in, under pretense of calling me to Repentance.
If I called you to Repentance for telling swearers & drunkards yt they sinned, I would
be loath also to reproach ym yt repent of it ymselves, and confesse their sin. I find not
yt I blamed ym or you for Conforming, but for not first hearing & reading equally
what is said on both sides. Two of ym tell me yt they were promised ordination upon
subscribing ye 39 Articles & to live peaceably &c. & yt suddenly all ye words of ye
Canon were offered ym in writing to subscribe, & they did it contrarie to their in-
tent upon yt surprize, supposing it had been no more yn aforesaid: Others say
they now understand yt they subscribed to ye words in a forced sense wch now they
are convinced was not ye true meaning of ye Law. And do you yt dwell so far off
know ym better yn they do ymselves? Will you say yt they grin at ymselves &
censure ym for Repenting? Dare you openly preach it, yt a man ought to
venture in so weighty a case, before he impartially & throughly tryeth it
Ad 4m. You tell me I charge with falshood a storie of Dr Parker. Ans. 1o Will you be
ye Advocate of yt storie agt ye charge of falshood? When a man shall tell ye world yt
Confest yt we tooke nothing to be unlawfull, where we wrote & disputed so long to
prove many things unlawfull, and gave in at once 8 particulars wch we undertooke to
prove unlawfull, besides ye Verball passages in ye Exceptions! And this before so many &
such witnesses? & wn we incurred their heavie displeasure for doing it. They telling
us yt we charged ye church with sin &c. And now we are proclaimed intolerable
villaines or incendiaries as causing wars & keeping up divisions, agt things yt
we confesse our selves to be lawfull. When by so notorious a falshood our lives &
liberties and livelyhoods are strucke at, & we must be called to repent for say-
ing yt it is impudent falshood? Upon what terms do we live among you in
yt world, yt our lives & ruine may sought after ten yeares silencing or suf-
ferings, by such meanes as these, & we must not name ym? You
adde This is ye way to & of Conformitie. Ans. 1o Is it not ye way by wch yt author
& booke doth draw men to Conformitie & confute ye Nonconformists? 2o Is it not ye
way of practice wch he useth as ye champion of Conformitie in defending it? Read & see
3o Either this way is good or bad. If good what disgrace is it to Conformitie? If bad
contract not ye guilt of it, & make it not your way by excusing it. & why may
not evill & such an evill be called evill? Ad 5m. And must I repent for saying
that Hooker & Bilson would have been Nonconformists if tryed by

y. But did I not tell you where I had cited and confuted ye words yt prove it? And you ke no notice of my proofe (wch I provoke you to confute), but expect yt I repent of proved truth, without once attempting to invalidate ye proofe! Either I must judge oker & Bilson to have been men yt would subscribe notorious contradictions (judge yea, yn I should have been wretched by Censorious judged): what reason had I not take such excellent men for persons of such profligate consciences, as to say any thing: If not, judge whether these words have no Contradiction.

The Declar. subscribed
to declare yt it is not lawfull upon
any pretence whatsoever to take armes
agt ye King; & yt I do abhorr yt traite-
rous position of taking Arms by his Autho-
ritie agt his person, or agt those yt are
commissioned by him

Bilson chr. Subject. p. 520.
If a Prince should go about to subject his Kingdoms to a forraign realm, or change ye form of ye Comonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, or neglect ye Lawes established by Comon Consent, of Prince & people to execute his own pleasure: In these & other cases wch might be named, if ye Nobles & Comons joyne together to defend their antient and accustomed libertie regimt & Lawes, they may not well be counted Rebells.

Are you so censorious as to say yt ye same man would subscribe both these? // And must I recite Hookers words after I have confuted ym in print? His axiome [The King is singulis major universis minor: Kings dependencie in power on ye bodie; by dependencie we meane subordinatio & subjection: A manifest token of wch dependencie is, yt power returneth to ye bodie — may a bodie politick yn at all times withdraw in whole or in part ye influence of Dominion wch passeth from it, if inconveniencies grow thereby — It must be presumed yt superiour Governours will not in such cases oppose ymselves, & be stiff in detaining yt ye use whereof is wth publick detriment — The Axiomes of our Regall Governmt are these, Lex facit Regem; ye Kings grant of any favour made contrary to Law is void: Rex nihil potest, nisi qd jure potest: — If yt magistrates be heads of ye church, they are of necessitie christians — wt power ye King hath, he hath it by Law, ye bounds & limits of it are known: ye entire comunity giveth order — As for ym yt exercise power altogether agt order though yt kind of power they have may be of God yet is their exercise thereof agt God, & therefore not of God, otherwise yn by permission as all injustice is — Usurpers of power (whereby we do not meane ym yt by violence have aspired unto places of highest authority, but ym yt use more authority yn ever they did receive in form & maner before mentioned —) such usurpers thereof as in ye exercise of their power do more yn they have been authorized to do, canot in conscience bind any man to obedience] // If any tell you yt this 8th booke was not Hookers, or was corrupted, 1o see ye like doctrine lib. 1. §§. 10. p. 21. And 2o take ye publishers testimonie Gauden Bp of Worcester in his Life, [Each of ym is by Learned Criticks judged to be genuine — The eighth is written by another hand as a copy, but interlined in many places wth Mr Hookers own characters as owned by him.] Was not Mr Hooker herein much more nonconformable yn we are yt confute him? And to wt purpose cited you Hookers resolution as to ye church Governmt? Is ye foresaid Declaration or subscription about church Governmt only, or Civil? Did you think you spake pertinently here? Or will you prove yt he yt consenteth to one point, doth consent to all? Ad 6m. You adde Livy or Cicero might have satisfyed me as much as Hooker or Sanders about ye Controversie of Episcopall Governmt. Ans. More misreport! It was only about yt part of ye controversie wch they meddle not with: And is yt scolding or grinning: or is it false? If false, how unhappy a disputant have I met with, yt before he confuteth wt I say by a word of reason or proofe, doth look yt he should chide me first into a retractation of it. // Ad 7m. You adde Conformists are men of will Ans. 1o I find no such word: but these, Nonconformists are not [illegible] same opinion among ymselves: It is a name formed for ym by men of will.] 2o Is yt scolding or is it not true? Is not ye name Arbitrarily imposed & used as ye users please? Ad 8m. I proved yt you were satisfyed by nothing, if you were satisfyed by bookes written many yeares before ye Impositions were existent, & yt never meddle with ym. 213 And I perceive still ye crime is yt I contradict you or detect you to your selfe, & so displease you, & so my chiding is my confutation. It will be a quick way of

answering all yt shall at any time displease you, to tell yt to displease you is Inhumanely
Snarlingly & viciously to scold, & bid ym Repent of it. Ad 9m. I said not yt Bps own pastors under
but Bp Usher did & wrote for it, & so have others: but yt ye Prelacie as now stated is such
as excludeth true Pastors under ym, is one of my great Reasons agt it. And Again I am
called to Repent of my argumt before its answered: still, easie answering. But yet I said
you are ye worthy Pastor of old Swinford] Ans. I am not Impenitent as to yt. I spake
it in charitable Ignorance: But 1° if it had been a contradiction, yts not scolding. 2° I thought
it none yn: For I thought (as I have oft written) yt ye people are to take ye Presbyters
office to be according to christs discription, & not according to ye ordainers or humane
and have formerly answered Dr Hamonds argumt, yt ye Presbyter hath no more power yn
ye ordainer intended to give him; (in my Disp. of Ordinatn) And must I now be
to account for contradiction, without a word of Confutation? yea taken for a scold
for giving my reasons agt Conformity? // Ad 10m. Again you misreport me: I said
not yt you had done your worst to make me believe: But to Scare, yt will chiefly satisfie
you: If you have, is it a crime to tell you so? If you have not, confute my proofs.
12m. 13m. You will make me at last understand my crime, viz, to tell such a man as you
of your errors, or to contradict you; & wn you speake untruly to tell you it is un
true; & wn you do worse to tell you it is worse. How many untruths have you
written in these your accusations? & is it moderate to write ym, & a crime to
name ym? Are you such a person as yt it is intolerable sin to tell you yt you sin
erre? Or to dispute with you? Or must we dispute under this severe law, yt we
charge nothing yt you say with falshood or errour? Is a Negative or fallacie to
such a man as you inhumane griming & uncivill language. I proclaime you
victorious in all disputes, if you subject your adversaries to these lawes, & first
make it a crime to be your adversarie. Ad 14m. I answered this in my former
letter wch you note not, & shewed you your misreport. If it was my crime not
doubt about non conformitie, it was before I knew you. And is it any more a fault
to be past doubting now you are turned, yn it was before. Wonderfull! yt a man
yt hath but studyed himselfe in satisfaction, must be judged uncivill or criminall for say
ing so, & because he doubteth not. But you adde [Yet it is to be remembred you have
suspended your opinion of ye haynous sin of Conformitie, as you have not done of in
fidelity, & would disswade none from it, keepe up their reputation, & by consequence
might do so of Infidels too.] Ans. Here are two direct untruths (if it be vertue in
you to multiply untruths and not to retract ym & vice in me to tell you of ym I
had rather be vicious yn have your virtue) 1° Its false, yt I have suspended my opi
nion of ye haynousnesse of ye sin of Conformitie, or yt I ever said so. Did you not even now
accuse me for not doubting of it. 2° Its false yt I would disswade none from it, or som
said so: I intimated to you in two exceptions 1° That I disswaded unworthy men
fini gratia, 2° That I disswaded those yt aske my advise. 3° And your Consequence
tells me yt its no wonder if such a Collector be persuaded to conforme, by argumts yt
proceed a baculo ad angulum. As if where cases be of equall certaintie, there we were
equally obliged to persuade or disswade men. I am as sure yt I live & yt I am a man
& yt Cogito ergo sum, & yt ye sun shineth, as I am of ye truth of christianitie (I dare
say but you may be surer) And wt yn? Am I as much bound to persuade all men
yt I live & am a man, & yt ~~Cogito ergo sum~~ ye sun shineth, as I am to persuade ym
to be christians: Brother you have so practically convinced me, of ye imperfection of
your Veracity (as well as Humilitie) & of ye pittifull faltring of your Rationall
~~[illegible]~~ (Logical) facultie, yt I despair of ever being made a Conformist by you.
Ad 15m. This I answered before & shewed you ye untruth of your report. And now
I adde yt if you will be so publickly ye champion of such men, as to deny a
truth so far past contradiction, & to professe ye perfection of your own
faith, as having not ye least degree secret doubtings or yt unbeliefe hath
no hand in emboldening men to sin, you shall be troubled with but little m

of my endeavours to convince you. || You tell me yt if these Instances of my plainnesse
nauseate me, they proceeded from a fowl stomack & you hope I will not lick ym up again
& cast ym in your face) this & Thus sick men thinke yt all should loath what is loathsome
ym. They were criminal to Saul yt were not sorrie for him 1 Sam. 12.8 And good men like
Ziphites c. 23. 21. Blessed be ye of ye Lord, for ye have compassion on me: Good & evill to some
men are nothing, but yt wch pleaseth or displeaseth ym, & yt is, what is for or agt their
seeming Interest. Their dung of their sin is not loathsome to ym but friendly re-
proofe is nauseous & Intolerable. || IV But being resolved, however you take it
to believe God to be Greater, wiser & better yn you, I will next tell you yt wn I
appealed to Gods word, I found yt wch I here recite, & I hope you will not ~~[illegible]~~
say yt Christ & his Apostles inhumanely snarled & grinned, nor commanded &
us to do; or yt ye Scripture is an evill spirit yt teareth you, & vomiteth in your
face, nor yt Christ must repent for wronging such as you. And yet I will de-
test ye abuse of ym, yt will misinterpret Scripture examples to countenance
their railing, or unrighteous censures. || 1o The Command of Scripture: Lev. 19.
17. Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart: Thou shalt in any wise
rebuke thy neighbour, & not suffer sin upon him. Math. 18.15.16. If thy bro-
ther shall trespasse agt thee, go & tell him his fault between thee & him alone
If he shall heare thee thou ~~shalt~~ hast gained thy brother: If he heare thee not
tell ye church. Heb. 3.13. Exhort one another daily while it is called to day,
lest any of you be hardened through ye deceitfullnesse. Jam. 5. 19.20. Bre-
thren if ~~[illegible]~~ any of you do erre from ye truth & one convert him, let him
know &c. 1 Tim. 5. 20. Them yt sin, rebuke before all, yt others &c. 2o Tim. 4. 2.
I charge thee ~~before~~ God & ye Ld Jes. Christ &c, reprove, rebuke, exhort — Tit. 2.
15. Rebuke with all authority — 1. 13. Rebuke ym sharply yt they may be sound
in ye faith. Prov. 6.23. Reproofes of instruction are ye way of life. Eph. 5.11.
rather reprove ym. Pro. 25.12. As an Ornamt of fine gold so is a wise re-
prover upon an obedient eare. Col. 1.28. Warning every man; 2 Chron. 19.10.
ye shall warn ym yt they trespasse not agt ye Lord, and so wrath come upon ym and your bre-
thren. This do & ye shall not trespasse. Act. 20.31. I ceased not to warn every one night
& day with teares. Ezek 3. 18. 19.21. (If thou warn ye righteous &c) & 33. 3.10.
2o Examples: (I meddle not with Christs sharpnesse to ye Pharisees & Herod) Mar. 8.33. He
rebuked Peter saying, Get behind me Satan, thou savourest not ye things yt be of God, but
&c. Luk. 9.55. He rebuked ym saying, ye know not what manner of spirit yee are of.
Luk. 24.25. O fooles & slow of heart to believe &c. Mar. 16.14. He upraided ym wth their
unbeliefe & hardnesse of heart &c. Gal. 3.1. O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched
you yt &c. 1.6.7. I marvell yt you are so soon turned from him yt called you into ye grace of Christ
unto another Gospell: wch is not another, but there are some yt trouble you, & would pervert ye Gospell
I would they were cut off yt trouble you Gal. 5.12. Gal. 3.3. Are you so foolish, having begun in ye Spirit
&c. Gal. 2.11.12.13.14. I withstood (Peter) to ye face, because he was to be blamed; for before &c. And
ye other Jewes dissembled likewise with him: insomuch yt Barnabas also was carryed away with their
dissimulation: But wn I saw yt they walked not uprightly according to ye truth of ye Gospell,
I said to Peter before ym all &c. 1 Cor. 1.11.12. There are contentions among you &c. 1 Cor. 3.
1.2.3.4.5. I could not speake to you as unto spirituall, but as to carnall — For are you
not carnall? Phil. 1.15.16. Some preach Christ of envie & strife — of contention, not sincerely
to adde &c, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached & I therein rejoice, yea
& will rejoice (& so will I when you have said your worst) 2.20.21. I have no man
like minded, for all seeke their owne, not ye things yt are Jes. Christ. — But
I must not quite tire you. If you call this inhumane grinning, so will not I: &
would advise you not to say so in ye pulpit whatever you thinke: I suppose I need to
so wise a man answer such Objections, As you are not an Apostle, & I am not your
inferiour or of your flocke. 3o The duty of ye reproved & ye successe. Pro. 27.
5. Open rebuke is better yn secret love. Eccl. 7.4. It is better to heare ye rebuke
of ye wise, yn &c. Pro. 9. 8. Rebuke a wise man & he will love Love, but
reprove not a scorner lest he hate so v. 9. Pro. 24.24. 25. He yt saith to ye 214
wicked thou art righteous, him shall ye people curse, nations shall abhorr him

But to ym yt rebuke him shall be delight, & good blessing shall come upon them. Pro. 28.23. He yt rebuketh a man afterwards shall find more favour yn he yt flattereth wth ~~his~~ tongue. But Pro. 9.7. He yt reproveth a Scorner getteth to himselfe shame, & he yt rebuketh a wicked man getteth himselfe a blot (Cum stercore certo- vinco seu vincor semper ego maculor) Pro. 15.12. A Scorner loveth not one yt reproveth him. Pro. 29.1. He yt being oft reproved hardeneth his necke, shall suddenly be destroyed & yt without remedy. 19.25. Reprove him yt hath understanding & he will ~~[illegible]~~ understand knowledge. Pro. 10.17. He yt refuseth reproofe erreth. Pro. 12.1. He yt hateth reproofe is bruitish. Pro. 15.10. Correction is grievous to him yt forsaketh ye way, & he yt hateth reproofe shall die. 15.5. he yt regardeth reproofe ~~that~~ is prudent. 15.31.32. ye eare yt [illegible] heareth ye reproofe of life abideth among ye wise — He yt Refuseth instruction despiseth his own soule, but he yt heareth reproofe getteth understanding. Joh. 3.19.20.21. This is ye Condemnation — men loved darknes rather yn light, because their deeds were evill: For every one yt doth evill hateth ye light (O guilt, guilt) neither cometh to ye light, lest his deeds should be reproved: but he yt doth truth cometh to ye Light, yt his &c (For wtsoever maketh manifest is Light) (Joh.) Psal. 141.5. Let ye righteous strike me, it shall be a kindnesse; Let him reprove me, it shall be an excellent oile wch shall not breake my head. See all yt I here cited agt flatterers. ||

Sr in my most serious revisions, I repent of all imprudent sharpnesse, not fitted to ye hearers: but as to your cause & other conformists, my conscience is more afraid lest I have said too little to you & others, yn too much: For ye case of England & these words of God are more considerable, yn ye Interest, will & passions of such a one as you. O wt woes would my conscience roare out agt me, had I promoted ye silencing of 1800 such ministers, or covenanted to uphold ye frame yt is ye cause. And Gods woe to ym yt call evill good & good evill, yt put darknes for light & light for darknes &c is heavyer yn ye displeasure of such as you. || I must here further trouble you wth these queries — || Q. 1. Are you not a sinner? what or whose sins do you confesse? Will you confesse sin in generall, & abhorre to heare a suspicion of it in particular? you have need of a saviour. 2o Is drunkenesse or swearing greater sin yn ye perjurie & covenanting wch I told you I am afraid of? (as to my selfe). 3o Will you never reprove any drunkard, swearer, whoremonger &c till you are surer it be a sin, yn I am here, or are you more infallible yn I? Or if it become a controversie (as it is) wth very learned men, whether one may have many wives? or may steale or lie in necessitie not hurting others, or may kill himselfe (as Dr Dunn thought) &c, will you never preach agt or reprove such a sin? 4o Would you never have your hearers endure your reproofe in such a case? should they all call you an Inhumane Grinner? 5o Will you not deale as plainly wth your people openly & privately as I have done with you? 6o Would you have no ~~[illegible]~~ friend ever hereafter reprove or warn you, or call you to a search till ye sin be greater & surer yn this in question? And would you have all friends for ever forbeare such admonition to each other. || 7o If I be past doubt of ye greatnesse of a sin, when my friend or hearer is not, am I excusable for silence, because he doubteth? Or if I am equally past yt such an Acte is sinfull aggravated perjury, perfidiousnesse, covenanting agt Christs discipline, as I am yt such or such a word is a prophane oath, or heresie or railing &c how shall I know wch of these I must, & wch I must not reprove? 8o May not I as lawfully speake my sense to you in secret, after 40 yeares studie of ye point, as you after one yeare in your youth speake confidently for ye contrarie to me, & take it for unmanly not to do ye like to dissenters yt oppose? 9o Doth not your oft upbraiding me with my not disswading men from conformitie, & keeping up ye conformists Reputation, tell me yt in your own judgment I should yet deale plainlyer with ym, if I be in ye right about ye cause? And will your bidding me repent prove me in ye wrong? Or tell me, what more I should do to change my Judgmt? wch you have done: 10o Are not all true penitents lovers of ye light, & love to know ye worst of ym selves? & love friendly reproofe? And is not hatred of friendly watchfullnes & reproofe, & convincing light, & impatience of it one of ye greatest signes of pride & Impenitencie? 11o Are not pride & Impenitencie (one agt ye Law & ye other agt ye Gospell) ye two most odious mortall sins, wch all men should be most afraid & suspicious of in ym selves, & desirous to be saved from?

BAXTER
LETTERS

fol.215. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

will you not take ye proud yt Impenitent haters of reproofe among your people for ye
worst? 13: Would you have parents also forbear all reproofe of their children? Or must
not a friend tell his friend in a friendly way, of what a parent may tell his child with
authoritie. 14 Would you have been as angry with me, if I had praised or flattered you
Or do you thinke yt flattery is not more poysonous, perillous & sinfull yn friendly plain-
nesse? 15 Do you not know yt ye Custome of flattering, & proud mens Impatience of plaine re-
proofe, hath put Satan into his Great advantage & securitie agt mens Reformation, by
nishing necessarie admonition out of ye world? And should I contribute to yt common evill?
16 What if you charge me to Repent of all ye sermons yt ever I preached, ye Confessions I made,
& ye bookes yt ever I wrote, because they are all inhumane Grinning & vicious scolding?
Am I bound to do it? Though of all known faults in ym I must. And did I ever preach a sermon
or write a booke wch was not much sharper agt sinners, yn my letters to you? Blame
me not to thinke on it, before I retract all ye labors of my life, because they are imperfect,
&c. And how shall I satisfie my Conscience to acquiesce in ye judgmt of so young a man,
& reject ye contrarie judgmt of many 1000s, who justifie & thanke me for yt sharpnes
agt sin, in ye said bookes & sermons, wch is far beyond wt I used secretly to you? How shal
I be certain yt you are wiser yn all they? For instance in your case, 4 dayes ago
came a stranger to me, & yesterday another with known persons certificates, giving ym
a character for Learning and great abilities, as far beyond what I thinke you will owne,
as yours is beyond me; They tell me yt they are Conformists, one a Preacher to very great
persons; & they are satisfyed yt its lawfull, but my writings & practice knowing yt I am
perswaded of ye contrarie, take it to be necessarie fidelitie to their soules to heare my rea-
sons. I answered as to you, yt It is not my practice to meddle with other mens Consciences
herein, (for reasons named) unles they urge me: but now they necessitate me to it, I feare
telling ym ye greatnes of ye Evill yt I apprehend in it, may offend ym. They answer me, tho
they desire to heare all yt can be said; And in short, with great desire & love & humilitie
tell me their case & sense, & heare what I had to say agt it: And being convinced yt
they subscribed & declared in a stretching forced sense, contrarie to ye true meaning
of yt law, they repent of yt, & resolve ymselves to declare in ye pulpit, wt sense they
did subscribe & declare in: And so we parted without ye least distast: tho I speake
far freelyer to ym yn I did first to you. And what reason have I to believe your
judgmt before these strangers, yt seeke & thanke me for yt wch you take to be so odious
& intolerable? // 18. Will you repent your selfe of all ye sermons & reproofes yt have
been as sharpe as mine to you were? 19. Doth not a Preacher yt in ye height of Pride
abhorreth reproofe & ye motion of Repentance, condemne himselfe dreadfully in all his
ministry, wn ever he reproveth ye sinnes of others; wn ever he confesseth ye
peoples sins & his own &c As if it were his duty to preach humilitie & Repentance & o-
ther mens to practice it; & he abhorred ye practice of what he preached. 20 Doth
not your own plainess tell me yt you indeed justifie mine, & believe not your selfe in
ye character you give of it? For you thinke twice before you write yt you may not
retract: I do not smart at all at your language: If it were but true & just, I do not
accuse you for being too plain with me: And why should not you beare as much as I,
& what you render to another. Though you deny me yt help you motioned, for my own
satisfaction, I again move you to shew all our papers to those friends, or any fitter,
to help both you & me to know our selves, because I suspect my selfe lest partiality
should blind me. And can a man of your meeknesse & wisedome possibly bring yor
selfe to thinke yt my words are harder yn these of yours (wch I ~~the~~ take not as any
injury to me, but too sad a signe of your selfe). &c. I am probably censured already
by some whose hearts & tongues are set on fire agt all yt differ agt ym in things
of doubtfull disputation; & wch never strictly studyed or never will understood, but
for ought I perceive implicitly believe in ye infallible Heads of their severall parties;
(with more such like) It is not likely I should be able to be silent unlesse my mouth were
sewed up, wn I heare —— by ye intemperate zeale of furious & censorious Ignorants
— I shall resolve rather to lie under condemnation — yn by an unmanly silence &c
you wrote festinante calamo — I am so confident in ye goodnes of my cause —
you are obliged to discover some law of God agt it (beare ye discovery yn) lest you

is guilty of bearing false witnes — I startled to see such a bulke given to my
hands endorsed with your characters — The largenesse of your Letter yt principally
This prodigality of your pen — you know not wt not to write — I was more
overcome with ye length yn ye strength — my understanding confounded with ye num
fer — had like to set me all on fire: as I perceive your selfe was — though perhaps
insensible — being in your elemt — fro an ill nature yt you write at such a rate —
Enough, enough; Sr, is this yor charitie & moderation & mortification, or is not this
wretched Censoriousnes? are not these ye expressions of mightie selfe conceite? —
If you cannot debate a matter of doubtfull disputation without all this inhuman
snarling & grinning, no wise man will meddle with you, & you may see a time
to repent it, wch God grant you yt you die not impenitently in yt you lived im-
penitently in — Sir what you need, & better yn you have done to your Superiors
many a time — The furious Zealots — I spake not an affirmation but suspicion
— & as possible de futuro — & I knew what some of ye Londoners had said of me
& ym especially I intended. — Yor plainnes is yor humor of insulting & giving
uncivil language, only in you its ye virtue of plainnes which in another would
be vicious scolding — I must tamely yield up my selfe to your humor, If I bid
any defiance to ye evill Spirit of one Letter, you resolve yt ye next shall take to it
selfe 7 other spirits worse yn it selfe wch shall scratch & claw me, till I looke
like some horrid monster — yor sin in your virulent expressions — I charge
you with snarling & grinning, I called you to repentance as I do again & do veri
hope yt you do not allow your selfe in this humor — Remember they proceed
from a foule stomack, & I hope you will not licke ym up againe & cast ym in ye
face of — I take none of this, if true, to be injurious to me: But I again
wish you to aske some others, whether yt man see wt neere him yt take these wor
for more mild & humble & patient, yn those of mine wch you powr out all these
agt. This length is no easyer to ye writer yn to you: But to helpe your patience
I thinke I shall trouble you with no more, till I find you more capable (For a humb-
ling day will come); or till ye publication or Confutation wch you threaten shall invite
me: And seeing yor juvenilitie is so mettlesome, as to pierke up to ye stomach of a
publication, did I not yet wish you better yn I [illegible] you seeme to intend your
selfe, I would say, Quod facis, fac cito. But I hope for your humiliation &
self knowledge, & ye frustration of Satan, who would tempt you into uncharita-
ble malignitie agt those yt take you for a sinner, & desire you to Repent before
you call your hearers to Repentance. I rest

Your faithfull though displeasing friend

Oct. 6. 1673.

Ri: Baxter.

Whosoever shall breake one of these least Comandements (much more of ye greatest) shall be called (without grinning) least in the Kingdome of Heaven Math. 5.19

of your new Condition are, I tooke it to be my duty, to say to you what I [illegible] Pardon

To m^r Eccleston

BAXTER
LETTERS

Much valued friend
t hath been my confident opinion from ye first Imposition of it, that our modern Conformity is a sin
very heynous nature, both for matter & aggravating circumstances, and had I been guilty of it, it would
ue been worse in me (for I have no mind to meddle with any one else without necessity) yn many sins
uld have been of meere passion and lust, wch now are deservedly shamefull among sober men in
world: And yt I might not wrong my selfe by sloth, ye case of ye old Conformity these 38 or 40 years,
d of ye New, these eleven yeares, have had I feare, too great a proportion of my time and
udyes: And I thinke I need not tell you how far my Judgmt goeth agt my worldly Interest. (Though
R. Prelate lately told me, yt he was sure yt we would all Conform were it not for our Reputa-
ion, and worldly Interest, & that we lost nothing to our flesh by our NonConformity) As to my Re-
tation, I know well how much it would have been advanced had I Conformed, with ye higher
rt whom worldly minds do most regard: I will not tell you ye tenders of honour frequently
ch I have had: And even when that Bishoprick was offered me wch you mention, though mr
lamy was told by ye Londoners how much it would tend to his dishonour, they judged contrarily
f Mr Reignolds and me, as having not ye same preengagements: yea when ye case was opened to
Worcestershire ministers, they rather inclined to my acceptance of it, and therefore would
ave made it no reproach. And I as much cast away my Reputation with ye contrary minded,
openly owning it yn for others, as if I had taken one my selfe. And as to worldly estate,
have lost all Ecclesiasticall maintenance by it: I have never to my best remembrance re-
eived 1d for preaching these eleven yeares: I never received a groat of my patrimony
y inheritance (my poor kindred having it and much more): The King by shutting ye Exche-
uer hath all ye money I had in ye world: I have laid under constant hatred and jealousy, & been
aid in ye common jaile, and forced to my great charge to oft removes of my habitation &c.
nd my nature no more loveth scorn and losse and poverty yn other mens. And impudent
lies are printed of me frequently, wch I must not so much as answer. Some passages of yours
ll me to premise this account of my Judgmt of Conformity. Few men will dissemble at so dear
rate: And my Reputation with all yt runn towards an extreme agt Conformity, you know
have long voluntarily cast away, by many writings, when I could as easily have kept it
s another. || But still I knew yt ye Interest of Religion in England must be much kept up by
ublick ministry: And therefore I did my best to keepe up their reputation with ye people,
d silenced my opinion concerning ye greatness of ye sin; and disswaded no worthy man from
onforming, unlesse he put a necessity upon me by asking my advise. Because I thought I
as not bound to hinder all sin, when ye consequence might be ye churches losse, though I
ust never further, or consent to any. But in this I have been hesitant, between a fear
wronging ye church one way, and a feare of sinfull conniving at a crying sin, in a time
publick Judgmts and dangers, and common guilt. And you were one of ye first wth
hom I brake yt custome: The case of diverse young men of extraordinary abilities
ho had professed much more respect to me yn ever you did (or could be my due) had
ewly affected me. They had familiarly conversed wth me as NonConformists (unordain-
men as you were), and suddenly & secretly conformed without ever hearing a word
t I could say agt it; though I had offered ym to give ym my reasons when they would:
And I doubted yt my custome of speaking so respectfully of ye Conformists, and blaming
e extremes of others, had made me guilty of their sin: But I wondered how this
ould stand with fidelity to their own consciences in a matter of everlasting consequence.
For humble conscionable men, to steale secretly into a practise wch those whom they pro-
fest too much esteem of, do judge to be worse yn many a mans thievery, or drunkennesse
t never so much as desire first to heare what can be said, & to ye utmost try ye cause. Many
years study it hath cost me; & ye reading of all ye bookes yt I could meet with yt seemed
nsiderable, especially for Conformity: It is long since I read Whitguift, Saravia, Bilson
ooker, Bridge, Covel, Bancroft, Andrews, Morton, Burges, Sprint, Downam, Paybody &c
t since, Hall, Hamond, and I thinke many a score more. And I canot satisfy my conscience
o venture in so weighty a case, wthout an impartiall considering of ye true strength of both
parties || Upon these reasons, having heard by some yt they thought you would con-
forme, I presumed to offer you such reasons agt it as I did; And having lately occasion
o persuade some of your hearers, against the opinion of such as think it unlawfull
communicate with you, in ye use of ye Liturgie &c and well knowing what ye Tempta-
ns of your new condition are, I tooke it to be my duty, to say to you what I did: Pardon the

Preface: I now come to answer yours. ||
And in all, you must suffer my plainnesse, wch I think necessary & suitable to ye matter, and consistent
with great respect to your selfe || Had not abundance of grosse errours even about matter of fact, been very
obvious throughout your lines, I should by your concluding confidence have had some little hopes, to have
learned more from you yn yet I know, in favour of Conformity, by yt time you had performed your un-
dertaking. I. The jealousy which you mention, was from my acquaintance with human nature
and ye Temptations of your Conformity. I knew you have a new Interest; & if holy devotednesse to God
selfdenyall & humility be not your preservative, when those that take your Conformity to be a
great sin (as I do) shall say so, you will think they slander & disparage you, & your ministry; &
your passion will let fly at ym as furious zealots, & your mutuall Love will be turned into
enmity. If it be a crime to know wt Temptations are, & wt a man is, I will beare ye blame. But
all your surmises of malevolous whisperers, & of some whose hearts & tongues are set on fire, &c
are ye errours of your conceit. No man (to my remembrance) ever spake one word to me agt
you (save yt one your Countryman said you were very high which I told you of): Therefore
all yt you here upon poure out agt ym doth but tell me, that my foresight of your Templa-
tions were no mistakes. || II. I would willingly know who ye Infallible Heads be yt you mention of ye
Anticeremonians: For I am quite mistaken if they be not absolutely a Headlesse Company: The Independents
perhaps may have some yt they have great dependence on: But as to ye Episcopall & Presbyterian
NonConformists, I know not one man in all England yt ye rest have any Dependence on: wch maketh
me ye more admire their Consistency, & see yt they hold not their opinions on trust from any: I pray
you tell me by ye next whom you meane. || III. All yt you say of your private discourses, is upon
mistake. I never heard (nor read) from any, one syllable of it. Your apologie in yt is needlesse. ||
IV. When I read mens expressions of their different sentiments (wch I like not) called by you [the words
of ye intemperate zeale of furious and censorious ignorance] I feele you professing more sobri-
ety, charity & knowledge: and therefore expect yt in all this you excell ym. V. When I find
yt such censures seeme to oblige you not onely agt silence, but to such a Countercensure, I must tell
you, yt 1° Men will call yt sin wch they think to be sin: 2° that if it prove sin their censures will
not excuse your guilt, (though they be heady rash & imprudent) but should further your repen-
tance. If you call ye Pope Antichrist, it is no Justification of Popery, (though it were not true) 3°
I am past doubt yt Greater selfishnesse, pride & passion is shewen by some clergie men in their im-
patience towards some culpable censurers, yn is shewen by ye said Censurers: And yt both parties
have much of ye same spirit, (of self conceitednesse & pride), which crosse Interest maketh ym
militate by agt each other. And I, yt am a stander by, can easily see it in both; (& perhaps they
see yt in me wch I see not) || VI. Your Resolution not to be silent towards such censurers, or
dissenters, tells me yt you will, by ye same rule, allow me, not to be silent with you, if ye
dissent and Reasons be as Great. For I must not judge you partiall & unjust till it be proved ||
VII. When you [suppose I was pretty much of your opinion when I did tantum non close
with a Bpricke, and reprehended a grave matron &c] you tell me yt he yt goeth yt way to
Conformity is not to be wondered at for Conforming, nor is meet to be angry with [censorious
ignorance] wch he should rather pity. By your Matron I suppose you meane Mris Foley: It is
not possible for me to remember every word wch I said 12 or 13 yeares ago; nor are you a
capable judge of ym unlesse you knew ye occasion, & connext speeches. Its like I (yt am
somewhat free in telling my mind to ye censorious) did reprehend such as in ye darke blame
others for they knew not what. Your conceits have many errours: 1° That I did tantum
non close with a Bpricke when it never came into my purpose. I desired ye thoughts
of ye Worcestreshire Ministers, for many reasons (when it was first offered to three of us
at a distance) especially wth respect to others. But I told ye Messenger my resolution agt
it ye first houre. Thus ye friendly Debater saith how long we blowed on our offered prefer-
ments: Impudently! For (though it was Mr Calamys earnest request, yt we might do
what we did jointly, it fell out otherwise): I could not delay, but Refused it ye second day
after ye Lord Chancellour offered it me: And Dr Reignolds within a weeke accepted it.
And Mr Calamy (for a Bpricke) & Dr Manton & Dr Bates (for Deanryes) professed they
so till they knew whether ye Kings Declaration would stand or fall: & refused when it
dyed. 2° But yet I had reason to say what I did to ye Matron: For I refused it not be-
cause I tooke it to be unlawfull; but by a Letter under my hand to ye Lord Chancellour
told him, yt If indeed ye Kings Declaration would passe into a Law, I so much re-
joyced in ye hope of our concord, yt, I was resolved to promote Conformity & unity on
those termes with all my Interest and skill; And therefore would take none of

BAXTER
LETTERS

fol 218. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

ir Bpricks, &c lest I should disable my selfe to yt service, being thought to do it for my
n Ends: wch answer satisfyed him: But (though yt was my true meaning in case ye Decla-
tion had continued) I made no great doubt of it, but yt Declaration would quickly dy, & was
t for a present jobb, (though ye house of Commons solemnly gave ye King thankes for it). // 3° But
ur Conclusion (yt I was pretty much of your opinion) is so grosse yt it hath no visible excuse
he Episcopacy offered us was yt described in ye K.s Declaration: I was not for Mr Calamies taking
ie I disswaded not Dr Reignolds: At a meeting of ye London Ministers I proved yt ye Declaration
species of ye English Episcopacy: (And I suppose you thinke not yt ye Name is ye matter
Controversie) Had I ye Declaration at hand I could say more yn by memory I can:
ut this much I well remember; That ye Power of ye Church Keyes was much restored to
Parish Pastors: wch was ye great change: And so he yt before was ye sole Bp & church
astor of many hundred Parishes, was now (save de nomine) but an Archbp. hav-
g many hundred Bps. or Pastors under him, instead of meere Teachers, without power
ye Keyes, wch were before: 1° The Pastor of every Parish was to consent to ye Confirma-
n of all his people, and consequently to their admission to ye Comunion of ye adult. 2° And
ery Pastor, none excepted, joyned in ye Rurall Deanry, had ye Power of Pastorall Disci-
the in yt Deanry, leaving an appeale to ye Bp. 3° And even ye Archdeacons, and Bps
e to exercise discipline and Ordination wth certaine of ye Presbyters; 4° And Lay-
ancellours not to excomunicate. 5° And a sufficient number of Suffragane Bps for
exercise of Discipline were to be set up under ye Bps (but never done, no not one).
° All men were left to their owne Judgment free, whether this Bp were Jure Divino
humano distinct from other Presbyters, & whether as such he was any more yn
church magistrate or officer of ye Kings, or any more yn one of ye senior Presby-
n. 7° No man was to take ye Oath of Canonicall obedience. 8° No man was to subscribe ac-
rding to ye Canons, but only to ye Doctrine of ye church of England, and to take ye Oath
Supremacy & Allegiance: Neither at Ordination, Institution or Induction, nor for Com-
union: 9° No man was to be constrained to use ye Liturgie. 10. No man constrained to
use of ye Crosse, Surplice, Kneeling at Receiving ye Sacramt bowing at name of Jesus
ping Saints dayes &c. 11° No minister was forced to refuse to baptize mens children
r want of ye Image of ye Crosse, or for want of God Fathers, nor to hinder parents
rom expresse dedicating their own children in baptisme to God, nor to reject from
hurch Comunion those yt scruple kneeling, &c. ~~ye Reordination required~~. 12
reordination required. 13. The Declaration of Assent & Consent was not yn made, nor
new Doctrin of Baptized Infants &c, nor other alterations of ye Liturgie for ye worse
. The subscription about ye Covent & resisting any comissioned by ye King, by his authority,
not endeavouring to alter church Government &c was not yn made.
these differences, you are as sure yt I was pretty much of your mind. And yet for
Conformity is no hay nous sin; & I as much mistaken in thinking otherwise, as you are of
own mind! Accordingly when Dr Reignolds accepted of his Bpricke, he drew up
writing a Profession of his beleefe, yt he tooke formes of church Governmt to be left
ect to ye magistrates power, and yt he tooke a Bp to differ from a Presbyter
t as Princeps Presbyterorum, & praeses, of ye same Order & not of another, and

jure humano; and yt he was but to govern ye church wth his fellow presby-
s, and not to trouble men for indifferent things, much lesse arbitrarily &c. And
upon these termes only he accepted of a Bpricke, to keepe no longer yn he could
it on yt termes of ye Kings Declaration (wch dispensed wth Conformity as a-
esaid). This Paper he read to me in his study, and told me he would read it or give
ye King when he tooke his Bpricke: By this you may see what I meant to
graus matron, and how much I was of your mind: I accept of your non-putaram,
incipientis et festinantis, non insipientis: like me yt wrote to you currente calamo.

But you repeate it [Then I say you did not Judge Conformity to Containe such a multitude of haynous Sins.] If you understand your Authors for and agt Conformity no better, no wonder yt you are Confident. Do you know my mind better yn I? Doth procuring (with others) his Majestyes Declaration to dispense with Conformity (even ye old, before ye new was made). and doing so much as I did at ye Savoy agt it by word and writings, which writings are in print & unanswered, doth all this shew yt I tooke it not to be such sin? ~~Sho~~ Thus did Mr Parker in his last booke tell ye world, yt we did (as he is told before ye King) professe our selves satisfyed with all things in ye Liturgie as Lawfull, but desired alterations only for ye tender consciences of others and this at Worcester house: And O what fellows are we to make this stirre for things confessed lawfull. This is ye Logicke yt confuteth NonConformists! And who doubts but some body will believe him? (And next if he should say yt we never spake English) Whereas 1° When ye Lord Chancellour on mistake had put in such a word almost, in ye first draught of ye Declaration, we told him it was a mistake & said no such thing, & wisht him to leave it out, wch he did. 2° Our printed writings charge ye Liturgy as yt yn was wth many untruths, disorders & other faults yet to be read by all yt will. 3° We greatly provoked ym at ye Savoy, by disputing to prove ye unlawfullnesse of one thing. 4° I gave in at last with my own hands 8 particulars which I undertooke to prove flat sins, which were never answered. 5° At Worcester house, there was no talke of yt matter, but it was referred by an after Commission to yt fruitlesse debate. This is ye way to & of Conformity.//

VIII. But you tell me you [have no new light in ye Controversie about Episcopall Government as now stated but yt wch shined in ye excellent writings of ye old Episcopall Divines, such as Hooker, and Sanderson, and ye moderne &c. Stillingfleets Irenic. & Fowlers Dialogues] But 1° What is yt one Controversie to all ye rest? Were ye articles of new Conformity medled with by your old Episcopall Divines? you knew they were not. And I will not censure your understanding so far as to thinke you question but Hooker, Bilson & such other would have been NonConformists had they been tryed by our test; (as to ye subscription): Read but what I have cited out of both in my Chr. Direct. Par. 4. and I suppose you will confesse it. I am past doubt yt abundance of Bps & most of ye old pious Conformists yt are dead, would have been silenced had they now lived rather yn have Conformed to ye new Declarations & subscriptions. And I suppose you, though young, not ignorant how Hookers principles began our warres, & it was a Parliamt of Episcopall men & Erastians, & an Army of such Conformists yt began it; & yt ye Westminster Assembly were almost all Conformists. 2° But you do not at all prove to me yt you have dealt faithfully & impartially with your conscience when you turn me to Hooker as satisfying you of Episcopall Governmt as now stated &c]: When I can find in his 8 Bookes but a few lines if any at all (not halfe a page) viz in ye posthumous 7th booke wch meddle with ye present Controversie: And his Definition of a Bp is such as yt NonConformists did not resist when they offered Bp Ushers model as ye terms of agreemt. I intreate you 1° Name me ye Argumt 2° cite me ye page & lines in Hooker yt gave you any satisfaction in ye present Controversie? I wrote an answer to all yt I could find in him, and it was next to nothing. For you never dreamed so grossely, sure, as yt all Episcopacy is ye matter now controverted. 2° And as to Dr Sanderson, I find in his Preface, & booke printed 1671 (as far as once perusing can shew me) not one word of our Controversie, much lesse one Argumt agt us. Wonderfull! Are you satisfyed by bookes yt meddle not with ye point? So Livy or Cicero might have satisfyed you. (I will not suspect yt you take all yt is said for Bps & Ceremonies to touch our case) Nor in his whole booke do I find one Argumt to our question. You know yt our present Conformity was not stated, nor our present NonConformity capable of being debated, when he wrote yt booke & preface. 1° The Act of Uniformity is ye Rule & Test of it: 2° No man could be a NonConformist privatively to a Law not in being; A relation cannot be without its Terminus. 3° The NonConformists now are not ye same men yt lived in ye daies of our forefathers, nor are

bliged by yt name to defend their opinions. 4° Nonconformists are not of ye same opinions among
mselves: It is a Name formed for you by men of Will, who may fit it to as many as they please:
Jewes, Turkes, Papists, Socinians are Nonconformists, & so are Separatists, Anabaptists: But
these are not meere Nonconformists, but also something more. 5° Meere Nonconformity, wch is our
present Controversie, hath two parts: 1° Nonconformity to so much of ye old Lawes as are Continu-
ed: And this is stated in their printed Addresses to ye King & debates wth ye Bps 1660; where
Bp Ushers frame of Governmt was it yt they desired, but being denyed it, they thankfully
submitted to yt wch is in ye Kings Declaration. Can any man else make our professions for us?
Both talking agt men yt are in another world, Confute us? If you say yt these were but a
few of ye Nonconformists: Its true: But they were as many & such as his Maty judged
fit to represent ye rest, or so far to signify their sense as should passe with him to ye Ends
proposed! 2° The 2d part, is Nonconformity to ye New Act; Now when our writings stated
our Case about ye old Lawes, & ye New Lawes were unmade, & Sanderson toucheth not (yt I
find) either of ym, you were very easily satisfyed by nothing. // Your 3d is Stillingfleets
Irenicon: More wonderfull still! You have read it no doubt: Even part. 2. Cap. 6. 7, 8.
A booke wch copiously proveth 1° yt Episcopacy is not Jure Divino, 2° And yt our English frame
is Contrary to yt wch was in Scripture times & long after; is one of those yt have satisfyed
you to be for ye English Prelacie, & for ye Jus Divinum of three distinct Orders! Is this
possible? Why may not this writing of mine yn satisfy you also yt all Conformity is lawfull.
In Conforming 1° You subscribe yt ye Vow or Covenant bindeth no man to endeavour to alter
ye present church Governmt; 2° You Declare your Assent to these words in ye Pref. to ye
Booke of Ordin: [It is evidently to All men diligently reading ye holy Scripture & antient au-
thors, yt from ye Apostles time there have been these Orders of ministers in ~~ye church~~
Christs church, Bps, Priests & Deacons] which Offices were evermore had in such reverend esti-
mation &c]. And in Collect of Ord. Deac. [Almighty God who by thy Divine Providence hast appoint-
ed diverse Orders of Ministers in thy church] And Coll. for Ord. Priests. Almighty God — who
by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed diverse Orders of ministers] The Common sence Ecclesiasticall
f ye Word Orders as distinct from gradus ejusdem Ordinis is well known. And ye Preface expound
th it by [Offices]. You are satisfyed yt God hath appointed three severall orders because Dr
tillingfleet largely disproveth it! And he is unanswered! And did this do it? // Your next sa-
tisfyer is Mr Fowlers Dialogues: The farther yt stranger! I canot find one Argumt for, or
syllable of yt Controversie. Pag. 24 &c he in generall pleadeth, yt Conformity now
admit of charitable Interpretation, because ye old Conformity was so interpre-
by excellent Divines &c: How do you hence prove our Diocesane Prelacy lawfull?
nd Pag. 323. &c he puts by ye Controversie & tells you what is Essentiall to Episcopacy
ot in his own words, but in Chillingworths, a Nonconformist (who was faine when
e left Popery to take up with an Hospitall in Leicester because he would not Conform by
ubscription; till before his end he was received upon another subscription, which ye
nConformists have often offered). The words containe no more for Episcopacy, if not lesse
n ye present nonconformists offered in Ushers platforme. Yet this (wch is for one man
Eminent Sanctity and sufficiency to have ye Care of all ye churches, providing ym wth
od Pastors) did satisfy you (though without argumt) for ye Prelacy [as now stated],
ho will have no churches under ym, but turne ym all into One Diocesane church,
r no Pastors, under ym; but take away ye Pastorall Power of ye Keyes, & turne
all into meere Teaching Curates: Here also I entreate you in your Next 1° To
ll me ye Argumts 2° cite ye pages in Mr Fowler wch did satisfy you. //

or when you tell me yt these are unanswered, you put me almost past answe-
ring your selfe. Had you talkt of Saravia, Downame, Spalatensis, Bilson
amond, (All wch & all ye rest yt I thought had any thing considerable I long
ago Answered for my own private use) there had been something for your read-
s thoughts to worke upon. But to talke of mens being unanswered yt never dispute
Case, nor bring any argumt wch calls for an Answer, nor most of ym meddle
all with ye Controversie, yea some of ym dispute agt what ye Nonconformi

are herein agt; This leaveth me only to an Ignorant admiration, what you thought on.
IX. You say [That Light was cleare to me so soon as ye filme contracted upon my understanding
by Contrary Education could be puld off:] Any Fanatick can give such an Answer [The Light
is clear to me]. But what is yt Light! What is yt Argumt yt satisfyed you? Deare friend!
we are going to ye finall judgment and ye fashion of this world doth passe away! I know
I trouble you; wch is not my desire: Had I not known your Temptations, I had said no-
thing to you. You do your worst here to make me feare yt it was Will yt ~~[illegible]~~ chiefly
satisfyed your understanding, if you had no better Reasons yn you referre me to. And if
it was Will, I suppose yt 1° There was somewhat to drive it, 2° somewt to draw. 1° As to
ye first, I much suspect that your converse with those inclined to separation, called Independ
and wth weake Censorious injudicious people, & some Antinomians, & your experience
of their confidence and overvaluing ymselves, and their making many things to be sins
yt are not, hath so disaffected you to yt extreme, as to drive you to ye contrary:
There is no commoner cause of human error yt I remember, yn fixing our thoughts
on one side alone, & not equally looking round about us to all things else: And so narrow
is mans mind yt It is very hard for a man yt is seriously intent & willing to prove one
thing Good or Evill, not to draw all yt he can fetch in for yt particular cause, & overloo
most yt is to be considered on ye other side or of other matters. Sapientis est respicere ad
omnia. 2° Wt was to Draw I will not conjecture at. But again I tell you, yt I morally
prognosticate, yt 1° Those yt thinke you sin will say so (as you will speake also what yo
thinke): 2° Some will do it sinfully, intemperately, & censoriously; It cannot be expect-
ed yt all ye adversaries of sin be perfectly free from sin ymselves. 3° Many will make sin
yt are none. 4° By this you will be Tempted to Indignation & uncharitablenesse, & if
you conquer not yt Temptation, you will live as those Rom. 14. One side Censuring and
ye other side Despising, and Satan will have his End, & ye Lord of Love & Great Pastor of
ye flock will be injured and displeased: And you will be delivered from ye errors of
your Education, as ye New Eccl. Politician is. But I confidently hope better of ye succe
X. Your next Light is from [my own bookes, wch you can shew at better leisure if it
should be denyed; and I cannot be Ignorant is done by others]. What is it yt you can
shew? The longer ye worse still. If I am (as you say) well read in ym, its no gre
pride to thinke yt I am as like as you to understand ym. Do you find any thing
in ym contradictory? Do I say and unsay? Do I make any thing there lawfull
wch I now make unlawfull? Do I say yt ye Diocesan English Prelacy, and ye
Lay chancellours use of ye Keyes, or Subscription according to ye Canon, or ye ne
Declaration, or ye new Subscription, are Lawfull? It is now denyed: And I take
you at your word and expect your performance at your better leisure. But do
not abuse your selfe so much as to meddle with matters not in question: To talke
of a Liturgie, or a Surplice, or Kneeling, or to tell me what I said differing
from men yt are in another world, or from some Independents, Separatists or other
men yt you have known; this will be but to nauseate mee: But tell me a word,
yt ever I said yt will Justify your Conformity in any one of ye twenty things, in
ye paper which I shewed you, & you read? But your telling me what others have
done herein, is still worse. Have they done any of this? Have they done truly
any more, yn to tell me yt wch I still stand to? And do I blame you for ye same?
Bp Morley said before ye King & Lords yt No man had written better of those
things yn Mr Baxter & ye Ld chancellour had got ye booke at hand (Disp. of Ch.
Gov.) I answered yt I changed none of those thoughts, but owned ym still; and
if we were agreed on those termes, our difference was at an End. But if you refe
me to any of ye late Pamphlets yt confidently assert abundance of most notorious
falshoods of me in matter of publick fact, I will excuse you from ye labor
of doing the like. ||

XI. You say yt ye reasons I shewed you [were so far from making you of my opinion, that
they rather confirmed you in your own, when you discerned ye substance of wt I could
say for Nonconformity was but what wch is so daily urged & so easily answered, by those
yt think it worth ye while to examine such things &c]. Still worse & worse. 1° why
yn did you endeavour to make me believe yt ye report of your intention to conform was
groundlesse, and seemed to be of another mind? 2° Why had you not ye charity or friend-
ship as to signifie your dissent & some reason of it, when we might debate it? 3°
why did you not shew so much fidelity to your selfe, as to heare what could have
been said to your objections? when you were invited? Any thing yt hath an ever-
lasting tendency, (especially such) deserveth more labour & patience & impartiali-
ty for a satisfactory resolution. I never censure any man yt doth but impartially,
diligently, & patiently heare & study what is said on both sides. I know yt you were
no more bound to heare or regard me yn another: But your selfe & ye opportunity
bound you, and its like you dealt accordingly by others. The truth is, some young men yt
are bred up among those of one side, and never studyed nor understood their cause, do
thinke yt they ~~thinke yt they~~ must be supposed to have understood it because
they lived among ym. 4° But why say you, you saw all ye substance of what I
could say, when you saw nothing at all but 20 particulars in wch Nonconfor-
mity consisteth without any of ye proofes of our opinions? 5° I offered you ye
proofe of any of ym at large (telling you yt there was but ye enumeration) & you
accepted it not; As if so much labour would have been too much for you, and
you were past ye need of it? A just Judge will heare all. But will is partiall. 6° You
oblige your selfe to tell me, in what writings those 20 particulars are urged, (if dai-
ly urged). 7° You oblige your selfe yn to speake to those particulars as ye present state of
our controversie, and not to talke of writings or reasons about other points yt concerne
not any of ym. 8° You oblige your selfe (wch I do in Justice confidently expect from you)
to tell me what Authors they be yt have so easily or at all answered all those particu-
lars? and in what page I may find ye answer. For I professe to you I do not know
of one, and thought I had read more of ym yn you: And therefore thinke you speake
but what you would, and not what you ever saw.||

XII. You tell me, some of my reasons did onely militate agt ye Conformity of such as
had Covenanted &c] Worse & worse still. Not a word true: So great was your
unwillingnesse to understand ym, or your contempt or oblivion. I argued agt
Absolving others from yt Vow: Doth yt concern none but them that tooke it? If
you saw not any of those Reasons cogent (wch were no Reasons, but ye Enumera-
tion of ye sins avoided) you dealt not kindly, to confute no one of ym, nor say what
you conceived of ym.||

XIII. Your undertaking I accept (of a debate). But why you should confine your
selfe to One I know not. But you must remember, yt ye Papers I shewed you were
onely Defensive: I take Conformity to be many heynous sins; But I say so as ye
Reason why I use it not, agt those yt accuse us of deserting our stations without
cause; I use not to tell others of their sins without a call: But my familiarity with
you, occasioned what hath passed. And I now feare yt ye performance will be your
hurt whilst a study to make good what you would have to be thought so, doth en-
gage both your mind & passion into partiality). But yet silence hardening you
in your confidence may do you more hurt.

1. I desire you according to your undertaking, to give me a faire answer to ye
Reasons brought agt ye English Prelacy in my first Disput of Church Govt

(not nibling at ye forme of yt Argumts, which were carelessely written in hast, but speaking to ye matter).// And also yt you answer these additionall Argumts, so as to satisfie your own Conscience, and as you believe will hold when you must shortly leave this transitory world & come to God: And be no more angry wth me for telling you of ye danger of sinning (though ye names of Perjury, &c may be fitter, ye thing it selfe is more bett yn you would have your hearers be with you: And as I will take heed of bearing false witnesse agt my neighbour, and therefore do not speake assertively, but only try by argumt what it will prove, So you must remember yt you have as much cause to avoid wt you deprecate, or warn me of! For I think it scarce possible for you to thinke your selfe Innocent, and not to think Non-Conformists sinfull, as forsaking their ministry for nothing: The question is but who is mistaken, and so beareth yt which you call yt false witnesse. But I had forgot ye Præmunire Act: And therefore must not syllogize, but leave your sagacity to make Assumptions: Quod subintelligitur non deest.

xx Words. [That There lies no obligation on me, or any other person from ye oath to endeavo any change or alteration of Government in Church]

Prop. 1°. To Teach or Justify ye Perjury of many Thousands, if not millions, is sin.

2. To do this 1° Deliberately 2° By covent, 3° On pretense of preaching ye Gospell, & at ye time when plagues, flames, & other judgmts are searching after our sin, 4° Solemnly & ministerially, 5° renouncing repentance for it, 6° in a sin of others, as ye End; 7° To ye hardening of all ye people, making ym believe yt sin is sinlesse; is a haynous sin.//

3. To subscribe or declare yt of many thousands or millions (even those whose sence of it we never knew) who solemnly swore & vowed to God to do a Lawfull (yea necessary) Act, no one of ym all is thereby bound to do it, is to teach or justifie ye Perjury of thousands or millions and to make it all his own by Consent & participation.

4°. To alter a Church Governmt, (or make some change of it) not made unalterable by a Divine Law, is Lawfull to ym yt have Legislative Authority.

5°. To make some change or alteration of a Church Governmt greatly faulty (they say contrary to Gods Laws) is a duty to ym yt have just Authority to do it.

6°. To Endeavour such a change by Lawfull Acts (as voteing in Parliamt, petitioning, disputing when Commissioned by ye King, or Commanded &c) is a Lawfull thing.//

7. The exercise of ye Keyes by Excomun.ion & Absol.ion is ye Church Governmt or chiefe part.

8°. Lay chancellours in England, Decretively or Judicially exercise this power of ye Keyes.

9. Laymens exercise of ye said Keyes is contrary to ye word of God, and antient canons.//

10. It is contrary to Gods word, to have 1° One Onely Bp over many hundred parishes & many cities (as πόλις was taken) 2° & semipresbyters under him yt are deprived of ye power of ye Church Keyes, 3° and to govern this Diocesan church by a Layman, as afore said, 4° And hereby to cast out or destroy ye Instituted & ancient forme of particular churches, infimi ordinis. 5° and to cast out ye institute antient office of presbyters or priests, wch had ye power of ye Keyes, 6° and to cast out ye discipline instituted math and make it utterly impossible. Ergo

Principles ~~here~~ granted by all fit for case-Divinity, yt I say not humane society.

1°. Vows and oaths to God are obligatory, & ye breach of ym is perfidiousnes & perjury, & dreadfull Especially when confirmed by solemn Imprecations.

2. There may be many obligations to ye same Act: And such are many vowes.

3. A Vow yt is unlawfully Imposed, and unlawfully Taken, bindeth in materiâ licitâ vel necessa

4. The joyning of some unlawfull matters in a vow, disobligeth not men from ye Lawfull part of ye matter: Though ex partibus integralibus it may be called One Vow, & yt One said to be unlawfull quia bonum est ex causis integris. He yt composeth a vow of six Articles, one evill & five Lawfull, or five evill and one lawfull (& necessary) is not disobliged from ye good part by ye vicinity of ye bad.

5. Oathes are to be taken in ye sence of ye Imposers, as far as we can clearly understand it, if they be our Lawfull Rulers.

6. Oathes are to be taken in ye strict usuall sense of ye words, wthout stretching or equivo unless ye Imposers clearly put on them another sense.

e rest of ye Principles I referre you to in my Christ. Direct. Part 3. from Dr Sanderson.
bj. It is onely yt alteration of ye Essence of Episcopacy, yt is meant. Ans. 1° This is contrary to ye 5th &
6th Rules aforesaid. Oathes and vowes and Subscriptions must be taken in ye usuall sence of ye words,
unlesse another be first proved plainly to be ye Imposers sence. || 2° [Any change or alte-
ration] are words plainly signifying more: The common use of ye word [Alteration] is de qualitatibus
vel modis, and it is here put disjunctively with [change] And [Any] is an Universall. || 3° All
yt Dr Hamond, Mr Fowler & others commonly make Essentiall to Episcopacy would be
retained if ye King did put down all ye English frame & set up instead of it a Bp with
one or two Presbyters in every Parish (or Market Town): Quaero whether if I
should say yt [Such as have taken ye Vow are bound to make such an Alteration of
Church Governmt, if they have Authority, or to endeavour it by Lawfull meanes] it
would be taken for no violation of this Subscription, or ye premunire Act: I have made ye
motion to many a Conformist yt so expounded it, to bring ye matter to a certaine Tryall.
Let him but speake those words, and consent to another to sue him therefore upon ye
premunire Act, and try what ye Judges will say in ye Case. But none of ym would consent.
4° It is not Episcopacy in genere but [ye present existent Governmt of ye Church of
England, yt is mentioned in ye Oath. And it is absurd to expound it of yt wch is not! q.d.
[It is Lawfull to alter ye Diocesane English frame, but not to alter such an Episcopacy
as is in Hungary, or Helvetia] 5° It is Essentiall to ye English Government de specie
to be Diocesane as aforesaid. 6. Essentialityes & Integralityes are hardly distinguished
in Lawes and Orders of Governmt. 7° Dr Stillingfleet proveth ye Essence of a Bp to be alte-
rable. 8° Will ye King & Parliamt thank you for telling ym yt it is not in their own
power to alter it: Or yt none may obey ym whom they shall command or commission to endea-
vour any alteration. || 9° The Essence of Governmt here is ye power & exercise of ye Keyes.
This is setled constitutively in ye Chancellours, who are Lay men. || 10° But to end all this
question, if Evidence can end any thing; The Law makers have declared yt they meant
otherwise ymselves, in ye Corporation Act (of wch anon). Obj. 2. It is only seditious &
unlawfull endeavour yt is meant. Ans. 1° This is contrary to Rule 5th & 6th also. We
must not limit where ye Law speaketh unlimitedly. This is to make a Law to our
selves: And thus one may say or sweare almost any thing. || 2° What are ye seditious
or unlawfull endeavours, wch you meane as to ye supreme powers ymselves. 3° They
yt thus expound it dangerously intimate, yt they & other men may endeavour to alter ye Go-
vernmt of ye State by lawfull meanes. As if any meanes thereof were Lawfull to ye sub-
jects. 4° The Lawmakers have declared their own sence to be otherwise, 1° When
it was desired yt [unlawfull] might be inserted, it was denyed because yt yn every
man will be judge what meanes is Lawfull. 2° To end all, ye Corporations of England are
now constituted by an Oath & Declaration, by Act of Parliamt Imposed on all yt shall
have any Trust, wch is yt [There is no obligation on me or any other person, from
ye Oath, called &c]: Absolutely No obligation at all: No not agt Schism, heresie, pro-
phanesse, Popery, nor to Repent of sin &c. It was ye same men, ye same Parliamt yt
made this Act and all ye rest. And in this Law ye sence of ye Lawgivers is expound-
ed in ye plainest words. Obj. 3° They do judge yt some Alterations in ye State Govern-
ment is Lawfull, Ergo they must be so expounded of ye Church Government.
Ans. I grant both: but they touch not ye question. They hold some Alteration
Lawfull (as of Lay chancellours &c). & so they say it is Lawfull to Repent of
sin, & oppose heresy, schisme &c. But they openly declare yt they hold yt
no man is bound to it (to any thing at all) by yt Oath or Vow. As these
were their speeches, so this is their published sence in a Law; which hath
altered all Cities and Corporations in ye land. ||

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xxx. The words Imposed [I do declare my unfeigned Assent & Consent to All and every
thing, contained & prescribed in & by ye bookes intitled —] ||
Prop. 1. To Professe Assent & Consent to all & every thing contained in & prescribed by
a booke wch hath many things contrary to Gods word, is sin. ||

2°. To do this 1° as for Liberty to preach agt others mens sin, & 2° deliberately, 3° by
way of solemn Covenant contrary to part of our Baptismall Covenant, 4° Ministerially in
ye face of ye Church, 5° and professing Impenitence & perseverance in it; are dan-
gerous aggravations. ¶ 3° I am forbidden to depraue ye Liturgie, But for brevity I
desire you but to thinke whether these following particulars are lawfull.

I. To forbid parents expressly to Dedicate & enter into ye Baptismall Covenant their
own children: Or so much as to speake in their names & on their behalfe or pro-
fesse their own faith in doing it: Expounded by ye Canon wch forbiddeth ye Mi-
nister so much as to urge ye Parent to be there present. And forcing ym to get others
to do yt office for ye children and to undertake yt wch neither yorselves nor ye
parents ever intend they shall performe when their judgmts take it to be sin.

II. For all ye Ministers of ye Parishes to Put away from Gods Ordinance of Baptisme,
all ye children of christian parents, who dare not (for feare of sinning) forbeare
ye said Covenanting and Dedicating of their children, and get others to do it, (when
perhaps none at some times but Ignorant wicked persons can be got yt will
undertake it), and yet dare not consent to have their children baptized with
ye Dedicating Image of ye Crosse, as a Symbol of Christianity, of mans institution.

III. To put away from ye Communion of ye church, all those persons, however o-
therwise of most blamelesse and Godly lives, who thinking yt a feasting ge-
sture was intended at ye Institution, dare not take ye Sacrament kneeling
Especially when ye practise of ye church, & ye Decrees of Generall Councills
was agt it, on ye Lords dayes, for many hundred yeares; & those De-
crees never reversed by any other Generall Councill. ¶

IV To consent or Covenant to deny christian buryall, to ye Infants of Godly
Parents, who dye before they could be baptized; and to all ye most Godly
persons whom a Lay chancellour shall excommunicate; & to Godly christi-
ans, yt in a feaver phrensie or distraction make away ymselves.

V. To consent & Covent to say ~~at~~ ye Buryall of all others, though Murderers, Ad-
ulterers, drunkards, traytors, or professed Infidels, who never so much as
said I repent, but live & dy in ye scorning of christianity, Godlynesse or
ye Immortality of ye soule, (of wch alas! how great is ye number) [We
give thee hearty thankes for yt it hath pleased thee to deliver this our bro-
ther out of ye miseryes of this sinfull world] And [For as much as it hath pleas-
ed Almighty God of his great mercy to take to Himselfe ye soule of our
deare brother here departed.

VI. To consent & covenant to omitt all ye pastorall exercise of ye Keyes, & other ministe-
riall dutyes, which by ye booke we are restrained from. //

VII. Is it certaine by Gods word yt children wch are baptized dying before actuall sin
are undoubtedly saved], without excepting any children of Heathens, or Infidels, or any
yt haue no Right to Baptisme.a (when yet many of ymselves say yt it is not cer-
tain & undoubted by Gods word yt Infants should be baptized; though I thinke
they err) This is expounded by ye Canon wch forbiddeth ye minister to refuse to bap-
tize any child brought to him without exception: And ye Godfathers often know not
what Baptisme or christianity is; and yet ye minister cannot refuse ym. //

VIII. Is it lawfull to read such Apocryphall bookes as many of ye church of England agt ye Pa-
pists maintaine to be meere Lies, & this in ye roome of ~~ye~~ ye Scripture, & under ye same
title of Lessons, without any more distinction.a Viz Bel & ye Dragon, Susanna, Judith.

IX. The Preface (wch is part of ye booke) saith [we are fully perswaded in our judgmt yt ye
booke as it stood before establisht by Law, doth not containe in it any thing contrary to ye
word of God] This you professe Assent to. Whereby you own all ye faults of ye old Liturgy
translations, untruths (as ye collects for christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, untruly used on ye following

dayes [On this day.] And many such. ||

That ye three Orders & offices before mentioned out of ye booke of ordination is from ye Apostles & of Divine appointment, Dr Stillingfleet disproveth. || Passing by ye multitude of Defects & Disorders, ye Image of ye Crosse &c I now content my selfe to name these few. The Reasons of our Dissent are not expressed, for ye Reason beforementioned; but you may easily understand ym, in ye recitall. If any one of all these be unlawfull, ye Declaration of Assent & Consent must needs be so. || Obj. 1. We are required to Declare our Consent only to ye use of all things in ye booke contained & prescribed. Ans. 1° Only is not ye words; It is to Assent (wch is to ye Truth) & Consent 1° de fine to ye use, 2° de mediis to ye words mentioned. As ye parliament men declared, yt de fine their end in requiring ye renouncing ye obligation of ye Covenant was ye safety of ye Governmt but ye Medium necessary was to renounce all its obligation; And as ye Oxford Act of Confinemt is de fine to restraine Nonconformists, but ye de mediis reacheth to some Conformists, so it is ordinary: And so it is here in expresse words. || 2° At ye passing of ye Act agt Conventicles, ye Lords added a Proviso to expound ye Act of Uniformity, yt It should be understood only of Consenting to ye use, and not Approving ye Right of all things: And ye Comons rejected it, and gave many Reasons agt ye exposition; At last they had a meeting of both houses to debate it: The commons so pleaded their Reasons, yt ye Lords did acquiesce. So yt ye Parliament hath declared their sence agt ye objected Exposition. || 3° But, If they had not, its of no releife: For there is no sober man yt can think yt every part of ye booke hath not some proper use. The words of ye Preface tell us, yt ye use of ye Kalendars & Rubricks is The better Direction of ym yt are to officiate in any part of Divine Service. The use of ye Doctrinall Rubricks is to tell us what is true Doctrine: And nothing can be more expressly spoken yn yt [Assenting & Consenting] [Things Contained] (to be Assented to) & [Things prescribed] (to be Consented to be used) are here distinguished. And yt [Nothing can be excepted, when [All & Every thing] are purposely made ye comprehensive termes. || Obj. 2°. The meaning is but yt we will peaceably submitt to all things and not oppose any thing, and yt there is nothing yt we should separate for. || Ans. 1. Do ye Law makers say This is ye meaning? Doth not ye Comon use of ye words signifye more? May we Declare Universally & meane particularly? may one Declare or swear yt he will not on any pretence whatsoever beare Armes agt ye King or any Comissioned by him, & meane [Except in such & such Cases]? On these termes we turne Jesuiticall perfidious juglers, and may cheate our Rulers, and say or swear almost any thing in ye world: and are yn unfit to preach agt other mens sin. 2° It is agreed yt Oathes & Imposed Declarations are to be taken, strictly in ye proper sence, unlesse ye Imposers otherwise expound ym; wch is unproved, & ye contrary fully proved.

There are many things more yt it would be haynous sin in me, to conforme to. But I will now trouble you but with these three; 1° About Diocesanes as disputed in my Books; & ye Subscription & Declaration as here objected agt: And if I receive from you a true justification of ym, All my Reason & Interest will Comand me to be very Thankfull to you, and to publish my Repentance for restraining ye exercise of my ministry upon mistake, and gladly to returne to ye publicke use of it before I dy. But hitherto I solemnly professe to you, yt ye Evidence of truth for my Nonconformity seemeth so cleare to me yt I know not yt ever I felt one doubt about it, further yn I have been tempted to doubt of christianity it selfe by any abhominated suggestion of Satan, & consequently of all Christs Institutions: And do feare from my heart yt a secret doubting of ye Certainty of Gods word, is ye roote of Latitude & Indifferency, and Venturing, in many, that are loth for shame to owne it.

London August. 2d. 1673.

To my worthy friend Mr Edward.
Eckleston Minister at
Old Swinford in
Worcester Shire

Sir

This quarter of a sheet was cut off
and taken from these three considerations
Judging the things therein more fitt for
yorselfe then the three considerations
themselves that you may keep ye 3 them
considerations and communicate to whom
you please but burne this paper
when you have read it

As for ye 3 considerations they were
first penned by me to show to some
of ye counsill who were desirous
to have the thing stand about tolera
tion tother Deane and chapter
were Mr Thomas Cox undertooke to
English and I have taken ye pains
to write his copie in English verbatim
but where he did not assequi meam
mentem were I sure that this
genus argumenti please you I would
take ye paines to turne for you
all my other little tracts ~~in french~~
I made first french into ~~&~~ my
bad English yt if you thinke them
usefull you may clothe them
better for I see the world

To my worthy freind Mr Durand.

other
~~or~~ very ignorant or possessed with
prejudices about these matters and
yet I see too all parties very
ready to embracing all motions
tending to ye settling and stating
this controversie about the
potestas either of ministers
or Magistrat in sacris wch
being once well stated will
be like the panocaea cure and
resolve all controversies about
church power Bishops, Synods
et ye like, and this I have
stated substantially short in these
little frenche tractes. But
yt you may see how ready ~~wch~~ are
all parties to' to be lesse stif
then they were no lesse tim
then th'other day Dr. manton
whois as earnest that I be em-
ployed to answer Durell, having
by him a good honest Scotish man
Mr Ines exhorted me to
state yt question aright about
ye power of ministers and
to follow my owne hypothesis
and ~~will draw goe about to it~~

and ſaith he will goe about reading
accuratly Durells bookes and give me
his Strictures but written out by anothers
~~theirs~~ bodies hand and he wiſheth
you to doe the like if you thinke
fitting . leave what you are to ſay
to me in ye ſame place where
you ſhall finde theſe Papers
Sept 6 . 1669

Du Moulin 2 ~~106~~ 9~~6~~3.

Hon ms
Bartide

Reverend Sir

Being ~~upon~~ upon an English tract No plea for Rome but possession and in one chapter or two taking this for my Medium that Popish Dr that pretend to more reason and sincerity as is ye Jansenist Arnault are put strangely upon ye rack when they are upon either the vindication of their foppishes a. as most of the Roman doctrines are or confuting the Protestant religion and having a minde to make some reflexions upon those monstruous ~~pr~~ (as he pretends) opinions and finding my selfe not strong enough to grapple with him in some of his positions my humble suite to you is yt you be pleased to afford me halfe a sheet of yr sence of these positions. I have some helpes a for ye necessity of Baptisme as alsoe upon this assertion that men coming out of an idolatrous church have no warrant to erect a church nor mission and in yt particular you may helpe also

Jan 6 167 1/2

Yr most humble
Servant

L du Moulin

He is much inſiſting upon
this aſſertion

6 That were the Catholicks as hainous
erroneous and Idolatrous as Calviniſts
make them, they had no warrant from
reaſon, Scripture and hiſtory either to
make a Schiſm, or to erect a Separated
Church, without miſſion, wch they have not,
forſaking that Church, wch hath both
miſſion, ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles
and wch is ſpread in moſt parts of
the world.

Monstruous and horrid opinions of the Calvinists a sufficient plea for the Romanists not to have any communion with them and to hold them for heriticks

1 That Baptisme is not necessary to the Children of the faithfull, and that they may be saued without it

2 that Baptism doth not work its effect but in those y^{t} are predistinate

3 that many children receiue y^{e} signe of the baptism and not the grace

4 the doctrin of inamissible ~~of~~ iustification & the consistency of the state of grace and of being the children of God, with most horrid and hainous crimes, holding of one side that a iust man cannot loose his righteousness and of y^{e} other admitting y^{t} he can fall and remayn in most hainous and horrid crimes.

In another place he beats again
vpon the same pretended
monstrous opinions of the
Calvinists saying

none but they teach that baptized
children dying afor they have the vse
of reason, may be damned
none but they promise saluation to
children not baptized
none but they presume to publish that
hainous sinnes and crimes are
consistant with ye quality of iust
men and children of God
none but they have taught that a
righteousnesse once receiued is neuer
lost.

ffor my Reuerend
friend
Mr Rich Baxter

Reverend brother

I did very lately write unto you, wherein I expressed my thankfullnesse for your animadversions on my poor script, & made some returnes unto such poynts as you were pleased to touch. I hope you have received it, & yt I shall not need to send a duplicate. I also sent you another of the same books corrected & in it a Schedule added. in the pag. 5. in the Schedule in the first pag of it. lin: 37. I desire you to blot out these words [be mixt, &] enough is said without these words, & these words are lyable to an objection, beyond my intent & meaning, wch is better spared; if any beside your selfe shall have the sight of it.* Sr I desire to be adoring in the Lords work though I am but a little one, & can doe but little. if I may but stir up & provoke others to be at work, I account yt I have done some good. the great want is, the uniting of Gods servants, wch were it attained, you would soone heare that [illegible] great voyce saying come up hither. for the resurrection of the saints is now past. Heb. 11.19 as Abra received Isaak from the dead, so doe, & ought we to receive all the Godly in Engld. who were bound, the throat open, the sword drawn, there wanted only the word. & yt God alone stopped. our Indian work yet liveth in these dark times, though it is still a day of small things. Christ is amongst us, & there are yearely added unto the church, & also unto the number of confessing praying Indians. we greatly need your prayers & doe crave ym. & thus commending you & your holy labors, & all yours unto the Lord I rest

*also pag. 24. lin: 11. after [contributions] put in, [for pious & charitable uses]

your unworthy brother
in or Lord Jesus
John Eliot.

Recd: this 22d of the 11th. 67.

For
his reverend brother
Mr Richard Baxter
These
Present

Sr,

There has been of late some difference betwixt the ministers of these parts upon this poynt, viz: whether lay=men may in their private meetings expound the scriptures? or to give it in the same tearms wherein it has been delivered to me; whether it be lawful for private Christians privately meeting weekly on some working day to pray read and joyne together in ye expounding of scripture for ye building up of each other in knowledge and holinesse?

The occasion of wch question was briefly thus: About 8 or 10 honest Christians (not sectarys) unordained and altogeather un=learned in reference to tongues or other arts and sciences have usually met togeather not far from these parts to those in=tents and purposes wch are specifyed in ye question; the place of their meeting: a private house, the time, a weeking day, that they might not seem to oppose the publick meeting on the Lords day, the manner thus: on of them (by course) prays, reads some portion of scripture, and expds upon it, raises doctrines from it, makes applicacon of them for ye space of half an hour or more, he having ended others also have liberty to speak their opinions upon ye same portion of scripture, even so (as farre I could understand from some of them) as is set downe. 1. Cor. 14. 30 yf any thing be revealed to another yt sitteth by, etc. now tis objected by some ministers in these pts, that this practise is both unlawful and dangerous; unlawful, because it intrenches upon the office of ye ministry; dangerous because it opens ye doore to sects and schisms and is a justification of sectarys wresting ye word of God to their owne position at such meetings in private places.

To this; others reply; that this meeting being private (because the place is private and ye number few) it is not intrenchment upon ye office of ye minister; and though sectarys make ill use of their private meetings, that is but an accidental consequent and not necessary effect flowing from ye nature of the thing; I have had some debate about the premises with both sydes, and am by them mutually requested to give my judgment, as I am not encourager of schisme soe I would not willingly add the least discouragment to godly and Christian practises; to prevent either I doe earnestly desire ye assistance of some learned and discreet fellow=ministers; in ye number of wch I have sufficient reason to ranke yu. and doe heartily desire yr brief and suddaine resolution of this present question, and by way of corollary, what yu think lay=men or private men may lawfully practise at such meetings; and what they may not? if it may stand with yr convenience I desire to heare from yu Thursday next, by my coson Good or Mr Wheeler of Hopton;

yr assured friend and brother
in ye work of ye ministry

Tho: Good;

Febr: 9th
1654/5

To Dr Good about private mens meetings & exercis

95.

To ye Reverend my worthy friend Mr
Richard Baxter minister of
Kederminster these &c

[78] 75

Reverend Sr

My thoughts concerning ye Questio~ commended I shall thus briefly offer you [illegible]
first considering how far ye thing is lawfull or unlawfull in it self & yn [illegible]
by accident. The things are in question; ye meeting & ye exercise [illegible]
private men, to meet in a house for holy exercises, is not in it self unlawfull
[illegible] private man to expound Scripture & apply it, is not of it self unlawfull
[illegible] workes to come, among those yt beleive wt may meet
the [illegible] of Christs workes [illegible] upon lower business, & yt wt should redeeme time
lawfully at a feast or upon [illegible] grace & salvation, as much as wt can &c fit to ye latter
help on ye work [illegible] ye most necessary pts intelligible to private men, & I
in ye Scriptures [illegible] understood by ym it is yn lawfull for ym to tell other men
wt necessary to be understood by ym [illegible] understand yms 2o they are commanded to
of those necessary truths wch they understand & to admonish one another &c & they cannot doe
exhort one another daily, & to admonish one another &c. & they cannot [illegible] ye Lord. 3 if it be most
yt [illegible] well as from ye word of God, wch [illegible] most methodically opened &
profitable for ye congregatio~, to have ye word most methodically opened & [illegible] if it be
applyed, yn it may be most profitable to a family or small society, if it be
well done. if doct. reason & use (as yu speake) be ye best way for ye chu: it may
be best for a family or more. 4 there is no word of God forbids this to
private men, or makes it peculiar to ye minister. 5 frequently doth Moses
command parents to tell Gods workes to their children & teach ym his word &
what is upon them [illegible] yn a bare committing ye wordes to their
memory, & plainly containes explication & application of it. 6. Probationers
unordained are every where permitted to preach: tht men must be chosen &
therefore must be tryed, & [illegible] unordained [illegible]
before [illegible] Now as to ye accidents yt make it evill, I say, 1o we must put a
difference betweene a people yt have a godly pastor, willing to help ym &
those yt have none 2o betweene a mans doing this in his owne family
with a convenient additionall number & making a stated publike wor-
shipping Congregation 3 betweene a mans undertaking to be ye ordinary
teacher of such a congregation & a more [illegible] mutuall assistant
4 betweene [illegible] & keeping [illegible]. 5o betweene going beyond a mans
abilities, & [illegible] difficulties; & keeping within ye bounds of his knowledge
6 betweene doing these in opposition to ye publike meeting, ministry, governmt &
ordinances; & doing ym in a due subordination to these. 7o betweene those yt
have other private meanes to improve those meetings by & those yt have not
I have in briefe told you my thoughts allready of this point in my booke of [illegible]
p: 3. ch: 13. [illegible] 16. pa: 290. if ~~[illegible]~~ they have a godly able pastor (of competent
abilities fit to be owned) they should desire his presence, & manage all [illegible]
meetings by his advice; & either he should teach them, or direct ym wt [illegible]
moderate ym. & they should be ruled by him 2 if they have no pastor (fit to [illegible]
[illegible] they cannot at home let ym [illegible]
they should not rest till they have got one: & follow ye guidance of their
[illegible] if they are capable of communio~ with: & follow ye guidance of [illegible] as are necessary for their
pastor. 3 if they have a pastor yt is agt such meetings as are necessary for ym
they may doe family duties though he [illegible]
they may continue yn neverthelesse: as they may doe family duties, though he [illegible]
agt ym 4 a man may lawfully take neighbours into his family in time of duty
yt cannot well performe ym at home, or find speciall benefit by his help. 5 a pri-
vate man may teach occasionally & frequently as a helper of his neighbours; but he
may not professedly or actually make himself ye stated teacher or guide of a [illegible]
of people besides his family: for yt is to invade ye ministry. 6. no man may [illegible]
[illegible] doth in private or publiq: nor ye peo: follow such as [illegible]
by [illegible] to seduce & scatter errors. 7o it is not lawfull for a man to undertake wt
he is unable to performe in expounding teaching or exhorting some private men
are as able as ministers; some are competently able to exhort & doe only exhort
from plaine Scriptures, not medling with difficulties above their reach: these do not
amiss; some are utterly unable to ~~[illegible]~~ make a set speech for exhortatio~, yt can
give some good advice in interlocutory discourse: these should doe according to their
abilities, & forbeare wt they are unable for unless in extreame necessity (as if they
were to speake to dying men or men in extreame ignorance yt can have no
better teacher yn) some understand not Scripture, & yet are so proudly conceited
of their knowledge, yt they will adventure to open the hardest texts, & thinke it
fit to teach wn they know not wt they say. these should be humbled in time
& not hearkned to: for this spirituall pride is ye high way to all heresies &
[illegible] & is ye ruine of professors in this age. 8o they may not draw together a [illegible]
tory, & is ye ruine of professors in this age. 8o they may not draw together [illegible] now
alas chu: wch carelessly withdraw from ye publiq chu: where they live: [illegible]
they take ym only to be ye chu: of ye place: but as a company more sensible of
spirituall necessities, & advantages, & more glad to redeeme time & improve
[illegible] for their salvation yn ye more carelesse part of ye chu: so they may [illegible]
meet. 9o they may not meet at ye time of ye publiq worship [illegible]
lose ye greater opportunity for their good. 10o they may [illegible]
they [illegible]

but rather incourage ye weakest publiq ordinances & honour & obey their guides in ye Lord. //
may not spend their time in ye weaker [illegible] [illegible] ministers more [illegible] in ye gen[illegible]
[illegible] of ye rest yt they have sermons to repeat or good books to read better [illegible]
yn their own labours, it seemes fitter yt they should imploy their time in these
if they have not such sermons & books, ye case is otherwise. // I will tell you of
a neighbour of mine (wn I was young) yt was a man of great reading & judgment
able to preach [illegible] better for matter, method, words & life yn any
minister within many miles compass; yet he [illegible] lived under a weake
minister, not scandalous nor openly [illegible] wch preacht but once a day: he re-
peated yt plainly preacht by way of common sermon notes in his family mor-
ning & evening all ye yeare; many families (wch [illegible]) [illegible] & [illegible]
every night: he would not for all his abilityes omitt ye repeating ye weake
sermons of ye ministers any Lords day: only sat more [illegible] in ye [illegible]
day: in ye afternoone he drew ye people with him to heare another godly orthodox
minister (tho: of indifferent gifts) wch himself could have done far better. At home
by these meanes very good & general spiritual benefit in ye [illegible] of ye weake
minister was kept up by his constant attendance & [illegible] in
ye people; wch would els have been like to have bred losse by their own weaknes: &
all heresies & schismes were prevented or suppressed by his ability, industry &
example wch ye ministers [illegible] were wanting in all these.
2 I knew another, yt [illegible] after ye [illegible] of [illegible], yt would at convenient
seasons, before prayer in his family, read over some [illegible] excellent booke ([illegible]
[illegible]) & by ye way or wn he had done [illegible] of wt he read aske
the hearers, wt they remembred & whether they found these things spoken of in
ymself or not & whether they performed these or those duties, & told ym so speciall of
ye evill of sin, ye necessity of regeneration, ye love of God in Xt, of [illegible] [illegible]
&c. yt he did very much good, & many families would come in to heare him
as this was done in an interlocutory way; & he managed it with ye same moderation
as ye former.
3 Our custome here is to meet twice a weeke an houre or two on Thursdays & Satur-
day nights. On Thursday we cause one in my presence to repeat ye sermon of ye day, &
aske yr whether any of ym would have further [illegible] information or
resolution about any point therein. & wt Questions are askt I answer: & we part
Doe with a psalme & one of yn in prayer. On Saturdays ye like is done, repeating
ye sermon of ye former Lords day in preparation to ye next. The custome of
repeating sermons hath been kept up at this place this 20 yeares, without any further
exercise of their own gifts [illegible] prayer & with very great successe. //
4 I have known many good yt would be pleased with nothing but an exercise of their own
[illegible] gifts beyond their abilities, converting ym to be wt indeed they were not wch
have turned separatists, & some of ym apostates & bin ye shame of ye place where they lived.
5 I have known many ministers yt would neither doe their own duty in private [illegible]
[illegible] their people nor consent they should help one another but would speake ever against
meeting to pray or repeat a sermon or discourse, yt [illegible] or [illegible], & these have
alienated ye affections of ye rest & hardned ye worst in their impenitency, & ungodliness.
My advice in a word for application to yor case is this so yt ye people, as I have said, a-
bove being guided by a helpfull minister if it may be had; 2ly let some godly minister
yet over among ym & know whether they are able to doe wt they undertake or
whether they goe beyond their abilities: & incourage or discourage accordingly. 3ly in
doubtfull cases it is yt most safe modest, humble, edifying, prudentiall way to
spend their time, in repeating good sermons, wch they have heard, reading good
bookes whereof we have multitudes far more usefull yn any their expositions
are like to be: if they desire exposition, they may read expositors, & let ym read
scripture & propound their doubts & exhort interlocutorily [illegible] of some
friend & desire help; & so exhort & [illegible] one another interlocutorily in dis-
course wch good praises & prayers may be a meeting to edification. Sir this
is all I can say in this great hast in a case which dependeth on ye know-
ledge of ye persons their condition & abilities & practices, which I doe not,
excuse the imperfection I remaine

Yor [illegible] brother Ri: Baxter

Killingworth
March ult. 1671.

79

Rev^d & worthy S^r

In your worthy & welcome Letter that I received the last August (if I may not
ashamed that this acknowledgment should be compared with the date of its Returne) you advertise me in
following Letters to leave out my Compliments. which I take as a valid licence for me to be bold, & is
of Encouragement to me, that seeing you can overlooke nakednesse & deficiency of Compliments, I hope
will forgive my broad too unmannerlynesse in that I use thus late to serve you, for the late Ret
may be easily judged to without Compliment in Carriage as well as in words. I Confesse were it
willfull & voluntary, any excuse of the Common Credits would be too narrow to cover it. But S^r
ly after I received your Letter I intended a journey to the Massachusets & being at my
I were the Shipps to have given you thanks for your giving, & knowledge of my receiving
good Letter. But being providentially impeded from my journey by a disease that then wa
Epidemicall, (the change of our manners in the wildern^s from being heavenly to earthly, & simp
sincere & peaceable, to be cunningly sinfull & Contentious, having changed our Climate from salu
brious to unhealthy) my intention was frustrated: And I recovered not ability againe to write
winter drew on, & all opportunityes of sending to you were run by. w^n I received your letter
blessed my selfe for the honour & satisfaction I received by it, & account it my duty to blesse God
both; & had you not limited unto me a subject for a 2^d Epistle, I should have taken my [illegible]
unto you for one, the first that offered it selfe. You aske of me a Relation of the mode & man
of our Churches in the wildernesse, & I wish my selfe as able as I am willing to serve you,
more with, that the knowledge of our churches would tend to their praise & greater glory. A letter
is too narrow a table for an History, I shall endeavour to give you a Synoptical Narrative
yet, which I hope is all that you expect. And that I may be the more perspicuous I shall divid
Country (as it is divided it selfe to my hand) into 4 quarters, viz: Road Island (if it is not too
to be handled) Plimouth Colony, the Massachusets & Connecticot. Road-Island is a chaos of all re
ligions & like materia prima susceptive of all formes. S^r Henry Moodyes short description of it
merry yet true & apt that at Road-Island there ~~are~~ is enough of 2 good things, fat mutton & libert
of Conscience. It is the Asylum for all those that are disturbed for Heresy, a hive of hornets,
the sink into which all the Rest of the Colonyes empty their Hereticks. so that the body of the peop
are an Heterogeneous Lump of Familists Antinomians Quakers Seekers & Antisabbatarians. The
best limb in it is a church of Anabaptists lead by one m^r Clarke, who they say is an An
Rationale, of Competent Abilityes & moral principles, but Ecce duo gladij he is both a magi
& a Teacher I will not say an Elder, for they hold no such stated officer. As for the rest
at least the Generality of them, they neither owne nor attend any Sacram^t. There is a small Tow
called Providence (if the Name be not too sacred for the Thing) upon the maine yet under the ju
risdiction of the Island (the Nest of that fallen Star m^r Williams, whose Name I presume
not unknowne to you) Containing about 40 or 50 Householders, tho so small yet is parte
into 3 distinct Churches & Congregations, each differing from other in their principles,
the whole Jurisdiction if they Agree in any one position it is this, That every man tho of any
Hedge-religion, ought to professe & practice his owne tenets without any molestation or distur
Of Plimouth Jurisdiction I shall not say much in particular, because they differ but little from the
Independents, whose principles & practices I shall speake of a little lower. I Question not
God knowes many sincere hearts & [illegible] among them, yet they seeme [illegible]
Brownisme, & to be woven with some of the finer & more spirituall threads of Anab
first members of the church of Plimouth (the head towne, from whence the whole Colony is
nated) were (as its possible you have heard) a swarme of m^r Robinsons church in Holland
have not yet thoroughly growne out the Cachexy that hung about them, when they first transport
selves into this Country. I have not heard of any minister or church amongst them, as yet th
are ashamed to open the church-doors a little wider for those to enter, who are onely
holy & unclean because the porters are so strict. Tho in the other Colonyes, blessed be God
& charity have gotten ground of those Errours & pinching practices that we are reproached for
by the world, & we dayly hear of Enlargements of the church, unlesse among some few that gr
more strict by an Antiperistasis. Some of those of Plimouth are so literall that they provid
bread for the Sacrament (tho the Communicants are many) in one loafe, because Paul tells
Tho we are many, yet we are one Bread. In the Massachusets Colony there are thr
formes of Disciplinarians each one step higher then his fellow, Rigid Independents,
rate ones, & those that are Presbyterianly addicted, tho their numbers are few, & their
kept short. Of the first sort are the Gleanings of the Clergy & the Body of the Laity
makes we thinke that a little more of the oile of the Spirit would make them pure, & wo
as wise as their Teachers they would change their minds. many of the ministers would
out for that, but that they have so far humoured their churches, that now displeasing
will breake them in peices. The true reason why Independency has kept its owne so lo
cause the churches are such a heavy stone at the ministers leggs that they can
fly their owne Course. The positions & practices of these rigid independents, S^r, you are no
rant of, yet because Errour is multifarious, & they differ something from their Brethren
gland, I shall give you a short Account of what they are & doe amongst us. Their grea
is That a Councill has no decisive power, unlesse materially, [illegible] to propound what is
& Errour, & that every Church-Species has more formall power then an Oecumenicall Counc
that no person is in proxima potentia a Capable subject of Baptisme, but he who either
Or one or both of his parents are in explicit Confederatio with a particular Society, relati
tory of the Conversion, the manner & steps thereof. This last mentioned practice begins
allay a shameing, so that whereas the very women were bound (at least in most places)
their relation before the whole Congregation, now in many places the men are admitted

nversion be first Judged of by ye Elder & an understanding brother or 2 in private & yn approoved by ye house of Commons in publiqz. Every Brother has equall power in judgment & vote wth ye pastor, tho ye observation of some is not void of all Truth, yt ye Presbyterians take away ye power from ye people in word, & give it ym in practice, ye Independents take it from ye people in practice tho they give it them in word, for in al matters yt their zeales move in, they are not content only to hold ye Bridle but also justle for all ye Roome in ye saddle. They give ye power of ordination in every unorganized church to ye Laity, & think it lesse yn Diabolical that for ye Elder of one church to Impose hands upon a Candidate for office in another. An ~~example~~ example whereof ye last Octob. might have been seen in ye next towne (tho through illnesse I was not present) viz Saybrooke, where 2 of ye Brethren imposed hands on ye officer while 4 or 5 Elders sate by blowing yr fingers. Which Act (now yt humors begin to see, & mens Judgments are 9 dayes old) made one of ye Inhabitants to say, yt it was matter of Indignation to see a Cooper & a Blacksmith (as ye 2 Imposers were by trade) to ordaine an Elder. Againe, ye Baptized children doe by eating & drinking & ye good Influence of ye Sun grow out ye membership, & as they become Adult they drop yt church-relation, & become non-subject to ye discipline of ye church, which made a prompt young man a while agoe tell one of ye ministers, yt they dealt wth children here, as ye people wth yt young shoots in Virginia, to take ym up & make them, & yn Turne ym into ye woods. Many of them hold yt ye Civil magistrate has no power in Ecclesiasticall matters, neither are churches to give account to Courts (much lesse to Councills) for any irregular proceeding, & some of ym have said to yt excommunicate yt have complained of mal-Administration in ye church, that if they are wronged they must tarry to be righted at ye day of Judgmt. Now ye more moderate & less Congregationall men give some more honour, but very diminutive, unto Councills. They allow of ordination by ye Eldership, which now is most generally practiced. They Baptize ye grand-children of members in full Communion (as ye phrase is) provided yt ye Immediate parents solemnly owne ye parents covenant in publiqz as was Agreed on at a Synod held at Boston 1662. They acknowledge yt ye power of Rule belongs to Rulers, but ye power of liberty to ye fraternity. Surely ye potestas Libertatis is but a dry bone if it be any thing. As for Connecticot Colony, that has waded farthest out of Independency, & begins now to shew its shoulders above water. There are in ye Colony about 22 Townes in all, & among ym all about 12 ministers whose judgments are yt churches are not de jure Independent, but Integrall pts of ye whole, tho not all of these ordained officers, it being a fashion peculiar to N. England tho of no good either aspect or influence, for preachers (both Congregationall & Presbyterian) to preach without being sent, & to stand long e.g. 10 or 12 years unordained, such Reasons as these are pretended for it, as yt ye Timber is not growne for wildernes house, that yr are not a sufficient Number (viz 7) of faithfull & sound xtians to constitute a church, which is alwayes gathered before ordination. And tho many presbyterian Acts have been done amongst us, yet no person yet could ever screw up things so high, as to be ordayned before his church was moulded into order. Others that Judge yt a preacher should be an officer, suspend [illegible] fearing least if they should give up themselves to feed ye sheep they should starve themselves, they are willing to set their hands to ye Plow, but wait if opportunity present to doe it in fatter land. In other places Divisions are ye great Remora & all things stand at a stay because yt [illegible] of ye people pull one way, & part ye other, ye Breath of ordination has turned many a smoking into flaming Townes, it being so hard to find a minister such an Ambidexter as to be able to please both sides. But I am gone from my purpose. The more Rigid & also ye more urbane Congregationalists are ye same in judgmt & practice, & those in ye other Colonyes, excepting some few punctilios in which allmost every church differs from Another. The presbyterians here are more full in their practice being not only connived at, at large, but on some considerations tolerated by ye Law of ye Commonwealth. But yet for fear of scattering motes in ye eyes of some halfe inlightened xtians, they suspend ye practice of some things, yt would be not only convenient but commanded, could they be Acted without offence. There are but 2 Townes in ye Jurisdiction wherein all ye xtian Inhabitants are under ye care inspection & governmt of ye Eldership, viz Wethersfield (to wch god has given Mr Gershom Bulkly to be their Rector (son to Peter Bulkly ye Authour of ye Treatise of ye Covenant of Grace) a man of good parts & spirit) & my owne Care: In which wn I was ordayned I found above 60 unbaptized persons, men women & children, tho ye whole plantation consist not of above 30 householders. And till god stirred up ye spirits of some in late years (as Mr Haines at Hartford &c) to roll of from his people ye reproach of uncircumcision, ye unbaptized began to be ye more Numerous, & ye bigger end of ye [illegible] walk. Yet tho there be a partiall Reformation in respect of Baptisme & admissions yet ye [illegible] lie in such a soile as will hardly ever beare a Classis. The reasons for it are such as these, 1 Because ye Revenues of ye ministry for ye Generality, are but enough to keep ym & theirs alive at home, 2 Because ye people are growne so rude Insolent & coltish, (Independency has so fatted ym) that ye ministers yt have most Authority have not enough to make ym servants [illegible] to stamp a Judgmt & sentence of [illegible] ye church both at home & abroad. 3 Because ye ministers cannot wholly give themselves to ye worke of [illegible] for ye many necessary Avocations to wait upon ye things of this world, [illegible] many occasions of [illegible] in ye country, must be of all Trades. & guiding others flocks abroad, Their owne flocks should many ministers attend would be starved at home. [illegible] Because ye plantations in ye Colony especially, are too remote for convenient Assembling, [illegible] Independent spots seems to be cut out for Independent churches. But ye Inconvenience [illegible] ye good Land lying in [illegible] would be in part removed

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were all ye ministers of one mind, but those yt can digest a classis are but sprinkled here & there.
But or great wound & disease is a spirit of separation, which so many are drunk wth, & so few without some
tincture of. We ourselves in ye Towne, through ye unsettlednesse of ye Times, ye Infancy of Reformation, & ye
forementioned Conditions of ye Country, are little more yn ye embryo, of a presbyterian Church in its forma-
lityes & maturity, yet or next neighbours have both refused, to joyne wth us at ye Lords Table, & also
to admit our members occasionally into ye synaxis. yet professing yt tis not any personall scandall in
any of or members already admitted yt frights ym, but yt were ye occasion offered, ye key yt we use
would open ye door for ye scandalous; wch if it could be proved, I should begin to thinke evil of it
as well as they. The way yt I proceed in would be accounted ye Narrow way in all churches of ye
world besides our owne, & yet tis here Accounted ye Broad way, (as some preaching on Mat 7. 13. have
called ye presbyterian way) Those yt desire to be Admitted Communicants first come to me, & declare yr
desires; ye next sabbath, I signify yr desires to ye Congregation, to ye intent yt whosoever know ym
to lye under scandall & unsuitablenesse for yt ordinance would According to Rule seeke a reformation of it.
If nothing Appeare agt ym, I examine ym Concerning yr Knowledge, & proficiency in ye way of life,
of yr understanding of ye Nature of ye Sacrament, & ye Qualifications of every Communicant, in wch
If I find ym not deficient, before ye Sacrament I declare to ye church, yt yre is nothing Appearing
why they should not partake wth us in yt holy feast. But ye Common opinion is so riveted in ye hearts
of men, viz: That ye suspected & Injurious will steale in at ye church-doors, unlesse every Brother
be Allowed a feeling of his pulse & smelling of his Breath, a handling of his necke & hands least he should
proove a smooth supplanter, yt tis extreame difficult (it being so pleasing to Naturall pride) to make
men vomit it up. The last year was fatall both to us for ye Dichotomizing 3 Churches Windsor
Hartford & Stratford, & making ym stand out into 6. It might have been foreseen without a
prospective, yt ye people having so much line & liberty Amongst us, would end in tampering ym-
selves & one Another, yea so far yt they cannot be disintangled without Cutting ye Bond of unity.
Tho I thinke ye bottome & rise of or contentions is, yt men of worth & understanding cannot bear it
to have yr children orphan-like deprived of ye legacyes yt Xt has left ym, & ye other children
should be markt for sheep, & yr owne, as good as ye other be left out for goates, now let a
towne thus glowing wth discontent, have occasion to choose & call ym a minister, (in which grand
Affaire being left to ymselves without Court or clergy to guide in ye Act) ye fire quickly gets to
ye top of ye chimney. & in pticular ye children left to ymselves have ye most brought yt
mother to shame Amongst us. The forementioned churches being overrun with mutuall Jealousy
& prejudice, now meet in distinct Assemblyes, & live somewt more peaceably & lesse scandalously
wth yt Bars between ym. This distinct walking (as ye soft phrase termes it) is taken notice of as
strange by ye blinded Indians, & tis not easily Imaginable yt they will embrace yt religion yt is stran-
ger to ym, when its owne Acquaintance doe so irreconcileably Jar About it. The church of Hartford
had very little reason to divide, Because Mr Whiting ye dissatisfyed Elder (& his adherents being
ye minor part of ye church) were invited to continue a part of ye church, & had liberty to practice his
owne Judgment: but in ye other churches ye presbyterians being ye minor part were shaved of from
ye rest. Mr Whiting tho he had been ordayned to ye whole church, of which his adherents were
members, yet wn he withdrew, because pars Ecclesiæ non est Ecclesia, was Reordayned.
Sr I have In some measure pulled of our rags & shewed you ye wound, I should be prejudiciall to ye
Body of wch I am a member, if I should not desire you, as you have leasure & opportunity to
propound us a salve yt or Breaches might be healed & paths restored to dwell in. A stander by sees
far more of ye game yn we ourselves, I know you will not be unwilling to Impart to me ye
Knowledge of what methods of healing for us are wth you. tho I confesse till men are more humble
& selfe-denying Amongst us, ye most sanative plaisters will be pulled of. you desired in your letter
to me some Information how Mr Eliots Booke About Councills takes. Truely Sr I thinke it better
towards uniting wth any of his Brethren. not because of his pride, I suppose you know him better
But ye peculiar cut of his Genius. while some were smiling at it, others whispering About it, ye
Booke as I understand was called in Agen, & now none of ym seen walking Abroad.
Sometime ye last Autumne since I received your letters I heard warme Newes yt yourselfe
was submitted to Conformity, & yt yre is a late Booke of yours come over into ye Country (which
I have not had either ye happynes or opportunity yet to see) yt defending of & pleading for Confor-
mity. The Truth of yese things I have diligently enquired after, & I hear it still confirmed not
at all contradicted. wn I first heard it, I concluded yt were it True, you had spent much
of ye Tincts of your late vacation-years, to satisfy your Judgment & conscience in yt point.
Some wonder at ye Report of it, others grieve, others say nothing but it may be thinke ye more
As for my selfe, Sr, I have nothing more to descant upon it yn what I have heard say, &
mention it mostly to Informe you what ye world sayes of you. I shall direct ye my letter
to Totteridge trusting yt Mr Ashurst will provide for a sure Conveyance of it to you, tho
you should be Removed. If it shall please you to write any more I desire you to direct your
Letter to ye other Gentleman yt I spake of in my last letter Mr Nicholas paige in Boston
Mr Bradstreet, being at present out of ye way. I pray Accept of yse my Rude & In-
compt Lines & Incompleat Narrative of Affaires, If you have any farther service to Imply
on me, (can you relish my Indian Service) it shall be performed According to ye best of
his Abilityes, who is Ambitious to please & serve you

John Woodbridge.

Sr if you have any opportunity to converse wth my uncle Woodbridge
he is able fully to Informe you in ye state of ye Church of Newbury
(in N.E.) ye seat Royall of Independency where my Revd uncle Mr
Tho: Parker, & my Father are ministers, neither doe I suppose
will he be a little gratifyed wth ye perusall of yse lines to your
selfe in case you have opportunity to communicate ym unto him.

For the Reverend Mr
Richard Baxter

Reverend & Great Sr,

These Lines proceed from me with so much
forwardnesse on ye one hand & Reluctancy on ye other, yt if they are worthy of
a Name, they may be called Naphtali. I am so divided betwixt your Greatnesse
& your Goodnesse, being repercussed by ye one, & emboldned by ye other, yt I can-
not waive writing without some paine of losse, nor doe it without paine of
sense. I have so long conversed with Oakes & Indians, yt I find my selfe ve-
ry much disenabled to manage any due & humble Intercourse, with those
yt are so much exalted in ye more Ollater & Curious Societyes of men. yet
Sr it does somewt alleviate my discouragemts yt I bow unto you, at no lesse
distance yn 3000 miles. & I desire to shield my selfe from ye shame of my
Boldnesse By shrinking behind my own remotenesse. Tis also no small sparke of Incouragemt
unto me, yt (tho I have not had ye Happynesse of seing your Face, (tho I have seen
your Picture & prized it) I know you have so good a Respect for my very good
Uncle Mr Benj: Woodbridge, who I know will not grudge if I take up a Dash
of your Favour upon his Account. I congratulate my Hopes of a Candid re-
ception, & a favourable Answer of these; Because your doores stand open, now in
your unhappy Leasure & vacation, being cleared of ye Crowd of more publike Improove-
ments & Attendances. Sr we dayly pray for ye peace & prosperity of your english
Zion, yt God would be pleased to reare & establish ye 2 Great Pillars of his temple
Peace & Truth. But ye Teares yt we spend upon others, we had need double for
our selves. The scandall of our Rents & divulsions, being more deeply Accented by
our Pretences to greater Light & Purity. An honest Englishman, That has nothing
but Holynesse, is in some places Amongst us counted scarce pure enough to looke in at
ye church-window, & yet enormous censurings, groundlesse Derogations, & unchristian
Bickerings are seen & Allowed. According to my poor Reading, ye church of Xt ever
since he tooke his long Journey has been made more or lesse, a Theater of scar-
let Tragedyes, & has been Allwayes a mountayne of Bether (as some speake) but
I thinke never till now guilty of curing such small wounds by such deep Lancings,
& weave such small differences in opinion with such Broad chasmes of Dis-
sention. And which is a more sorrowfull sight, & a more Dangerous signe they are
Amongst us dayly plucking new peices from ye old garmt & making ye Rent un-
speakably worse. There is a dysaster fallen out of Late, yt is too odious either
to be written or concealed, & calls for as much wonder as Lamentation. There has
been for some years a Diversity of perswasions in ye church of Hartford ye
Head Towne of ye Colony, one of ye Elders having more light in ye Regularnesse
& conviction of ye duty of Baptising, more extensively, yn ye former Practice
& ye judgemt of ye other, & tho ye Body of ye church concurring with him in
Judgemt & Practice. The offended & dissatisfyed Presbyter (with 12 of ye Bre-
thren his Accomplices) (perhaps so far forgetting himselfe & ye Congregationall
principles) summons a Councill of Delegates from Diverse Churches, who draw
up a Bill of charges, with forming grounds of conviction, agst ye other Elder, which
because ye charges were false & ye conviction invalid & groundlesse, were first
despised & then Answered by him, in a Reply publickly read & divulged. The
Councill is summoned ye 2d time, wherein The Delegates doe first Agree, &
ye churches afterward subjoyne, to Abrenunciate communion with ye church.
I thinke A secession & seperation of either party from ye other (tho besprin-
kled with some Love & Candour) would make their enemyes Argue yt they had
forgot to put mault in ye Beer & selfe-denyall in yt Religion. But ye
Acted designe has filled ye Towne with a chaos of Jewes & Samaritanes.
Understanding (Reverend Sr) both your superlative Readynesse & Abilityes to in-
doctrinate all that desire to see by your Candle, having such an Incouraging
opportunity, I thought it better to venture a censure of Boldnesse, then to forfeit
a prize by negligence. There are 3 or 4 particulars yt I humbly crave your
thoughts About. 1. The Basis of all our controversyes in ys (I may call it any)
Howling wildernesse is ys one Question. whether The church be Catholicke In-
tegrally or Generically. whether ye church of Xt upon earth is to consist in Inde-
pendant & particular species or no. I am not Ignorant yt many Learned English
Divines have Learnedly digladiated about many of ye controversyes depending be-
tween ye Presbyterians & Independents, but They have layd onely at ye Branches
not at ye root, & some have onely strucke at Malchus's eare. Mr Hudson I thinke
in his last worke has waded farthest into ye Marrow of ye Question, agst ye
Independency of particular churches, & for ye Integrality of ye church catholicke.
yet me thinks tho he has done all these things, yet one thing is wanting. For my
part I confesse I shall not be easily launched from yt shore [illegible]

That ye Church Consists not of Congregations as Specificall or Individuall pts
of ye whole (as ye Romists call Individuum Species) as Petrus is part of Homo. But
as Integrall pts, as manus is pars Corporis. may it please you to give me to understand
wt Reasons perswade you to ye Great & most Common opinion. I know your treasury
will afford new as well as old. & your pen drops wt is unobserved by us. Your Judgment
& Reasons I have allwayes admired, & esteemed ye former ye most unerring, ye latter
ye most piercing of any man, yt I have Read. 2ly. Concerning ye union of ye huma-
nity wth his Deity. I would not be Curious, neither would I be Ignorant. may it please
you Sr to Resolve ye Question in ye Forme, whether there is any Farther Band
of union Betwixt ye 2 Natures, yn I Relatio Humanae Naturae ad Divinam. As a
mans house Belongs to him. This is ye Humane person yt is Assumed to ye Deity. 2 Opera-
tio Divinae Naturae in Humanâ. I never read any Animadversions on this mystery, & so
ye more desire your Conceptions of it, to wm I Judge ye Hardest things easy. 3ly
may you please to give me ye Sense of yt obscure περιοχὴ of Scripture Rom. 8.
19. 20. 21. 22. For ye earnest expectation of ye Creature. &c. I am somewhat acquain-
ted yt ye Generality of ye Fathers maintayned a Purification & not a Consumption of
ye Elements, after this Scene of Temporalls is ended, & others there are who strongly
Believe yt some of all ye Species of Sensitives & vegetables shall be Immortalized, a
& preserved (like ye pot of manna) as footsteps of ye first Creation, & monuments of
Divine wisdome power & Goodnesse, & ye Text forementioned is I thinke ye stron-
gest Bulwarke of this perswasion in ye whole Booke of God. But there is a Dif-
ferent & Contrary Opinion of others who maintayne, The Desolation & mouldring
of this Inferiour world into an heap & Chaos of Cursed Rubbish, That as it
has been ye place of Sinning, so it shall be ye place of Suffering. To this latter
perswasion ye Scale of my Judgment seemes to Nod, yet with a Great Adiaphorisme
because of ye Place proposed. 4ly wt may be ye Genuine sence of yt Text 3
Gen. ult. I have Read many Interpretations of those Cherubims, & some of ym
Ease me, Interpreters give ym as many Faces as Scripture in other places gives ym
wings, or me thinks they turne as many wayes, as ye ~~[illegible]~~ fla-
ming Sword.   And now (Hond Sr) I have Began I feare I shall not end, till
I have Argued my selfe unmannerly. Tho I am Confident by wt I have learnt of those that
have seen your footsteps, yt your hand is not more free in Receiving Letters yn
giving pardons to ye Authours. I Cannot but hope, you will not onely Judge of my
one yt loves a Bold speaking above a Barren Silence. may I so humbly Crave yt Accor-
ding to your Intelligence you would in halfe a word notify unto me, how it now fares wth
ye Church of Scotland who have Borne such an unsubjected Antipathy to ye Mitre. our
Intelligence from yence is none, or at Least, Confused. Also The present Forme of Disci-
pline observed in ye Protestant Churches of France, How gods vineyard thrives Among
ym, & wt great lights or more illustrious Stars shine now in yt Horizon. I have no grea-
ter Joy yn to heare yt Xt institutions are received, & his members edifyed. Sr I trust
you will allow me as many pardons as you see me guilty of [illegible]. My intent
is nothing but to fill my Pitcher at your Conduit. If it shall so far please you to
trouble your selfe or honour me in giving an Answer to these hasty & unpolished
Lines; (in ye Case ye Bearer returnes not speedily) I pray you to Direct your letter
to me, To Mr Samuel Bradstreet, or Mr Nicholas Paige, either of ym at yr
Houses in Boston, in ye Massachusets Colony, to be sent unto me. Sr Let
him have an Interest in your Blessings, who is & will be an Admirer
of your Greatnesse &c.

Your Servant in wt he can

From my Study in
Kenelmeworth in Connecticot
Colony in N-England.

Octob. 14. 1669.

John Woodbridge. Junr.

[illegible]

These

For the Reverend and Highly Hon^rd
Mr Richard Baxter
in or About
London

Worthy Brother.

The vice of your overvaluing expressions of me, I impute to yor 3000 miles distance: Wee all seeme better to those yt behold us a farre off than to those in our families who are ye witnesses of our faults: If you knew me but as well as I know my selfe; you would judge Wisdome; Goodnes & Greatnes were very ill fitted to so Darke & Bad a Worme. The ingenuity of yor letter maketh me glad, yt my very much valued & honored friend Mr Benj: Woodbridge hath so worthy a Nephew. The newes of yor disagreemts, & ye instance in yor sad narrative of ye case at Hartford, is very lamentable. The same cause hath brought us into all ye confusions & distresses & heart=warres wch we are in now in these Kingdomes: And though no nation under heaven, can be more unexcusable in ye guilt of Love=killing principles & divisions; if experience may be taken for a convincing meanes: Yet is our sin a dispensation to it selfe, & feedeth upon its bitterest fruits & issue: We sin because we have sinned, that we may not be thought to forsake our sin: & it liveth in the flames wch it hath kindled; wch consume or spirituall liberties and helpes, & consume or wealth & habitations, & consume or honor & make us ye scorne and scandall of ye world, but increase ye sin wch they should consume. It is ye houre of or temptation to all extreames: And they in both extreames enrage other, while ye sober stand by & canot help it, but must suffer between & from ym both. And they yt observe ye temptation on ye one hand (to venture on unlawfull things), perceive not yt on ye other side, but think they can never goe too far from those yt they suffer by, & account so bad. It is lukewarmenesse, temporizing, & carnall complyance to seeke to save ye life of dying gasping Love, or to practice or plead for Catholike Comunion. And whilest ye greatest part of Religious persons, especially women and rash youth have so much uncured Ignorance & Pride, & these must beare sway because they are censorious & ye major vote, it sadly prognosticateth yt it is like still to be so, and should make us long to come to ye more harmonious heavenly society. // As to yor questions. x The termes of [Catholike Integrally & Generically] make a very plain and easy case, seeme difficult & obscure. There is no doubt baptisme as such doth enter men duly into into ye Catholike Church: And when it also entereth ym into a particular Church, it is not [as baptisme] but by vertue of a conjoyned consent to yt particular relation; and in order of nature they are first members of ye Church Universall, wch is no more than to say, they are first Christians, before they are Christians of this or yt Congregation. (All this Dr Owen here granteth) And there is as little doubt, but that who converteth persons among Infidels, may baptize ym (& must) upon their conversion though at ye present he enter ym not into a particular Church: As ye Eunuch Act. 8. was, & thousands more. And there is as little doubt, but Christian Embassadors who spend their lives in negotiation in ye Courts of Infidels, & travellers, & merchants, and men yt are cast on heathen lands, & millions who are deprived either of pastors, or of opportunities for particular Church order, are yet all members of ye universall Church. Yet it is doubtles yt all yt can, should be members of particular Churches, & live in ye Church order instituted by Christ. And consequently it is undenyable, that the universall Church consisteth of such Congregations, and of all Christians else that indeed deserve the name of Christians. And for any to deny that baptized Christians are members of ye Universall Church, whereas ye Church is nothing else but [The Universality of Christians Headed by Christ] (For Generall Councills are no Head:) Nor is it politically Catholike in any other sense) is ye effect of yt Ignorance wch declareth such unfit for such disputes as not knowing what, either Church or Christian is. And if there be any so impudent as to say, that only Congregations are parts of ye Church universall, and to concur with ye Papists in unchristening all ye rest of ye Christians in ye world, saue yrselves, it is hard to hope yt men of so great Ignorance & so little Love, should be convinced by ye force of any reasons, how plaine soever. Yet ~~while~~ we all agree, that ordered Congregations are ye noblest parts of ye Catholike Church, as Cities & Corporations are of Kingdoms, though not ye Whole. And ye case is like this, whether Corporations only are parts of a Kingdome, or rather whether the Army consist only of Regiments, Troopes & Companies

Ad bene esse, ye maine body of ye Army should be so ordered: But he that is only listed under ye Generall, is a Soldier & member of ye Army: And if he be entered at once into ye Army & into a particular Regimt or Troope, yet he is a member of ye Army as related to his Colonell & Captaine & yt particular Company. When ye Church was in fieri, immediately upon Christs ascension, ye Apostles were no particular Church at all, but were ye Organicall parts of ye universall: (for we now call not that a Church, wch hath no Governor but is a meere Comunity): And if we should suppose all ye Churches in ye world by some accident dissolved, the Catholike Church is not thereby dissolved: A man may remove from any particular church in ye world, & be sometime before he settle in another: But if he remove from ye Catholike Church, he is an Apostate, twice dead, & plucked up by ye roots: For yt is nothing els but to separate from ye Professours of Christianity as such. So yt I may conclude yt though incorporate churches be ye noblest & best ordered pts of ye Church universall, as Troopes be of an Army, yet they enter not its definition necessarily at all; ye Catholike Church as such being only Christians as Christians under Christ their King & Head; either visibly by Professed Covenanting with him in Baptisme, or spiritually by ye sincere Covenanting of ye heart. And as in an Army, there may be many scouts, & pioneers, and Engineers and other sorts of members, who are not so much as obliged in duty to be members of Regimts. And Secretaries & spies & ~~many~~ other such, may be under no comand but ye Generalls, so may it fall out, yt many in ye Catholike Church, shall not so much as necessitate praecepti be bound to be of a particular Church. And at this day thousands of ye wise & Godly Christians in London & other parts of England, do think it their present duty to be of none, for reasons not now to be mentioned; and I confesse I am these many yeares of none my selfe: Affirmatives bind not ad semper.

So much to yor first question.

XX To yor Second, I Answer, 1o The relation of ye Divine nature to ye humane, no doubt resulteth from its proper fundamentum; The question must be therefore concerning that. It may be called Inoperation indeed, but then you must distinguish of Inoperation; viz as yt wch uniteth ye Agent to ye Recipient; & as that wch after worketh toward perfection

and ye use and ends of nature. The natura Ignea vel Solaris doth
operate first accidentally, by ye trine influxe of motion light & heat;
and so it doth on every Wall or Stone; And so doth God on every Crea=
ture, according to their various capacities. Next it worketh Dis=
positively by adapting ye subject matter to a Union with it selfe;
As in Spermaticall fabrications, when it maketh ye Receptive pt
of ye semen wch like oyle to ye Candle, is only fit for Union
and its consequents. And thirdly it Uniteth it selfe to ye Sperma=
ticke matter, and becometh ye Forma seminis, or ye animating pt
(supposing, as I do, yt Ignis est natura Vegetativa). And these two
last conjunct are Generation. And Fowrthly, being so united to
prepared matter, it Inoperateth to use & to perfection, as an Es=
sentiall forme or principle. 2° But if ye Great Artificer of nature,
hath not thought meete to take us Apprentices to learne his art, so
much as to make a worme or a leafe, or pile of grasse; nor doth
any Philosopher know how ye Active nature first first formeth
ye Passive spermaticke part, and then uniteth it selfe thereunto;
how can poore mortalls know ye way of ye ~~uniting~~ Divine natures
uniting it selfe unto ye humane? Let us be content to be no
Gods, and to acknowledge that there is a God above us.//
xxx As to ye third question, it is two: one of ye Doctrinall, and
another of ye Texturall difficulty; as to ye former, I thinke
it is no Essentiall Article of ye Christian faith, what God will
do with this earthen world, & therefore I am not much sollicitous
about it, having many greater things to learne. But my o=
pinion is, that after ye conflagration, there will be a new hea=
ven (as Heaven is meant Gen. 1 of ye parts respective to ye
earth) & a new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousnes.
And yt ye saints in Glory shall Judge, i.e. Governe that
world, as ye Angells do this, Ministerially. But wt ye change
shall be particularly, & who ye Inhabitants, is unsearchable:
The place of ye damned devils at ye present ye scripture seem=
eth to determine ye aire. But wt change God will make
in their Condition is no Article of ye Creed.// As to ye Tex=
turall difficulty I suppose ye sense agreeable to this doc=
trine, however Dr Hamond turnes it to ye [Heathen world

of ye Gentiles, Groaning for ye Gospell liberty.]//

IV. As to Gen. 3. ult. I am banished these ten yeares allmost from my library, & these 8 months since since I came out of Prison, from ye few bookes I had by me, & from ye Converse of Learned men into an obscure Corner; Therefore I canot tell you wt any Criticks or Comentators say; but only tell you my owne opinion; wch is, yt by Cherubims is meant an Angelicall terrible fiery Glory; or a fiery Glory wch was ye Apparition & operation of an Angel. But this also is no necessary Article of our Creed. I greatly difference between ye Certainty of ye sense of a Text, & a Doctrinall Certainty. There are a Thousand Texts wch no mortall man shall ever know ye Certaine sense of, (& yet not written in vaine) because ye words are capable of severall meanings; But there is no necessary Doctrine for Faith, Love or obedience, wch we may not be certain of as being plainly, if not frequently also, delivered; And therefore ye ancient Christians, made so much of ye Creed, ye Lords Prayer & Decalogue, ye summary of Faith, Desire and Obedience; because it is not ye sense of every text of Scripture, but these Essentialls contained in ye whole, wch are of necessity to salvation. Pardon this unsatisfactory hasty script, And if you write any more to me, leave out yor Complements, beleiving me who am neerer to my selfe, yt I am one of ye unworthyest of yor brethren, who have found mercy to be a Lover of Truth & Peace, & ye Unity and harmony of Christians: And if you will further acquaint me with ye true state of yor Churches, You will greatly oblige

Yor unworthy Brother

Ri: Baxter

Totteridge in
Hartfordshire
Febr. 3o. 1669

Direct yor letters to Henry Ashurst Esqr at ye Golden Key in Aldersgate Street in London, to be delivered to me. I never wrote to any yt I remember in New England but Mr Elliott; And I would faine know whether his method of Councills be yet Comunicated, and how it taketh.//

To my worthy friend & Brother Mr John Woodbridge
Minister of Christ in New England these

Deare Brother

You have greatly obliged me by the free & full narrative of ~~your~~ the state of your country and affairs. The common averseness of ye stricter professors, against communion wth ye lower sort of Christians, undoubtedly proceedeth from a secret mixture of good & evill in ye cause: By ye good I meane a zeale for holynesse & a feare of hardening ungodly persons in a pernicious conceit of ye goodnesse of their state; and of destroying church holyness & discipline, & of confounding ye ptious & ye vile. By ye evill I meane, an Ignorance of ye difference between ye visible & regenerate Church, & of ye nature & use of Church orders, and discipline, wth a Pride of their own supposed wisedome and holyness, wch maketh them desire yt it may be visible, noted and honoured by men. It is hard to make men separate these contraries, & so to be sincere in their desires & endeavours of Church reformation. To answer yor Question, what meanes is apt for ye cure among yor selves, I shall psume to tell you my thoughts in briefe. The chiefe meanes I think is ye cleare, Loving & powerfull eviction of ye unsoundness & evill of popular, dividing & uncharitable principles, & to shew ye people how much these crosse their owne just ends, by crossing truth, and holyness, ye good of souls & ye Churches peace. The people must be taught this: but in due season and as they can beare it. 2 The next meanes (& yt wch is necessary to this) is, The loving and peaceable familiarity of ye pastors & Teachers of ye severall Churches among themselves: To wch end, frequent (and if it may be stated) synods are convenient; where familiarity & love may be maintained & reason may be heard, wherefore I am sorry that Mr Eliots propositions tooke no better wth you. For though I am not for his conceit of founding such synods on ye 24 Elders &c yet every man may have leave to go his own way, in point of unnecessary notions, while they agree in ye same practise. And I am much for his opinion, of making councills to be for counsells & concord of ye Churches, & not for direct and proper regiment over ye particular pastors. Loving & free converse is a necessary thing; but constraining votes wch would drive men from their own reason, have these 1400 yeares been ye dividers & troublers of ye Churches: Unite in a few & necessary things; & let reason & Love procure wt concord may be obtained in ye rest & wt cannot be obtained, must be ~~patiently~~ desired, & ye want of it endured wth Christian patience. This way hath its inconveniencys; but all others have more. // And though your distance be great, you must indure ye labor of travaile, and those yt are neerest & most willing begin, & meet

of them to be a provocation to ye rest. When you are together, talke
not agt other men, that dissent & come not among you, nor make
any needles agreemts to ensnare yor selves; But cherish brother
ly love, & agree wt principles you must all either teach or untea
your people, & how to concurr in your undoubted duty. This lov
ing Correspondency (I speake after greater experience) will streng
then ye moderate among yrselves, & will at last invite others to
partake of ye benefits of yor fraternall concord. And if any self-
conceited turbulent dissenter be among you, beare wth him pa
tiently, & overcome him by love & reason, & be not too angry
wth him, nor yet let his dissent delay your concord, for ye per
formance of your proper dutyes. I suppose you are under no proh
bitions as we are here; & therefore if some dissent, & will not co
among you, ye rest may freely meet. And though there be no notab
extraordinary occasion for it, I thinke you would do well to let all kno
that as Love, Concord & Counsell are ordinary constant dutyes, so
you resolve yt your meetings to yt end shall be ordinary & stated, as
to time & place: Yet so as never to turn ym into wranglings,
much lesse to a Lawmaking usurpation & tyranny. And 3o Clear
& sound doctrine, wth a measure of wisdome, Holyness and utterance
much exceeding ye better sort of private Christians is very need-
full in ye pastor to these Ends. And 4o In all your reformations
to looke round about you, & to see all dangers & avoid extreames.
Those wth us yt study & feele only ye mischeifes of Church Ty-
ranny, do too commonly run headlong into ye principles & waies
of popularity, Confusion, & unsound opinions on ye other side. And
those yt looke all at this Confusion, do think yt church tyranny
is ye only cure: Insomuch yt thousands turn papists lately a-
mong us (& ye Papists boast yt ere long all will be their own) &
most of ym are brought to it, by observing ye distracted giddyness
of Professors; thinking yt any cement is better than unce-
mented sand, to make a church: and yt he yt by long turning
round is giddy, should stay him on something yt is firme://

Your Calme (wth our example) should make it easy wth you to
unite, if such a thing as Christian concord be possible in ye world:
But our sufferings raise our passions so high, yt instead of curing
us, they make us mad; no gentle rods do make us better; but if
it came to fire & gibbetts, I suppose we should more unite. Some
temporize, & stretch conscience unto any thing, wch ye interest
of ye flesh requireth: Others make popular zeale to serve their
carnall interest, & find yt vulgar discontent is ye way to their
prosperity. Others think yt loosers may have leave to talke, & yt
all are excellent men yt suffer, & yt any thing (of obloquy or
extreames) are lawfull agt such as afflict ye Church of God//

fol. 241, of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

As for w^{t} you say of y^{e} report of my Conformity, you may see by it how commonly professors will slander & vent y^{e} falsest reports of one of their party do but utter it. It went for current through England Scotland & Ireland awhile one discontented Independent did but utter it once, & y^{e} rest presently proclaimed it. My book called y^{e} Cure of Church divisions was y^{e} occasion: I have sent it you y^{t} you may see my true conformity, & y^{t} you may know what y^{e} spirit of Separation here is, & wth what sort of people we have to do, I have sent you two books written in defence of it. (And some few late pamphlets of myne since) because they are new.) I have directed to m^{r} Broadstreet at Boston, as my gift to your university library D^{r} Castles Polyglott Lexicon, wth y^{e} first of M^{r} Pooles 4 Volumes of y^{e} Criticks,: I had sent wth y^{m} y^{e} Polyglott Bible, but y^{t} I understood y^{t} my freind M^{r} Boyle had sent it before: I shall, if God will y^{t} M^{r} Poole live to finish y^{m} send y^{e} other 3 volumes of y^{e} Criticks, or take care y^{t} they be sent, if I live so long: For M^{r} Davy a Merchant hath promised them to me for your Library. The Lord direct & blesse your labours. I rest

Your unworthy Brother.

Ri: Baxter.

If you write direct your
Letters to Alderman Ashurst
at y^{e} Golden Key in Aldersgate street.
Having sent your Letter to your unkle Woodbridge, I have
forgot your freinds name in Boston, & so am faine
to send to M^{r} Broadstreete.

To Mr Woodbridge Junior Pastor of ye Church
at Kenelworth in New England

To my Reverend & much valued brother
Mr Woodbridge Pastor of the Church
at Kenelworth in New England
These with a bund & books,

96.

Sir

I received yours of August:18 this morning, which having read, and the copy of my letter I wrote to you August:10 I could not conceive but that either haste or some other distemper made you to write to me so as you have done. That you impute my letter or any passage in it to pugnacity (which you might impute to me as of old my humour, though I have not printed a dispute but upon urgent necessary reasons ~~[illegible]~~) or pride I know not how to ascribe it to any other than to your defect of love, which I hoped you had more of having written so much for it in your Cure of Schisme. It was love to truth and the people of God whom you have misled that moved me to write to you. Mr Allin hath had answer in writing to what he alleged for infant baptism, Mr Lamb in conference. I know no reason why you should turn ~~me~~ me off to them unless you thought me so below your self as that it would be a disparagement to you to condescend to any motion of mine, or thought your writings so infallible as that they need not a reexamination. Sir I cannot but be sensible how your writings have hardened men in ~~[illegible]~~ grosse errors, when no longer then yesterday one of the preachers here without any provocation of mine as having never spoken with him about that point, yet in his sermon vaunted of you by name as proving paedobaptism unanswerably mentioning your antagonist as if he could not answer it, though I know ~~not~~ not any thing but is answered long agoe without any detection of insufficiency by you or by any other. Those who compare my former practise with my books had no reason to have so low an esteem of my name except that were it (which hath been still my lot) to have men judge of my practise and writings out of prejudice upon misreports, and mistakes such as Mr Browne hath shewed in his Jerubbaal in answer to my Theodulia, as I have in part shewed in my Rescue printed the last yeare as an Appendix to my Theodulia for the same bookseller who sells my Theodulia. That you finde me ~~so~~ shallow and self conceited in the point of the Dominicans tenet of predetermination and premotions or that false senses are put upon some texts, are such expressions as ~~for~~ Calvins, Bezas, Pareus, Piscators, Whitakers, Perkins, Prideaux Twisses and other AntiArminians sake me thinks you should not have used, unless you were otherwise minded then you were thought to be when you wrote of the Grotian religion. Nor could you justly expect that I should shew that the obiectum formale fidei (veracitas revelantis) is [illegible] denied by my conceit or the Dominicans any otherwise then I did, nor indeed by any other way then by denial of your consequences, which you dictate without proof, and I think if you had put them into categorical syllogismes they would have appeared absurd, if not ridiculous. I am not so over tyrannical as to grudge any liberty to speake for that which others account the truth, because I am against it. But out of true love to others, to the truth and church of God I judge it my duty to except against that which I upon consideration judge to be an errour, as knowing in such a case I should sin, if ~~I~~ by silence I should betray the truth and others many souls into errour. Nor by either the speeches of learned men, or by other considerations am I yet induced to conceive my shallowness may not match your profundity, which however you think of your self or others addicted to you, is in the opinion of others not inferiour to you ~~[illegible]~~ no other then might make you better heede what you write, specially in controversies: in which you have shewed defect in your understanding of the right notions of things, and of logick terms, and of the rules of dispute, and not observing how in one writing you overthrow what you deliver in another, that I mention no more. But fearing there is too much of your sceptical and unbrotherly spirit which you shewed in the dispute at Bewdley Janu:1.1649. in your epistle before your mocktitled booke of Baptism in the answers to my Antidote, Precursor, valedictory oration and elsewhere unmortified in you I shall forbear to urge you any further to write to me, but shall pray God to give you an humbled heart ~~[illegible]~~ and more propensity to do right to the church of God and among others to me; who am still

Salisbury in Castle street
August 22. 1670.

Your loving brother and fellowservant
in the Lord
John Tombes

For the reverend mr Richard Baxter

these are

Sr

I am bould to trouble you a second time, if you wonder I stayd so long; truly, the reason was partly consulted partly necessitated for (1) I knew your imployments were great, your body weake, and was loath to burthen you: or (2) because my owne businesse was importunate, and the opportunity of sending difficult; if this will not satisfie, I acknowledg my fault, and crave your pardon.

Perhaps you had enough of my first; but your condiscension in giving it so large an answer perswades me otherwise, which inforceth me upon a second, were it for noe other cause but to render you thanks. You may remember in your last, you occasionally put the case, if 10 togeather came for satisfaction —— (truly, Sir, if they all fared so well as I did) I should be loath to be one of the 9 that should neglect to returne an, I thank you, which I doe with such an heart, which if you knew, I am sure you would accept, especially from one that can returne noe greater a thing.

What concerns your letter, being a resolve of some Queries I proposed to you, I have not only, but especially my brethren of the Classis received satisfaction, for upon the reading of yours to them, I heard not one doubt more moved either as to the matter or form of your Profession. You did well to informe me of the difficulties I should meet with before they came, both from the prophane and more religious sort of men: as for my owne part, I did and doe expect a storme of humours, which though coming from divers Quarters, yea and different amongst themselves, yet all will conspire to beate on my head, but if the cause of Christ cannot otherwise be carried on, ~~for~~ it were better I should suffer than it. You say, that some will expect I should make the gate of the visible Church narrower than it is; but I shall not matter what they thinke or expect, judging it safer to seeke the lost sheepe with Christ, and be called a friend of Publicanes and Sinners with my Lord, than to sit still at home with the 99 righteous persons for theire good words.

I have by the blessinge of God with some good successe entred allready upon my worke, I have gott the Profession printed, and have delivered them to some 80 people of my parrish and procured, I hope God and my conscience can beare witnesse to my faithfulnesse in explaining it to them, few of them but have been with me 5 or 6 times in order thereto; and I hope there is none that have been with me but in some competent measure doe understand it. I have not as yet made it knowne publiquely from my Pulpit, those that have been with me allready are such that have been privately acquainted with my designe; I chose this way the rather, for had I suddainly published it, I might have been opprest with multitudes, which might have forced me to have made more haist than good speed in the explication of it to particulars. I doe intend shortly to make it known more openly with a discourse of our Pastorall office; you have said enough in severall books to perswade me that one great ground of our Church distractions, is the ministers neglect of acquainting theire people with their duetie: I know it will be best to acquaint them with the worst before hand, least feeling some thing that they did not expect, they may kike and throw [illegible] of all: after I have explaind it to them all, I intend to call them that have given in theire names, and to preach a sermon about entring into covenant with God, and so to take theire consents publiquely which I think will ingage them more deeply to God and one an other.

You may remember in my first to you, I desired some thing touching the power of a single Pastor, you writt me answer that you had made it the matter of a dispute in one of your meetings, and the determination amounted to 5 sheets. Sir, let me crave it of you that you would be pleased to gett them [illegible] coppy transcribed; I have given order to the gentle-man, the bearer hereof to defraie the charges, and (if you please) to adjoyne the transcription of the sheet of Articles subscribed to by you 17 Delegated at theire entrance. I shall trouble you with noe more at this time beseeching you to take in good part, that I have presumed so much upon you allready, and you will farther oblige him, who is

August 27
1655

Your unfeighned
friend. Tho: Wadsworth

[illegible]

For his [illegible]erend and
learned friend Mr
Richard Baxter
Preacher of the
Gospell at
Kederminster/

5

Dear Sir!

It is a trouble to me thus to trouble you with letters, but you must excuse it, for its love or want of doth constrain me. It was your earnestnesse and forwardnesse for God and Christ that at first shamed me out of my sluggishnesse, and your perseverance doth my God blesse as an exemplary means of maintaining the fire kindled in me. Your exhortatorie letter to catechising awakened me first to a personall instructing of my flock, and your Reformed Pastour hath now through the blessed conduct of the Devine Spirit and a tender conscience engaged me to a dealing with my whole parish family by family; a worke (though merry) tho of the greatest difficulty, yet of the greatest comfort that I ever undertook. Oh it is the sweetest pleasure (to see the generall forwardnesse of the old people to come, to see the teares of many, the strong convictions it leaves on most, the strange change of many of their lives) that ever my blessed Lord gave me upon the earth, next to the inward enjoyment of himselfe. I foolishly cried within myselfe of there is a Bare in the way, but the God that can levell mountaines hath shewed me my folly and taught me to trust him better in the performance of any worke (for the future) he shall sett me about. Sir, if the Lord had not extraordinary heightned your spirit for some eminent ends in his Church, as first to enter upon this worke, and to convince the possibility of it, by an efficacious performance, I should have thought it a thing impossible: O man greatly beloved! The Lord hath revealed his secret things to you, for which many a 1000 soul in England shall rise up and blesse God for you.

Sir, I have taken to me an Assistant to help me in the worke, as being perswaded that mens souls are more precious than corruptable gold or silver, and lett his monie perish with him that will betray an immortall spirit to hell for all the treasures in England. But the greatest difficultie I find is how to imploy him. I find them generally willing to come to me, and as backward to come to him, to imploy him as you doe yours I see impossible, for I see it necessary, that I deal with them all myselfe before he can medle with them, nay I find though I have spoke to them and intreated them to submitt to be taught by him, as a worke to great for me alone, yet I find they hang back, if you could think of any way to direct us, we pray you send it us in your next; I know not what his going home to them may effect, we are now trying that; his worke is to explain your 12 Questions to them I have first dealt with, which hath been mainly upon my Exhortatory, which spends me more than ordinary.

You may Remember, amongst severall cases I sent to you, I mentioned one, of a woman (one of my congregation) that lived with a husband that had another wife, we are since satisfied by certificate that the thing is true, but that his first wife hath been dead these 4 yeares. Quest: whether, if we cannot get the Plantiffe prosecute it against the husband, and the matter is like to rest, whether the woman is to abide with him?

Noe more, but that I beg your prayers for me, and a blessing on my poor weak indeavours for my God and Jesus Christ in this place. I rest

The unworthyest of your Brethren
Tho: Wadsworth

Newington Butts
Janu: 3.

90.

For his Reverend and
Learned friend Mr
Richard Baxter
Teacher of the Church
at Kidderminster.

Frest

Kidderminster

by Birmingham
post paid

fol.247. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

For his Reverend and
Learned friend Mr
Richard Baxter, Teacher
of the Church at
Kederminster

janu: 11 55

Sir,

I could not but write something to certifie you that I received your letter with the 6 sheets containing your determination on that Quest: I desired satisfaction in, concerning the power of a single Pastour, but the time is so long since they came to my hands that indeed I am ashamed to think, that a debt of thanks should be so long owing and yet remain unpaied, though I might have presumed your ingenuously good and liberall nature would forgive me all, yet it had been presumption to have granted it, and therefore I here pay you my thanks but with farr more heartinesse and freedom than ordinary men pay there debts. Ingenuously Sir I have received more satisfaction from those papers (considering the ruggednesse and intricasie of the point) than I could receive from any, yea more than ever I expected to receive; and as for that clear and distinct definition explication of the terms of the Quest: which you there premised as to the Quest: there argued, it hath so cleared my mind, as to many cases that have and like will happen in the execution of my ministeriall office, that I professe I think I should have walkt blindfould, and many times been at a stand, to a very considerable prejudice to the wellfare of the part of the Church of God under my care, which by the help of your papers I have allready been inabled to prevent; and now I hope you cannot think the thanks I render you are things lesse reall, than the good hath been I received from courtesie.

Pardon me if I detain you any longer: but I could not but acquaint you somthing, before I concluded, of the successe the Lord hath given me in ingaiging in the way with my people, in which you have been my leader in Worcester. I can now say upon experiment, that your way of admitting and gathering a people by a such like profession as you there drew up, which I now use, is a means as much conducing to the reforming the Churches in England, I may say more than any now in being: I find the peoples explicit consent to be guided and taught by their Pastour, and admonished by one an other, to have extraordinary influence in the keeping them in peace, love and purity. I have had to deale with a people as [illegible] and wicked as any here about, yet have I had some 140 come freely in and made there profession, many of them it hath pleased God through the Gospell of his dear son to overpower since my coming amongst them, severall of them having been most grosse Drunkards, the whole towne is pretty quiet, standing in an amaze, not knowing what to say, to the way in which we have all joyntly and in publiq ingaiged our selves to God and to one an other, and the rather (1) because I have offered them all communion upon such plaine and easie terms, as but renouncing there old drunken ways and solemnly ingaiging before God and his people they are heartily sorry for there past lives and resolve through grace to amend, which there consciences cannot but confesse to them to be as reasonable, and (2) because they see many of there old companions in sinn to have forsaken them: so that through mercy I find more comfort and quiet amongst them by farr than I did, when I first ~~[illegible]~~, and my expectations are very much raised that Christ will raise to himselfe a considerable people out of those that were most deeply and theretofore ingaiged in the kingdom of the Divell. Dear Sir I intreat your prayers for [illegible] I find nothing grieves so much as the [illegible] doggings at the [illegible]

[illegible] congregation to [illegible]

One thing more and I have done. I saw a letter of yours to Mr Baines a familiar friend of mine, with an invitation to a place some 3 mile from you. I understand by him that he hath waved it; I know not but you might have gott it ere this supplied, but I could not but motion it to you in the behalfe of a friend of mine, who hath a mind to settle, and would be glad to live neer your selfe. He is a young man of good nimble parts, and truely I hope that God hath [illegible] heart, and so will [illegible] to promote the interest of Christ there or any where else the Lord of the viniard shall be pleased to place him. If I shall obtain a line or two from you to certefi me of your pleasure in it, you will farther oblige him, who is allready in many ingaigments

Your reall friend
and obliged servant
Thos Wadsworth

90

Deare Brother
I am glad to heare of ye successe of yor labors for ye Soules committed to yor Charg
have longe observed yt those men usually have good successe yt passionately long for
are not easily contented without it; & usually those want it yt looke not much afte
but content ymselves to have done ye worke, as supposinge yt yn they have dischar
their Consciences: though these Preach never so well I seldome see any great m
done by ym. I suppose you have seene or agreement for Catechizinge. I advis
Entreate you to fall to it presently with all yor might: Use what Catechisme you
thinke meete but see yt you take all yor Parish personally man by man in private as we
do, & prudently & seriously sett it home upon their Consciences. Were it not in an unq
onable necessary worke I would not obtrude my Counsails on you, especially livinge a
monge so many more judicious men as London is furnished with. But I must confess
to you yt I take or busynes of discipline itselfe to be a matter far below this.
I never had more comfort in any worke yt I have sett my hand to, except publi
Preachinge. I first breifly explained to ym ye reasons of or undertakinge in ye
Congregation, & reade ym over ye Agreement, Exhortation & Catechisme. And yn
Preached 2 or 3 dayes (from Heb. 5. 11. 12.) to shew ye necessity of it, even to ye a
& ancient professors who have beene longe hearers & remaine Ignorant of ye Principle
Then (accordinge to or Agreement) I caused my Assistant himselfe with one of ye
cons, to goe from house to house through towne & Parish (neere 20 miles Compass
deliver to every family one: About 5 or 6 refused ym & above 800 accepted
Then (after 6 weekes time given ym to learne ym) I cause one of ye Clarkes to
every weeke, weekly before their time comes & give notice to ye familyes yt a
to come in, wch is 3 familyes a day: ye first have order to come at one a clock
2d at two & ye 3d at 3. Two dayes a weeke (munday & Tuesday) from o
clock till night we spend in it & take 6 familyes a weeke. Never a fami
hath yet denyed to come, nor above 3 persons, who I suppose will come yet.
seriousnes of ye discourse I find spendeth me much, even as much each day a
sermons, so yt I feare lest I shall not hold out. But I see yt hope of succe
yt convinceth me, we never hitt ye way of pullinge downe ye Kingdome of
devill till now. I feare nothinge but yt many ministers will lazily,
& superficially slubber it over, & do little more yn ~~heare~~ ym say ye words, &c

To my Reverend Brother
Mr Wadsworth Preacher of the
Gospell at Newington
Butts neere
London

8

Sir/

[illegible] the first time, that you ever gave entertain-
[illegible]r, that hath now gotten that confidence to
[illegible] bold guest, which if welcome
[illegible] which if you would rid your
[illegible] him up with an, I am not at
[illegible] speak, speak him roughly
[illegible] Begger, and something
[illegible] your selfe may quash him
[illegible] modesty that kept him
[illegible] wants that hath now

[illegible]ement that hath occa-
[illegible]n will understand, when
[illegible] am certain that there
[illegible] for troubling you in
[illegible] our Lord Christ, which
[illegible] to the whole world
[illegible] made your businesse,
[illegible] with to runn with you
[illegible] Lord in the worke of
[illegible] with my fellow
[illegible] of my soul: though
[illegible] and the preciousnesse
[illegible] cannot but complain
[illegible] Lord onely, which
[illegible] of my brethren, especially
[illegible] me if I envie you, it is only
[illegible] more closely and are more
[illegible] think it not trouble
[illegible] like him that's following,
[illegible], what helps I have had
[illegible] without extra-
[illegible] breast [illegible]tification, and
[illegible] of these
[illegible] make them
[illegible] (I had almost said) good
[illegible] wondered
[illegible], that
[illegible] speaking
[illegible] great [illegible] to
[illegible] but [illegible]
to see [illegible]
therefore [illegible]

that. [illegible]

The [illegible] you at this time, I shall
now acquaint you with [illegible]. It is now full two years and
upward since the Lord was pleased to call me from a
fellowship in Cambridg to a charge in Newington-Butts
a small mile from London, yet so near that I had the
priviledg of being taken into the Classe of which your
worthy friend [illegible] was once a member. In this
little [illegible] been all this while, I [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible] for
in [illegible] one thing, viz.
my con[illegible] amongst my people, but
that [illegible] by bearing witnesse
[illegible] to engage for my heard
[illegible] the knowledg of some way
[illegible] purpose that he might have
wait[illegible] short, I considered severall
as [illegible], Independencie & [illegible]
of [illegible] to confusion, Presbyterie I approved
those [illegible] I thought it had more of order
yet [illegible] of this way I have and doe close with, but
it [illegible] them to [illegible], an easie thing I thought
but [illegible] examination and so to gather my people,
to me, [illegible] as it is to get on horse-back, its not so easie
the bit, especially a people that have not a long while known
overseers in the Lord, and are not acquainted with their dutie to [illegible]
the common way of examination, this I know they need, and me thinks
is enough, [illegible] doth not raise them
[illegible] for I see none of them look upon themselves
[illegible] that state of [illegible].

Sir,

after readmission of any [illegible] to God in an
holy life or to any an other [illegible] oversight
This I saw, your [illegible] for; I
confess I had [illegible] writing before
your book of your [illegible] which hath
so abundantly [illegible] your way
that verily I [illegible] enquiring how
I should confess [illegible] difficulties
first here I [illegible] ward of way
to them; [illegible] of the
Classis, [illegible] & attempted
and God [illegible] part me
in the full [illegible] that
God was [illegible] confident
in making [illegible] meeting
I opened [illegible] seen very
have about [illegible] mine conven-
directly [illegible] veniences
which they [illegible] people under
a [illegible] they thought
not fitt [illegible] Lord shall
prosper [illegible] proceeded
to the [illegible] conceived
that it had [illegible] in the
I [illegible] whose bound
it was [illegible] selves in
expressing [illegible] which was an
other thing [illegible] example in
something that might [illegible] authority
in censures [illegible] supposed that
neither oversight [illegible] selves without
of censures [illegible] particular
and that you [illegible] with some of
[illegible] engaging a people
[illegible] you to give
[illegible] alone to engage
[illegible] inconveniences are
[illegible] convenient for
[illegible] to gett some
[illegible] have one; I shall
[illegible] explaining it to the
[illegible] of [illegible] least I force them to offer up the
Ruling Elders cannot be had at present, for I found my
Church without, the old ones being all but one dead, and now
being left without hope of procuring more, I pray you Sir,
acquaint me with your thoughts of a single ~~[illegible]~~ Pastors
[illegible] you have in [illegible]
in your book reached [illegible] the words your thoughts
[illegible] page 34, about
reasons for [illegible] to give me some
Sir [illegible]
[illegible] I [illegible] at first
[illegible] in one, which
it [illegible] but if you will
when you please [illegible] answer, which
shall waite [illegible] one of his servants
allready is [illegible] engage him who

Newington-Butts.
April 7.
1655.

[illegible] obliged Servant
[illegible] Wadsworth.

For his much honoured
friend Mr Richard
Baxter minister of
the Church at Kederminster
these.

Sr

Yors of Apr. 7. I Received Apr. 18. Yor overvaluing one yu know not, is not much to be Marvailed at, it being ye Case of most Inferior things to seeme more excellent at a Distance than neere at hand: But if he should have such thoughts of himself who is neerer, & so should be better knowne to himself it were inexcusable, as being against most cogent Evidence. As to yor case, yu say very many Truths, wn yu say [It is easye to gett on horsbacke, but not so easye to ride]; wch ye longer yu live, ye better yu will know, & yet too true. It is ye comon errour yt hath confounded us in church affairs, to lay too much upon ye forme or way of Governmt or Order, & too little upon ye prudent, resolute Industrious execution. It is some good I confesse to have ye advantage of right principles about ye way & to hitt upon ye soundest & most comodious course of Order: But alas, all yt is nothing without ye other, & for difficulty & comodity nothing in comparison of it: Of ye three sorts of Governmt now contended for, I think ye worst well executed by good men will do much more good yn ye best if formally & negligently carried on. Truly Sr, I finde Governmt a worke of farr greater trouble yn preaching: I can so preach ye sharpest Truths yt if it take not & mollifye not yr minds, & do not winn upon yr affections (as usually it doth) yet at least, it doth not much exasperate ym: But ye executive personall applicn especially in Necessary Censures, cutts ym to ye hearte, & enrageth ym Implacably. ye abundant Prudence, ye Love, ye meeknesse, ye Compassionate earnestnesse, ye Impartiality but above all, ye selfdenyall & unwearied Diligence & Patience yt is Necessary to ye faithfull Practice of church-Governmt! And wn all is done yt can bee done by ye wisest men on Earth, yu must not expect yt ye people should be pleased, no not ye godly, ordinarily: They expect yt yu should make ye gate of ye Visible church much narrower yn Xt hath done in Scripture (as ye ungodly expect yu should make it more wide.) ffew yt I meete wth are so sincere as to Intend & desire Governmt for ymselves to subdue yr owne exorbitancyes, & Regulate yr owne actions, & curbe yr owne Corruptions; yt they may be ye better for it: But they looke all upon others; & thinke of casting ym out too, rather yn of reforming ym; & a restraint they take for nothing. They expect yu should deale most sharply wth others yt are accounted comon-people; but if a Professor fall under ye Necessity of ye Rod, how Impatient & Rebellious & Obstinate are too many! Hence it is yt they are so eager comonly to have ye raines in yr owne hands; & Indeed, too comonly call for Discipline, not yt they may be Governed, but yt they may Governe: And spirituall pride doth strongly encline ym to stand at a greater distance fro comon-Xtians, yn Xt hath allowed ym to doe. So yt while they will be more Just & holy yn Xt, they are Content to be lesse Mercifull; & will not grow in ye same feild where he permitteth ye tares, but will be threatening to transplant ymselves by separation, if he will not plucke ym up. But ye worst of all is, yt while they call for stricter Discipline, they will not be drawne to do yr pts to execute it: They will expect yu should cast out those wm they in secret or generall accuse: wn yu canot get ym to bring a just Accusation & witnesse of mens crimes, yt wee may justly proceed wth ym. And then they will Censure ye Minister himself for not doing ye worke; or for not dealing ~~[illegible]~~ unjustly: And wn all must begin at ye Peoples Accusation & Testimony, & End in ye peoples execution in wthdrawing upon Censure, they will not be at ye trouble nor incurre mens ~~Censure~~ Displeasure, but shew us yt Lazy separation is an easier thing, yn selfdenyall & holy diligence. But let ys passe, as being nothing to yor Questn but only to tell yu wt must be expected fro ye prouder, rasher & unsounder sort of Professors. Now to yor Qu: || 1o The Doctrine of ye Trinity is as fully expressed as is meete, in a meere Creed, ye which is Intended to containe only ye points wch ye weakest woman must understand & Beleive to Salvation: 2o Is purposely conformed to ye Scripture & ancient creeds of ye church, where ye same Method is observed || 2o The very word [Teacher] Implyeth a Declarative excomunicating power; tho: yu looke but to ye Act of Teaching: But much more if yu consider it as an Office. It belongs to a Teacher to take in or put out scholars fro ye schoole wch he teacheth. But most fully do ye termes of [guidance] & [Oversight] comprehend it. Any one might suffice: And if these containe it not, yn none yt I know in Gods word do, & yn no Governmt or Censure is Jure Divino. If Censure bee neither an Act of a Teacher or Govr it belongeth not to ye Ministers. If it be an Act of either of these, then I know not one word in scripture, yt more fully express them than those we have used: if it be not Επισκοπος nor Ηγουμενος, yt qua talis or by ye Authority wch these names Import, must Governe & Censure, I will expect no scripture Authority for it. || 3o [The Reasons of ye warrantablenesse of Bringing People under such a tye] is ye next thing yu demand. Our expression Containeth two tyes: The first to God in Xt. & ye Reason of yt is ye same, as ye Reason of Religion in generall, & of Christianity in speciall. ye Reason wch moveth ~~[illegible]~~ us to require people to professe ymselves Xtians & members of ye universall Visible ch: moves us to yis: for its ye same thing: The 2d tye is to ye particular church & its Guides: & for yt wee have ye same Reason as is for Profession of particular church-membership: for it is ye same thing: All wch are so open yt I need not recite ym. And for ye present Necessity (as well as warrantablenesse) of our Requiring ye Profession, I desire yu to see ym in my Concord & spare me ye labor of Transcribing ym || 4o [Whether it be Convenient for yu alone to engage in our way?] I answ. It's a matter of great weight & yu must be very carefull to avoid a Breach wth ye brethren in whose Communion & neighbourhood you Live. My opinion is this: There are two things considerable in ye present Case of ye London ~~[illegible]~~ Churches, viz The Constitution & ye Governmt of ym. As for ye Constitution I am very much unsatisfyed in this one point, whether they have any true knowledge of yr owne members & by what discovery? And by wt I could heare of ym when I was there, I could not learne yt they have any certaine way to know them. And if they know not their Churches, how can they Governe them? yt all ye Inhabitants of ye pish are church members, none of ym would affirme: For many as here concerned ym. That all yt come to heare ym are ye members of yt church, I heard none affirme; for ye members of one church in London run too comonly to others to heare. Nor would any of ym Professe to me, yt only those yt come to ye Lords Supper or to Examination in Order thereto, are ye members: For 1o yn they will groundlessly unchurch all those yt by speciall Occasions or Conceits of unworthiness, by foolish bashfullnesse or ye like, may be kept of yt particular Ordinance. 2o yn either they Gather now Ch: by Examination for ye Sacramt (wch is not to be so) or else yt forbearance of coming to be Examined or to ye Lords Supper doth unchurch ym yt were Church members before: And if so, then how oft or long forbearance doth it? And yn doth not many yeares forbearance of all such Preachers here to fore unchurch ye whole church, & so it must be gathered a New: But none of yt will hold. The only Resolve yt I Received was yt; yt they take all for ye members who ordinarily heare ym & live in ye pish. But 1o No man can tell by this, how oft a man must heare in a yeare to put him a member. 2o By yt all sick languishing people, or any yt are otherwise long Detained fro ye Publick Assembly are excommunicated. 3o I have some in my pish yt are knowne Infidells, & yet will ordinarily heare: Who are no Church-members. 4o Many will ordinarily heare who disclaime Membership, yt owne not yt church, nor yt Minister, but heare him as a Private man, or as no Pastor of theirs. Many yt are Joyned members to a separate Ch: will ordinarily heare ye Minister in ye pish where they live: yet none of all these are ~~[illegible]~~ members. 5o But ye worst is, yt by yt rule, they must lye under ye heavy Guilt of not exercising Discipline on these kind of Members: For Multitudes of ye Hearing-Parishioners, never come to ye Lds Supper, or refuse examination, live in Grosse sin Notoriously. If these be members, why are they not admonished, & upon Obstinacy Rejected? Why do they let all these remain members, & leave all Discipline unexercised on ym? If it be said, it will bring ye people into rage & tumults, & do more harme yn good, & so is yn no duty: I answ. yts no right Constitution Order, which will not admitt of ye Execution of Discipline. This reason is not fro some unusuall Accident; but fro ye Ordinary Case & Constitution of ye Chs. And wt can disgrace ye frame more, yn yt it Prohibits ye Execution. Why yn is yt Discipline esteemed, when ye use of it is to be a meanes for ye attainment of ye Ends: & it is no meanes where it canot be practised. Why should a name or lifelesse shaddow be kept up, yt cannot be exercised? 2o If ye Inconveniency be but or owne Reproach or suffering, Gods work must not be left for yt. Els preaching might on ye same ground be left: The Conclusion of all is yt: I see no rule yt you have to know yor Chs & without knowing ym you cannot well rule ym. Whence I further Conclude, yt you may call yor people to an expression of Consent as we have done, yt you may more Certainly know ym: especially seeing 1o This was heretofore[illegible] in ye Presbyterian Governmt. 2o you say yt ye Brethren, Nemine Contradicente consented yt you should so do. Had you this no doubt left, yor way will be clearer, & yor worke much easier wn you certainly know yor charge. || 2o But yn as to ye Governmt of yor Ch: wn this is formed, I would earnestly perswade you to keepe close to ye united body of yor neighbor Ministers: Be still wth ym in ye meetings: Propound all weighty Cases to ym for yr advice: Differ not fro ym in any thing without flatt Necessity. || 5 Qu. If you have Neighbor ministers to take of a whole Impression, you may do well to print yt Confession, & give each family one (at yor owne charge or some charitable mans) But if you can use but a few, it will not be worth yor cost to make an Impression. I have one or two thousand yet by me wch I gott printed for these pts. || Make you well understand ye Office & Power of Ministers. || 6o I did ye last monthly meeting here, save one, make ye Power of a single Pastor to excommunicate ye matter of or Disputation: & wrote a Determination of it. But 1o They are 5 sheets, 2o I have no Amanuensis or Scribe, but a Scrivener in towne yt I hire for 12d a sheete. 3o They are now in his hands to be sent to ye Westerne Association in Dorsetshire, at yr request; 4o So many sends to me for coppies of one & ye same thing oft times, yt I cannot well answer yr Desires. If a Disputation be 10 sheets (as oft it is) & ten men desire coppies it will cost me [illegible] to answer yr desires, by ye Scribe. I have wth very good encouragemt setled a sort of order in ye Congregation, not mentioned in or Agreemt (but by ye consent of ye Association): which are two Pastors, two deacons & 17 Delegates of ye Ch: to meete once a month for matters of Discipline: which Delegates are no officers, but ye choise of ye people, chosen by ym, to do no more yn ye people may do, & to assist in ye worke & secure ye Interest. A sheete of Articles concerning ye nature & worke they subscribe to at yr entrance (every yeare) Sr, Accept of yis hasty account fro

Yor fellow servant desirous of the
Churches Purity & Unity
Rich: Baxter.

Apr 20.
1655.

To my Reverend Brother
Mr Thomas Wadsworth
Preacher of ye Gospell
at Newington-Butts
These

90

Reverend Sr

I have at length received what so long I have earnestly expected: being uncertain of the cause of your delayes, was left (as I thought) free to my conjectures; I conceived that the place might be gonn, and that why you signified not so much to me, might be the weaknesse of your body, gathering so much from a report (happning in this intervall of time) that you were dead, which I could not beleeve without better ground than I received from the Reporters: yet I knew not but you might be sick, which happily might be the ground of noising the other ~~and~~ indeed this was the cause I sent not to you before, fearing least I might disturbe you, whose health, ease and wellfare is more dear to me than any one thing on earth excepting the honour of the Lord Jesus, and the wellfare of his Church in generall, to the exalting of which, I know all that the world hath to there very lives is to homely a sacrifice: the Lord prolong you, and give England the blessing of the continuance of your life amongst us.

But as I sayd fearing the place might be gonn, and hearing nothing from you to gainsay it, I could informe my friend nothing that might be ground of building any hope upon if he should stay; whereupon taking himselfe to be free he hath accepted of a place in Winchester Coll: where he is as a Conduct in the Coll: and Pastor to the adjacent parrish: I wish indeed you had had him, which he earnestly desired for your sake I doe verily beleeve the parish would have thanked you for him; for what I gave you in upon conjecture in my last I could upon more sure grounds doe it in this, being an auditor of his in my congregation about a fortnight past, I find him to be a sound very cleare and affectionate preacher, and likely to doe very much good where he is: the Lord be with him; and so fare him-well. I hope you will not take it ill that he did not tarrie; for (1) he was uncertain of an answer (2) of the place if the answer came; (3) and he had a doore fairely opened to the place whither he is gon: I know if your letter had come ~~in~~ time before his engagement he would gladly have accepted either of the places you offer by reason of your neighbourhood though where he is, I thinke is more beneficiall than the best. But it is past —

Since my last I have been severall times about to write to you for your resolve to some cases in point of excommunication, a matter of that weight that I tremble to venture on without advice, and truly Sr our Classis is an uselesse and unprofitable thing to me, as good as nothing, for they scarse ever meet, and if after the expence of much time by going to them, if I got a promise I should hardly a performance one matter or other intervening that they cannot come, so they tell me: so that I am forced to addresse my selfe unto you; if it be a troublesome boldnesse, I beseech you pardon it, for it is necessitated.

Cases

1) If one engageth to take me for their Pastor, to submit to my teaching and to joyne with my church in the publiq worship of God, yet afterwards shall ordinarily heare some other man and joyne with other congregations in the sacrament, neglecting it at home, giving no reasonable cause of his thus dealing; but resolving thus to continue after admonition: I question whether he is to be excommunicated, and if — what degree of excommunication he is capable of. I suppose him to be not scandalous here, except the breaking of so solemne a covnant will amount to a scandall.

2) If some submit not to my teaching after consent given, as if I desire them to gett the catechise, and they refuse to doe it, or say they will, but doe not, giving either noe account or a very frivolous one why they have not, after serious reproofe, yet I find nothing mended. What is to be donn with such? The difficultie is the greater in the latter, as when they say they will but doe not, to which I desire you especially to apply your answer.

3) If one chargeth a brother or sister with a scandall, which he cannot sufficiently prove, whether in this case one or both or which of these is to be suspended till the matter of fact be cleared by sufficient proofe. I have now a case in hand, one of my members about 6 yeares since was in a countrie a 100 miles distant, where one reported to him that the wife of one that hath been married to a woman of my congregation about 14 yeares, was then living with a child or two that she had by him, which if true, I know the case is cleare: but in the mean time (till the proofe be made evident, which is a very difficult thing by reason of the distance of place) what is to be donn with these parties?

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4) Whether the incestuous person in the Corin: was excommunicated for one act of incest, or for living in an incestuous state of marriage, if for one single act, whether one act of adultery or drunkennesse lies not open to the same censure; though I thinke that of incest may be climaxt above the other. But I pray you acquaint me with your proceedings in that case of drunkennesse.

X

5) If one brother doe offend or wrong an other either by words or deeds Christ tells us (18 Math:) that if he be sorry for the wrong, he is to be forgiven though it be 77 times. I would know, whether if the party offended is to forgive him, whether the Church is not likewise? if so, whether the Lord Christ hath provided sufficiently for the keeping his Church from scandall; for certainly such an injurious person must needs be a scan to that Church of which he is a member./

I should oftner have ~~troubled~~ visited you with letters but that I have been fearfull of troubling you in points that have very much perplext my intellectuals, particularly that of universall redemption. I know you are shie of publishing those papers you have by you, on that subject: methinks (if a foole may give his opinion) you have not great ground for it, for I cannot conceive how the peace of the Church, which you are so tender of (and that not without cause) can be any way damaged more than it hath been by some of your former writings; but for my part, let who will call it peace-breaking, I cannot; neither doe I think can any account such righteous such except such that are enemies to a free humble use of sober reason in matters of faith, where the sense of the propositions, to be beleeved when understood, may be doubtfull. And he that shall denie this libertie must conclude folly or madnesse the best preparative of min for the entertainment of the Gospell: But farther, methinks you have spoke your mind so plainly on that subject in your Book of the Profession of your faith, that if you give us the full of your judgment you will hardly runne the hazard of a greater censure than what you have borne allready (3) though you have found some opposition from a few publickly more privately, yet they are nothing in a compari to those that have held their tongues and sett by as spectatours; as for the more judicious that I know of; that care to understand what they hold, they are fully of your mind in that of justification, as the most of our Classis, and have soberly blest God for raysing such a light in his Church as your selfe, and I heartily joyne with them. You have said it and I believe it, that most men take up and hold their opinions of the Age wherein they live, and surely such mens cryings out against you is rather founded on passion than reason, which cannot last long, when their passion is spent you may expect to heare no more; I have sometimes thought that if but halfe a score of the most eminent ministers in London should but once be perswaded of your notions and preach them, in a short time they would bring all the rest in; though the points held this day in the Church as the faith of ma yet are but the judgments of a few, such men take them up because most and most in repute held them, and so as easely let them goe when the masters of their faith and reason change but to alter their minds.

But I am a foole for being so bould, to urge you to that your judgment hath condemned as inconvenient, I mean the printing of those papers, I doe not doubt but you see more in silencing them than I doe, the Lord direct you to what is best.

But Sir if I shall send you a bundle of knotty snarled thought on that subject will you at your leasure set downe and unrav them for me, I was fearfull of troubling you, and I thought good first to aske leave, I shall write but litle at a time though I send the oftner for it, because of overburdening you. But fare-you-well.

Your most obligedly
reall friend and
servant
Tho: Wadsworth.

You will not forget to resolve
me in these cases as soone
as you can.

For his Reuerend and Learned
friend Mr Rich: Baxter
Pastor of the Church at
Keder-minster.

But if he professedly withdraw his Consent to be of yor charge, let him goe without
any more, or a declaration of it to ye rest.

1

Dear Brother
I am sorry yt necessitated delay hath deprived us of ye hopefull man you motioned
but I am satisfyed in ye disposalls of God, beleivinge yt it is for ye best though
we here be loosers by it. // As to yor Cases I should first in generall advise
you (were my advice but halfe as much worth as you seeme to imagine) 1o not
to Pass ye Censures wch you mention but in Case of necessity without ye Counsaile
of ye Classis of ministers to wch you belonge; 2o And if such necessity be, viz
by their negligence or refusall, yt yn you openly declare to ym yor resolution, and
convince ym yt it is they yt necessitate you to it, & receive their answere. // Par-
ticularly to yor first Case I would thus advise you: 1o Debate ye Case effectually
with ye pson yt doth withdraw: If he will not come to you take two or three with
you & goe to him; If he give such reasons as manifest weaknes more yn willfullnes,
try him further & waite: If he be stoute & will not give you a reason of his
dealings, or only such as manifesteth willfullnes, you must do these two or 3 things.
1o Havinge let him know yt for ye sin of division, & covenant breakinge & disobedience
to his guides you are obliged to endeavor to bringe him to repentance, accordingly send
those accusations in writinge to ye Pastors of ye Church to wch he joyneth himselfe, &
warne ym upon ye Com̄on Lawes of Xtian Com̄union to admonish him & not to enter-
taine yor fugitives. 2o If this availe not Declare to yor Congregation 1o yt such
a man hath willfully withdrawne from yor Society & so is no member of yor charge
or their more particular fellowship: 2o yt he hath done this disobediently, unfaith-
fully, disorderly, & obstinately after admonition continueth therein, & so is by ym to be
esteemed as scandalous & to be disowned by ym in yt way accordinge to Rom. 16. 17.
2 Thess. 3. 6. 14. &c & 3o yt they deny ym familiarity till they repent. But if
you perceive yt it is out of meere weaknes, while they condescend to yor admonition,
though they cannot be satisfyed yn ye two former actions only may suffice, viz, de-
clarige ye Church be [illegible] & declaringe him a Divider willfully withdrawne.
And because no duty is at all times a duty, ye consequents of yor Censure should be pruden-
tly foreseene by circumstances. # // To yor 2d Case I answere: It is not every in-
firmity in Christians yt is matter of Church Censure: Else must we be all Censured.
I should thinke yt such as tell you they will learne are not obstinate, & if they yet do
not it shows ym but negligent, & you must first weigh their reasons, & yn pitty their
weaknesses, & yn by yor owne private reasons & reproofes awaken ym from their
negligence, & patiently follow ym till you have done it: & if you cannot do it to ye less
if it be not fundamentalls yt they are Ignorant of, you cannot Excom̄unicate ym, till
they manifest obstinacy &c: nor pchaps if they should be Ignorant of ye fundamentalls.
To yor 3d Case, I should suspend neither of ym, unles of ye scandall there were vio-
lenta presumptio, or of ye accusation there were full proofe of palpable injury to ye
accused: for 1o ye accused is not proved guilty, nor in a way of tryall, & denyeth ye
charge & so cannot be suspended: Indeed If you could send to ye Elders in ye meane
time to enquire, yn you might wish him to forbeare ye meane time in prudence, if ye
defamation be publicke. 2o The accuser is supposed to do it upon a fame in tenderness
of ye credit of ye Gospell & not in malice, & so at ye uttmost can but be rebuked
for temerity or imprudence in not openinge it to yor selfe alone. // As 4th In bare
act of Drunkennes or fornication, is a heynous sin & scandall: you must go psonally
admonish ym as sinners; but not Excom̄unicate ym as such sinners but as Impenitent
To answere yor Question as to my practise, I do, if it be secret, make the
fault at first no more publicke yn ye sinner made it, but secretly admonish him
to repent & reforme. If it be publicke, or if he repent not & Reforme not
I admonish before two or three, & yn call him to or meetinge (where ye Represen-
tative Church, viz, two Presbyters 4 Deacons & 24 Delegates meet once a
month for such works) & there endeavor his humiliation & reformation: If
he declare not Repentance there; or if he do, but returne againe to ye sin,
do in ye face of ye Congregation mention his crime, & or proceedings, & ex-
with all seriousness & compassion there sum̄on him to Repentance: [illegible]
& I desire ye Congregation to joyne in earnest Prayer for

But if he professedly withdraw his Consent to be of yor charge, let him goe without any more yn a declaration of it to ye rest.

part or twice or thrice as prudence shall direct, considering ye quality of ye sin, Sinner, & ye measure of ye scandall. If yet he heare not ye Church, I do from Paul and Christs precepts, require you to avoid him, & no more. And this I would do for one act, if he will not by his professed confessed Repentance for yt one act: for ye Church must take him still to be a Drunkard, till he declare his rising out of it by Repentance. // Ad 5m. 1o Though we must forgive where God giveth us example, yet or actions are no example to God; nor is he allwaies obliged, where he obligeth us; nor is it allway fitt yt he should forgive where we must. For or forgiveness is opposite to private Revenge, wch is never necessary (or rarely); but Gods remission is opposite to Publicke execution of Justice wch his hono & ye Publicke good doth oft require. 2o In case of unavoidable offences through humane frailty, as we must forgive one another 77 times, so must ye Church also upon profession of Repentance. For there ye renewall proveth not ye frivolousness of ye pleaded Repentance: but in case of willfull gross abuse, as a private man may oft seeke Publick Justice, though not private revenge, so ye Church must not take ye bare professions of Repentance (after once or twice falsification) till actuall reformation show it to be sincere or at least a credible confession. For in such willfull gross cases, those frequent confessions of Repentance, are but invalid not credible words, untill reformation give ym credit. //

To yor last busyness, It is principally 1o multitude of other busyness & 2o ye needlesness of ye thinge yt hindereth me from publishinge my Paps of Redemption what need more yn Davenants Dissert. & Dailes Apology if there were no more I see ye opinion gets such ground yt there needs no more helpe. // Yor Cases I shall willingly speake my thoughts to, on condition 1o yt you propound ym in as short exact Questions or Arguments as you can, 2o & yt you be patient with me, when busyness constreyneth me to delay yor answers. The Lord direct you. Cease not yor hearty Prayers for a [illegible] needy wretch, but

June 24th 1656.

Yor faithfull Brother

Ri: Baxter.

To my Reverend Brother Mr Thomas Wadsworth
minister at Newington Butts neere London

2

Most Reverend Sr/

The importunity of a Melancholly Neighbour, hath forced me thus to trouble you; though, I am truely glad of any opportunity of saluting you. My Neighbour conceives you have described his very case in the eight page of your Cases of Conscience, & therefore, I need say litle of it. onely that he is about 30 years of age, of a very strong Complexion. he complaines of heats about the Region of his heart, & of much Confusion in his apprehension of things & of very sad thoughts sometimes. he is worst at the Spring. but never so ill but he is going abroad, & perswading his Friends that he is a great deal worse then they doe Conceive. his earnest request is that you would please to give him one word or two of Advice either as a Divine or Physition if your greater occasions may permit. which he will, with many thanks, &, I doubt not, with very much Faith, receive at your hands.

He is now with me & begs your private, & if you thinke fit publike praiers

Now most worthy Sr, give me Further leav to satisfie my selfe a litle, by returning you humble thanks, for your late learned & most industrious & pious undertaking about Confirmation, & for the honour you have don me therein. onely, dear Sr/ let us not seem to differ more then we doe in such an age as this. the god of peace knows that I love peace & pray for peace, & would pursue it with my heart, had I the skill to know the way. though I thanke you, you have many times laboured to instruct me therein, in your most excellent publike endeavours of that Nature.

~~Our differences that remaine seeme (I hope no more) to be~~ about the force of Birth-priviledge, the necessity of Consent, the cause of Excomunication.

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I am very unwilling to differ with any man, but especially with Mr Baxter, however there seemes (I would hope no more) some small difference betwixt us about the force of Birth priviledge in the Adult, the necessity of Consent to church membership, & the means of cutting off from the church. Touching which you may please to give me leave to scribble my mind in breife unto you, & then censure me as you find cause.

1 Touching the force of Birth priviledge in the Adult, my opinion ~~at~~ plainly ~~present~~ is, that it ceaseth if not continued by personal Faith & profession; as you have fully proved, & I thinke, I never questioned: onely I still suppose that such adult persons are actually knowing, & consequently immediately capable of beleeving & professing. for then not to beleeve is heresy at least, or if you will infidelity or Atheisme. ~~sufficient to destroy their former title~~ & not to professe is high Schisme, or Apostasy., & sufficient either of them to cutt of all title & right in the church ~~[illegible]~~ such had before.

Yet I humbly conceive, that such as are borne in the church have by virtue of their birth priviledge, a right unto all the priviledges of the church, as ~~they~~ doe arise to a due capacity of improving them; untill they putt some barr against them selves.

Also, that such doe loose their Infant-title, no otherwise, then such as were Baptized at years upon personal faith & profession, doe loose theirs. for the Title obtained upon personal faith & profession is continued no longer then such doe continue personally to beleeve & professe. &, I conceive, so long the Infant-title of the former continues even after they are adult.

More plainly I cannot but yet conclude, that if such as were borne in the church, doe, when at years, appeare to be such Apostates, Heretickes, or Schysmatickes, as doe cut them selves off from the visible church, they are to be, or may be declared against by the church: if they appear otherwise obstinately scandalous, they are properly to be excommunicated; as ~~a~~ mean appointed for the salvation of all the offending brethren, & not to be denied to those, more then others. but if they doe not appear any way scandalous, I humbly suppose they are still be reckoned with church members. there being no other mean that I have yet discovered in the Oeconomy of the Jewish or Xtian church in any age of destroying membership but those specified.

2 I would faine say that our difference about the Necessity of Consent is very small also. I hope a little explanation of my assertion (viz: that onely a negative consent, viz: a non actuall dissent is sufficient to continue in covenant) may somewhat reconcile you to it: methinks you intimate ~~[illegible]~~ allmost so much your selfe, if we suppose the subject borne in the church & incapable of

of actuall Consent. give me leave to add [immediately incapable, through ignorance, & we are even agreed]. I was (when that distinction (perhaps not well digested & worse explained) dropped from me, proveing onely, that ignorance did not dismember of itselfe or quâ talis. (when ignorance is highly scandalous it may deserve it.) therefore all that which that point exacted from me was, but that such consent as did necessarily prerequire actuall knowledge was not essentiall to church interest & therefore ~~which~~ where there is not an actuall dissent ~~[illegible]~~ a person borne in the church may continue therein.

I am fully of your mind, that where, through knowledg & a present call, a person is immediately capable of consent, not to consent is actually to dissent, & that that destroies membership. though, pray suffer me yet to opine, that Ignorance though affected, & haply to be justly censured, in persons capable of knowledge doth not ipso ~~facto vel Jure~~ dismember a person borne in the church; nor consequently, the want of positive consent; to which I must yet subscribe. Deut. 29. 11, 15.

3: Touching the means of cutting of. in breife & hast, I humbly conceive.
:1: That which cutteth one off from the church, onely demeritorie doth not doe it effective. & consequently is actually consistent with church interest whatever it be.
2. Heresy & Schysme are the minima quæ that doe of themselves, or ipso facto without any censure of the church, cutt off therefrom.
:3: These, as explained by me, I conceive, doe carry in them an evident contradiction to a church state ~~[illegible]~~ the same person cannot be said to stand & fall away in the same respect.
4: yet I humbly conceive till better informed (for which I am very ready by so worthy a man) that there is noe act or state of wickednes against the second Table, but is de facto consistent with visible church membership & that such wickednes doth onely deserve, & not execute such cutting of at least without church censure. there may be an efficiency of merit in it. & an efficiency of obligation, as you speake in the law. but not of execution at least I say, (& I think according to evidence of scripture & practice of all the churches) without a censure from the church.

Give me to tell you (least you thinke otherwise) that you may see by this minimum inclosed that I call the worst of my people to a profession ~~[illegible]~~ of saving faith.

~~&~~ For Confirmation, truely, I have now eleven under catechumenacy that are well nigh ripe for it. & very shortly, I doe fully intend ~~in as solemn manner as I may, to call them forth & to pr~~

in as sollemn manner as I may to performe it upon them in all respects, save laying on of hands. though I fear many of my Brethren cannot doe it. I resolve through the Lords assistance to begin the Experiment for them. Tis a thing heartily to be desired. & I thinke with some courage to be attempted.

& now, Revd Sr. give me leave to congratulate unto you the successe of your labours; the good Lord prosper still your handy workes, & support your body & mind under all your Burdens. the good Lord keep you still humble under all your great parts & guifts. pray for me who am unfeignedly an admirer of ~~your parts~~ them pardon, & accept

w/ Decembr 8th/

raptim.

Yours in simplicity to love &
serve you F: Fullwood.

Would you honour me & pleasure my friend with a line or two, you may easily doe it by ~~a~~ any Friend in London who will deliver a letter for me ~~by~~ to the westerne packett to be sent to Totnes & thence to me Minr of westAlvington neer Kingsbridge

Alvington

fol.260. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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Dear Brother,

The case of yor Neighbor must be judg'd of by men neere him of understanding in such matters: for distance alloweth mee not that acquaintance with him wch is necessary to a prudent advice. But if he bee but melancholy (as I conceive by your relation) & able to beare such (easy) Physick this following is like to cure him (as it hath done very many) Take an Ounce of Senna, 2 Scruples of Cinnamon, & a dram of Liquorice shaved. Put them into 44 spoonfuls of water. Let them steepe cold 2 hours, & after yt one houre warme on the Embers, not boyling. When it is cool'd straine out ye Senna (or poure out the liquor) & take 14 spoonfuls of this at a time in this order. Put to the 14 spoonfuls a dram of Cremor Tartari & an ounce of syrup of Vinegar, & dissolve them on ye embers, & stirre it & drinke it in bed when he wakes & lie two houres after it, but let him not sleepe or sweat. At 4 hours end drinke some Broth made of Veale with Balme, Borrage, a little Fennell & Succory roots & raisins &c. take it 2 or 3 times as is need. & at dinner time put a little bread in it & at 4 a clock eate your supper. Doe ye same the next day & no more that weeke if he be weake: if not, 3 dayes together: this continu'd (it but 2 dayes a weeke) in ordinary melancholy cureth in 5 weekes; in stronger melancholy, in 7. In deepest melancholy in 12. if the patient can beare so much purging. This is best us'd at the next march, unlesse necessity & open weather command it sooner.

I thanke you for yor ~~favourable~~ explication of yor mind in order to ~~my~~ satisfaction. I thinke you may boldly say that or difference is not such as should at all abate our charity. Your 1 concession gives mee ye substance of all yt I desire. In yor exceptions, 1, you suppose such adult persons actually knowing ye Rest. If you meane [not ideots, but naturally capable] I agree; but if as you speake, I dissent. Because that wilfull Ignorance is covenant breaking & enough to make & continue them Infidels till death. Your 2, that Infants have right to all priviledges as they grow up to capacity &c, I grant; till they are adult they are capable but of Infant-Priviledges (& in Law among us, one is an Infant till full use of Reason). 3, you say [They loose their priviledges but as the adult &c] 1, that concession will goe farre. But 2, I have told you my judgment & reasons of ye difference. They never had title to ye Priviledges proper to ye Adult, & (so) lose it not. And a new distinct condition of title becomes necessary to put them into a right to new Priviledges. Their personall Faith becomes necessary, wch before was not. Whereas to ye adult it is only the continuance of a performed Condition, for a continuance of title that is necessary. 4. To ye next. 1, I grant yt if they appeare not Infidels or scandalous they may continue; supposing you confesse before ye necessity of this new Condition, which if they performe not they are Infidels & more then scandalous to the Church. 2. But that wee needs must exercise Church censures on men that never consented to Church Discipline, I am not satisfy'd. 1. Parents may consent for them or engage them into the Christian state; but that serveth not in stead of any actuall consent which the Person is to performe himselfe at age: and Infants being not capable of Discipline are not to be supposed to consent by their Parents to submit to it in infancy. But only themselves to consent & submitt to it at age. This is plaine. Else you might as well take ye Parents consent in Baptisme for ye whole Faith & duty of the child till death. 2. And its hard perswading mee to renounce Experience & certaine Knowledge & make mee believe that excommunication is a meanes to save ye uncapable multitude when I see it doe more hurt to them, then any thing else can doe against them. 3 Try it faithfully on an ordinary large Parish & after one yeere tell mee your judgement. What would you doe in the case of one of my next Neighbor ministers, who is a most humble, holy, able, exemplary man. & hath neere 3000 soules in his Parish, of wch about 100 only (or few more) will be at all rul'd by him. Most will heare; halfe or 6 parts will not take him for their Pastor, tho they heare him. Perhaps 100 may be common drunkards, 100 or more common swearers; most scandalous in one kind or other; hating him already, & ready to deny him all his tithes without suits. (And yet the 100 that stick to him are the chief of the Parish) They will neither come to him, nor (many) let him come to them. Discipline they scorne; would you excommunicate 2000 of these for rebellion against their Pastor, & other scandals? & doe you thinke you can doe it? & that it would doe them good? or not doe much to their perdition? I have told you my experience already. Tell mee yours when you have faithfully practis'd Discipline on all that were baptiz'd in Infancy. To the 2 difference. I yeeld to you as you observe in case of naturall incapacity (for an ideot is an Infant), But you must have the case of [Ignorance] granted you that wee may be agreed. But doe you thinke that any that knoweth not there is a Xt at capable Age, or perhaps till death is to be numbred with Xtians? or can any of naturall capacity bee grossly ignorant without contempt of Xt? & are they not privatively meere heathens or Infidels? I beseech you remember yt the Anabaptists (and

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the many that are tempted to be of their opinions) looke on & heare what wee say; & what will they doe if they find your way doth tend to fill the church with Infidels. You thinke [such consent as necessarily prerequireth actuall Knowledge is not essentiall to Church Interest] A. Not in a subject naturally uncapable through Infancy or after Lunacy or Ideotisme &c but else it is necessary to ye church Interest of the adult, & essentiall in profession to the condition of it. As it is not ye Parents not-renouncing Xt that is enough to the Baptisme of their Infants, no more is it the Adults not-renouncing Xt (whom they never knew, believ'd in, or personally entred into covenant with, or profess'd) that is enough to their Adult church state. You next yeild that [when by Knowledge & a present call they are capable, then not to consent is to dissent] Else not in case of affected ignorance]. You may say ye same of Infidelity, knowledge being essentiall to Faith, But coram Deo Infidels are not Xtians, & coram Eccla, open knowne Infidels are not Xtians. And such are all openly-knowne ignorant persons about the essentials of Xtianity, & more then so all that never profess't faith (at full age). Deut. 29. 11. 15. saith nothing against this. The covt made with ye absent & unborne made them not church members, nor was a mutuall Covenant (which is necessary thereunto) but was Gods conditionall covt wch should make ye auditors Church-members. Ad 2m 1. Causa meritoria est moraliter efficiens; ita efficit tantum meritum poenae, non executionem. 2. Infidelity through wilfull Ignorance is worse then most Heresy or Schisme. 3. Its contrary directly to or Interest in ye universall church, when Schisme may sometimes be onely from one or more particular churches. 4. Sin agt ye 1 Table then you seeme to grant may cut off without censure. And agt ye 2, Either the sin is so notorious as to be past controversy de facto et merito & need no Judge; or else it is not so. In a controversible case, the sin cutts not off without sentence. But Infants not owning their Covt at age, need no such sin to cutt them off: their Title ceaseth with Infancy, because not continu'd by personall profession. But grosse notorious scandals past controversy, especially if notoriously inconsistent with Godlinesse, doe ipso jure allow & require our avoiding the offender. 1. Else Gods Lawes should be no further obey'd then pleases the Pastors. The command is plaine to the people. Have no company &c with such, no not to eat &c. It saith not [if the Pastor first sentence him] 2. Else a man that will be drunke daily in the church, & then curse, & lie, & raile, & roare, & stand to it, yea if halfe the Parish should doe so, the rest must have communion with them. No; our power is but to edification & not to destruction. Wee can onely promote our peoples obedience to God, but have no power against him. Our power is but to helpe them to understand & obey ye word of God, & that in particular cases. Should wee censure men contrary to ye plaine Scripture, the people ought not to obey us, (though they may disobey in a way of honour & not contempt). I thanke you for your Catechisme. And I thanke you more that you will be a leader in the reforming healing worke of Confirmation. One sent mee word halfe a yeere agoe, that he saw divers on the Lords day admitted by Confirmation, upon a serious solemne profession of Faith, in Mr Willes Church in London, in so reverend a manner as mightily mov'd all the Auditors. The Lord blesse your labors for his Church. Dear Brother, still be zealous for Holinesse & Peace & never heare of a separation of them. & pray for your poore unworthy Brother that is scarce (especially these late months) an houre free from paine either night or day, & is almost worne unto the snuffe, & not like to be long from God. I remaine

Jan. 6. 1658

your weake Fellow Servant
Ri: Baxter.

To Mr ffrancis ffullwood at
West Allbrington in Debonshire

Worpll Sir

This paper hath two messages to deliver to you, wch had I had with
vacity, I should have presumed by word of mouth to acquaint you with. The
first is by way of Qu: ye 2d by way of humble admonition. 1o There is a pa-
spread abroad the Country, & in the hands of many, reported to be done by you:
I have some invitation to give some friends an account of my thoughts of it. And
take it to be my duty first to crave yor answer whether it be yors, or you wrote such
thing; lest in my ignorance of ye Author, I should speak in a courser & closer st-
than beseemes me with to a person of yor quality. The paper is entitled [An An-
swer to a Petition pretending from certaine Divines & commended to ye Justices & Jury
It begins thus [In silence I may be censured, & have something like it already] If you
vouchsafe me not yor answer, I must crave yor excuse if I be embolden'd to more
plainness yn els I should use if I knew it to be yors. || 2o As to ye matter of my Ad-
monition, I shall first mention ye fact yt is ye subject of it, & then ye Law wch telleth me ye
Quality of it. I am informed by witnesses beyond exception, yt you are pleased to traduce me
publikely & privately behind my back, & to charge many things uppon me, when you never
vouchsafed me one word of Reproofe concerning any one of ym to my face. I understand
you thought meet to oppose ye Petition publikely on ye Bench before ye Honoble Judges
& Justices at ye Assize, you entitled it mine saying [This is Mr Baxters Petition, wch was
us once before; I marvaile they have ye confidence to offer it againe]. Whereby you plainly
meant to ye hearers yt I was ye Author of it, or it was mine in some peculiar sense. Which
tho in itselfe it be true or false, yet, must needs be interpretatively an untruth in you: be-
cause I am certaine you know it not to be true; wch you should have done before you
had affirmed it, especially in such an audience, & in a seat of Judicature. It is not possible,
my former offering it to you, among many more yt were sent on yt message, yt can give any as-
surance therof. If I had bin ye first framer of it, yet I conceived yt ye corrections, altera-
& subscriptions of so many others, did so far entitle ym to it, as yt it was unfit in you
to call it mine. Nothing but Justice should proceed from a Justice, in ye place of Justice espe-
I understand also yt you are pleased privately to object agt me some generall grounds of yor
distaste, wch when they are drawne but into particulars, by their desires who are willing to know
my crimes, amount to this much; yt I am imperious, or too busye in ye affaires of ye Country
& presume beyond my place & calling, & ye instance is in wt I did about ye choice of ye
bers of ye late Parliament. Wt els you say, you better know than I. I gave not any
my Vote at ye election: I beleive you know not of any thing yt I did in it more yn ye
freeholder there, save only at a meeting before hand, to deliver to ye Justices, ye thoughts of ye
Gentlemen & Freeholders & Ministers yt were in ye next roome, concerning ye persons yt by ym
were desired: & this I did with others by their appointment. I conceive yt it proveth not
pragmaticall medling with matters alien to me, nor any meddling endeavours to desire ye good of ye
Commonwealth, & to improve my interest to yt end, if I had done it ten times more yn I did.
Every man yt will not follow others wch way they list to lead ym in ye dark, is not to be taken
busie & imperious: Nor doth every man affect Rule, yt would cross ye misruling of any yt affect
I am as tractable as other of yor neighbors so yt I may be led by ye eyes, & not by ye nose.
But I shall trouble you no further with my owne vindication. I understand one of ye
Justices did lately say more to you, to yt purpose yn you could answer, or yn is fitt for
Perfect I am not, in degree: A Sinner I daily confess myselfe. But ye thing yt I take
ye, & for wch I think it my duty humbly to admonish you, is yt you violate ye Rule
should have happened at you or any yt you would never vouchsafe to tell it to myselfe
first, but would vent yor mind to others behind my back, wch is not ye way to

2 ffrom such Scriptures as these I am convinced yt this is a sinfull course (besides yt it is against ye Law of Nature & ye common Rule of doing as you would be done by) : [Lev. 19.17. Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart; thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor & not suffer sin upon him.] [Matth. 18.15. If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go & tell him his fault between thee & him alone &c.] Psal. 15.1.3. Lord, who shall dwell &c. He yt backbiteth not with his tongue, &c.] Rom. 1.30. Sir I shall now trouble you with no more, but to crave yor answer to ye former Qun, & yor favourable acceptance of this plaine admonition, wherin I have myselfe avoided the fault wch I tell you of, taking it to be my duty to speake it to yorselfe, & heartily desiring yor reformation, I remaine

Yor humble & faithfull monitor

Ric: Baxter.

fol.263. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

To the Worpll Mr John
Nanfan Esqz Justice
of the Peace

Thes p̄sent

London. Jul: 6. 1652

Deare Sr

Though you are by face unknowne to me, yet in our Lord Jesus my heart is neerly knit to you; I can not but love esteem, pray for him, from whose labours I blesse God I have recd more light & warmth then from many others. I have & doe often beg of our Lord to incourage & strengthen you in his worke against all your owne weaknesses & outward discouragemts. I have many times had in my thoughts to trouble you wth a few lines, as an acknowledgemt of ye good I have recd from yor labours, but partly being unwilling to be troublesome, & partly judging my thanks not worth ye giving I hitherto withheld. Two things put me now upon it; one, ye reading a passage in yor Tr: of Bapt: p. 321 where you take notice of ye outcry wch many make against that little-great booke of Aphorisms, now when others heap load into one scale to discourage, I thought it my duty to cast, though but some drams, into ye other scale to incourage & quicken you in ye worke of Jesus; though I question not but you have had many very considerable attestations to ye reall worth of yor labours, to wch soe worthles a thing as I am can adde nothing but number; yet let me cast in my mite: I have often & doe wth greatest seriousnes blesse ye Lord for you & your labours, to wch under God I professe my selfe to owe more, both for clearing my understanding in ye right apprehension of gospell misteries, & working my heart to a greater seriousnes in Religion then to any other. Such truths as before appeared like men walking, as trees, doe now represent themselves to my thoughts as men indeed, in theire proper beauty & comlines. In particular I thinke you have fully answered your owne expression, in cutting asunder ye unobserved sinewes of Antinomianisme, wth wch I confesse I had like to have been entangled, had I not by ye goodnes of God met wth such cleare beames of truth in yor discourses. yea I thinke you might have added, of Popery in ye point of Justificaon. Dr Sr I write not this as desiring to insinuate into ye thoughts of one whom I am never like to see on earth: much lesse to make you have any higher thoughts of your selfe then what is meet, for I hope ye grace of God in you hath set you above ye reach of other manner of mens commendations then mine, by laying you low in yor owne thoughts & making you willing to glory only in yor infirmities, & give God ye glory of ~~thy~~ any abilities wth wch he is pleased to entrust you; but my end is to let you know yt in this world yor labour is not in vaine. [redacted]

The other ground of my present writing is to desire yor serious resolution of a question of wch perhaps at first there may seem to be no question, Whether there be sufficient ground in Scripture to affirme ye Ordinance of ye Lords supper to be ye Seale of ye Covenant of grace? The originall of my questioning this received opinion was this. Being lately entered upon a discourse of yt subject & taking it for granted yt it was a Seale of ye Covenant, but desiring not only barely to assert it, but to make it out from Scripture, I set my selfe to search yt, but could not find any one place on wch to ground yt assertion, or yt could be thought to looke yt way, but only Rom: 4. 11. wch to my apprehension comes vastly short of being sufficient ground on wch to build yt assertion, as I thinke I could cleare but yt I thinke it needles & would be tedious. Now Sr ye reason why I am sollicitous about this, is not yt I thinke it worth while to quarrell about words, soe long as they are only interpreters of our inward apprehensions, but when argts in any controversy are urged from words & termes, then I thinke we are concerned to know ye ground why such words or termes are given to such & such things; now Sr you know some of ye most pressing args: concerning ye admitting to or debarring persons from this Ordinance, are taken from this medius, yt it is Seale of ye Covt. & if yt prove groundles, whatever we deduce from thence will have noe weight. And I remember yor words about Bapt: in yor animadversions on Mr Bedfords booke wch may be applied to this, when men see wrong ends put upon this Ordinance & too much given to it (viz: more then Scripture gives) they are ready to suspect ye doctrine concerning ye right ends & to give as much to little to it. Might I not seem too tedious I would lay open to you my thoughts of this Ordinance in a few propositions; beare wth me & I will venture.

1. The only immediate end of ye Lords supper is to solemnize ye memoriall of his death in all ages. I say immediate because whatever other end is asserted is noe otherwise an end of this Ordinance then as it is consequentiall upon ye serious & solemne remembrance of the death of our Lord.

2. This Ordinance is of speciall use to confirme our ffaith of Assent to ye truth of ye history & by consequence of ye doctrine of ye gospell; it being to us a rationall convincing argt: yt there was in ye world such a reall transaction as ye life & death of Jesus Christ. Sutably as ye Passover might rationally [illegible] later Jewes yt God did really deliver theire forefathers out of Egyptian bondage [illegible]

3. It is of speciall use to confirme & strengthen our ffaith of Covenant, as laying strong obliga
upon ye spirits to walke worthy such a mercy as ye death of Christ.

4. But yt it should be as a seale directly to confirme me in ye truth of any proposition wch before I doubted of, I
can not yet see.

1. not this prop: he yt believes shall be saved; unles by consequence from wt my 2d prop: laies downe
2. not this, I doe believe, unles by renewed engaging my heart to God at his ordinances I am enabled
ye better to discerne my selfe a sincere disciple of Jesus.
3 not this, my sins are forgiven, I am justified &c wch ye word of God, or Covt: of grace noe where affirms, &
therefore yt wch is supposed to be its seale can not confirme. but yet I question not but it may
be a speciall meanes to help me to assurance of Justification &c as may be gathered from ye 2 foregoing particulars

Truth is Sr when we say tis ye seale whereby we engage ourselves to Christ, I thinke ye thing is true, though I
know noe ground for ye expression; but when tis called Gods seale I am yet at a losse to understand it.

I should be very glad (if other more important matters doe not hinder) to have a few lines from you concerning
this, not yt I meane to give up my selfe to what you shall dictate, but hoping you may give me some
light to understand ye will of God in this buisines. I desire only yr thoughts as grounded on ye word
of God & yr owne Experiences; Excuse this trouble & if you thinke it not worth ye while
to answer, burne this paper, & I shall still remaine

Clare-house Drury-lane.

Yr affectionate freind & unworthy
brother in ye Lord Jesus
John Jackson

I returne yu hearty thanks for yr Affectionate lines; but especially for ye newes wch yu Assure me I have in yr prayers: a well kindnes & of very gt worth from any man yt hath interest in Jesus Ch:; yt wch hath long supported my life.

As to yr Qn, it is either About ye name, or ye thing. If we grant ye thing, yu will not deny ye Lawfullnes, or Convenniency of ye name: for names must be fitted to things. The name of a Sacrament is not in Scr, but a Seale is. All ye doubt yn is of ye Definition. The neerest & Comon End of a Seale, is [To signifye to any yt may doubt of it, my owning of yt writing or Instrumt whereto it is Annexed:] The speciall Ends vary According to ye speciall Nature of ye Instrumt: wch Ordinarily is Obligatory to ye Signer, to Doe or give, somwt therein Expressed: sometimes it's but to Attest ye Verity of some Report, or Matter of Fact: Sometimes, to oblige others, by signifying to ym yt ye [illegible] signed is my Act, Cwh supposeth yt they know me to have Authority to Oblige ym. Sometimes it's for Imediate Exhibition or Collation of a Benefitt: sometimes for ye firmer Continuance of Interest in it: But still ye 1st Comon End is ye neerest to Expresse yt to be my Act & Deed, by ye speciall signe. Now, yt ye Elemts are [Signes] I need not prove to yu. yt it is no Ordinary or Naturall Signe, but a speciall Instituted one, is as Manifest. And yt ye Institution Extendeth to both ye Signes Materiall, (Bread & Wine) & ye signifying Actions. And yt these solemne signifying Actions are twofold; some are ye Actions of ye Deliverer; & some of ye Receiver: Now ye Qn is, whether these Signes Materiall & Actuall are Annexed to any Covenant? & if so, Then to wt End? And yt they are Annexed to a Mutuall Covent is Manifest in ye very Institution. Mat. 26. 28. yis is my blood of ye New Testamt wch is shed for many for ye Remission of sins. & Mar. 14. 24. & Lu. 22. 20. yis cupp is ye New Testamt in my Blood &c & so 1. Cor. 11. 25. wch can be nothing but a signe of ye New Testamt in his Blood. And yt ye signifyed Testamt is ye reall Covent of Grace, by wch, as an Instrumt, Ch & his Benefitts are made over to ye Beleiving Receiver, is past Doubt. For 1o yis is ye speciall Nature of ye Testamt, & Principall use of it. 2o Both Ch & his Benefitts are here expressly given: 1o Ch. For it's said, Take, Eate yis is my Body &c And he saith, My flesh is meate Indeed, & my Blood is drinke Indeed &c. 2o His Benefitts [For ye Remission of sins] is annexed. Now All ye Remaining Doubt is, To wt End ye signe is Annexed to ye Testamt. And 1o yt it's solemnly to signifye Gods owning it, & Affirming it his owne Act & Deed (wch makes it Essentially his Seale) is plaine, 1o By his owne taking ~~a~~ a solemne pt in ye Sacramtall Action, viz, 1o ye breaking ye Bread 2o ye pouring out ye Wine, 3o But Principally ye solemne Delivery of it wth his owne hands; wth 1o his Mandate Adjoyned, 2o His expresse Applicon to ye Covent, or Testamt. [Take, Eate, This is my Body &c] 2o And his Ministers being his officers are still to represent him in ye solemn Action of [Delivery]. & tho they Receive it ymselves in ye person of Members, yet they still deliver it in Representation of ye person of Ch, ye head, to Continue his pt in ye Sacramentall Action. Now yis is as Evident an owning of ye Conveyance, as can be Imagined, when he shall either by himself or still by his deputyes Deliver his owne Body, Blood, Testamt & Remission of sins to Men, & Bidd ym Take it. And as it is an expresse owning of ye Testamt, or Conveyance by his solemne Act of delivery, so for ye speciall End, it's plainly, quasi Obligatory (for God can't be obliged in ye same sense as men) yt is, a signifying his owne Resolution to be as Good as his word; & a more, it's Actuall exhibiting; & yt is plaine, in ye Comand [Take] & in ye Act of Delivery. And here Marke, yt as it hath ye same End wth ye Covent, viz, to Convey Right & to Exhibitt, so it must needs doe it as a Seale in subserviency to ye Covent. For [illegible] wt it Conveyeth is Jus, Right to Ch, & Remission of sins. As is Ch [illegible] [illegible] his Blood for [illegible] we are [illegible] to Take [illegible] & Remission [illegible]

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Canot be any way Conveyed primarily but by Covenant, or Guift p modum Signi primarij: & so by ye Sacrament p modum Signi Secundarij, vel obsignantis: ffor, tho: Sanctificatn be Conveyed p Applicationem Realem; yet Right to Xt, & Relative Benefitts are Conveyed only p Signa Voluntatis Donantis. Besides, marke it especially, yt Ipsum foedus, ye very Covenant Guift or Conveyance it: is here in most exp, full, (tho: briefe) termes expressed before ye Signe And ye Signe Emediatly Conexed: ffor wn Xt biddeus [Take] I hope none dare thinke he meanes only, or Principally ye Signe: but ye thing Signifyed 1st, wch is himself. & ye Benefitts of his Death, Remission &c. Now he yt saith to a hungry man, [Take ye meate] doth thereby give it him on Condition he will Receive it: And for Xt to give himself & Benefitts to men on Condition of Receiving, is Essentially ye New Testament or Covenant of Grace: wch Indeed is most expressly expressed in ye Word [Take] to let us know it is not only a Narration, but an offer, or Conditionall Conveyance of a Benefitt; & yt ffaith is not only an Assent, but an Accepting Xt offered. And Indeed there's scarce any passage in ye New Testament more Exactly setts forth ye Nature of ye Covenant & ffaith, yn ye Institution of ye Sacrament doth. The proposition therefore here signed is, 1o ye Truth of ye History yt Xt dyed for sin &c. wch God owneth as his words by these Appointed solemnizeing Signes to ye worlds End: 2o ye Mandate of God [Take] by wch he obligeth us to take Xt. 3o ye Testament in his Blood for ye Remission of sin: viz yt [Tu Credens salvaberis] Thou true Receiver shall by him be Justifyed &c, wn its supposed yt yu Beleive or Receive him. 4o ye Christ ~~[illegible]~~ will is to seale to his Deed of Conveyance or Guift, & not to a proposition for meere Assent. And yn on ye other side it is Evident, yt Recipiendo, by taking & Eating & Drinking, we doe pfess to take & apply Xt Jesus: & so sett ye seale. To Conclude, may not yor mistake come from some of these causes, 1o Looking more for ye Name [Seale] yn ye Nature, wch yu might have found. 2o Looking only at ye Sacramentall Materiall Signes, & not at ye Signifying Action of Giving & Taking, wch are yet pts of ye Sacrament. 3o Not discerning ye substance of ye Covenant, in ye Narrow Compasse of [Take, Eate &c] 4o Looking so much at ye 1st End (ye solemne Commemoration of Xts Death) yt yu overlooke ye next following Endes. I yeild yu, yt yt is ye Principall End, to Commemorate solemnly ye worke of Redemption (so is it of ye Lords day), for Gods glory must needes goe before Mans Good: But ye Endes Respecting or Good follow & are closely Conjunct, & Essentiall to it. To conclude, let me mind yu of yt, yt if yu make it not Gods owning Signe of his Covenant or Testament, & Exhibiting Signe of Xt & Grace, yu will spoile ye End wch yu seeme to acknowledge; for it will not fully be a Commemoration of Xts Death, as leaving out its End, Applicn: so neerly are these Conjunct. I had thought to have bin more full, but ye Carrier stayes. ffarewell, & Continue yor prayers for me who am

Yor Brother in ye Lds worke
Rich: Baxter

Kidderminster
Aug. 8o. 1652o

101.

To my lo: friend Mr John Jackſon
Preacher of ye Goſpell, at the
Earle of Clares houſe
in Drury lane

About ye Sacrament being a Seale.

Reverend Sr

I received yors of Sept: 13th containing yor favourable judgemt of my defen
of Grotius his religion wth yor reception of yt only wch concerns yor selfe
(you heere wish I had spared yor name unlesse I could have proved you to have bee
of yt religion wch you thinke. I cannot or found some more particular charge
you &c) To wch I answer 1o I now wish I had spared it my selfe for ye reason
shall render you anon. But 2o I never gave ye least intimation yt I tooke you
&c of Grotius his Religion & therfore you need not call for proofe of it. It is a
nother subject (ye sense of ye word (Puritane) yt I am speaking of when I
mention yor name. I hope you thinke not I charge evry man wth ye same opinion
yt is but named by me in ye same booke. 3o yea I did not so much as charge
you at all yt is accuse you but tell ye world when you tooke for a Puritane. Con-
cerning wch words in answer to ye rest of yor Letter I shall give you
this just account. I had read on one day (above 20 yeares agoe when it first came out
yor booke agt Mr Burton, & Mr Dowe's booke agt him & I thinke one of Dr Pock-
lington on another occasion I certainly remember ye foresaid character of ye Puritane
in one of ym & I was perswaded yt it was in yors & yt somewt of it more or
lesse was in both. I now confesse to you it was my temerity ye concomitant of
hast to mention you upon ye trust of my memory after above 20 yeares lapse (for
I never had yor booke since) And now upon search I finde ye principall part
of what I intended is in Mr Dowe who characterizeth ym from those Doctrines of
Predestination, Perseverance or unability to performe ye Law &c But some of
it I finde in yors wch justifieth wt I said of you if I can understand you. You deale
wth Mr Burton as ye Puritans oracle (page 152) those superintendants champion &c (viz)
And ye description of him containeth this yt he followeth Illyricus in his doctrin de pro-
videntia, praedestinatione, gratia, libero arbitrio &c (page 182) And to satisfy us fully
wt you meant you referre us to ye Arminians Necessaria Responsio p: 82 where
(wth p: 82 84 85) it is expressly manifest yt it is ye doctrine of Pareus &
ye rest of ye Contraremonstrants yt ye Arminians there doe charge upon Illyricus
& consequently yt you doe charge upon Mr Burton ye oracle of ye Puritans (as you
call him) & so upon ye Puritans wth him. If you say ~~not~~ you charge not these
on him quatenus a Puritane. I answer you carry it openly in all yor booke as if
you dealt wth him as a Puritane & seditious & so describe ye Puritans by him. If y
bring such doctrinall charges & afterwards tell us you meant ym of some other
you justifie yor reader yt understands you as defining Puritans only when you so
give ye person described yt name & professe to oppose him as such & tell us of no other
grounds. And wt els you meane by those accustomed wrestings ye Article in favour
of Predestination is past my understanding: there being no accustomed doctrine but
Antiarminian amongst ye Puritans in ye Doctrine of Predestination yt you can call
wresting of yt Article. You adde also to helpe us further to understand you yt
false yt Dr Jackson's bookes are to defend Arminianisme p: 122. 123. 5
ye remainder of yor owne words & may give us ye Law in wt sense we
understand ym because they are ye signs of yor owne minde wch is knowne only
selfe. And if you shall but tell me you meant somewt els yn yor words in
comon sense import I shall take my selfe bound to understand you accordingly
& if you require it I shall publish an account of my misunderstanding of
my following satisfaction to ye world to doe you right But till you thus give us
sense of yor words you must needs allow us to take yor words in ye comon
shall not trouble you wth any more on yt subject. But were it not yt

things
you have a Spirit ~~so different~~ so very distant fro my disposition that I have small hopes yt my words
will escape yor displeasure I should on this occasio deale freely wth you about many things in many
of yor books wch have longe beene matter of scandall & greife to men yt have much Christian
meeknesse & moderatio. Many reproaches agt extemporate prayer yt holy improvemt of ye Lds Day
& wth many unjust as well as uncharitable speeches of yor Brethren whom you take for Adversarys and
matters yt I am exceeding confident yt you have exceeding cause in teares & sorrow to bewaile
before ye Lord for wch you are very much obliged to publish yor penitentiall lamentations to ye world
and were it my case I would not for 10000 worlds dye before I had done it And if I erre in
this I thinke it is not through partiality but weaknesse oh! yt holy breathings after X! ye Love to
God! yt heavenly mindednesse! yt hatred of all knowne sin! yt humility! selfedenyall! meeknesse!
yt I have discerned (as farre as effects can shew ye heart to others) in abundance of those people yt
differ from you in some smaller things wch occasioneth yor frequent bitter reproaches! If God love
them not I have not yet met wth ye people yt I may hope he loves if he does love yt
he will heavenly take yor dealing with them specially when you rise to such bloody desires of Eng
ym rakers of burning theyr books (as in yor Histor: Sab: p: 254 Eccles: Vindic: praef: st
passion you expresse. I am not an approover of ye violence of any of them nor doe I justify
Burtons way, nor am I of ye minde of ye party you most oppose in all theyr discipline (as
books now in ye presse will give ye world an account) But I am sure yt Church must have
unity & charity in ye ancient simplicity of doctrine worship & Governmt or not at all: and if you
will have men live in peace as Brethren ye Union must not be layd on Ceremonies or indiffer
formes nor must you make such rigorous Lawes for all & change ym yt are agt you Scripture
& reason, & ye primitive practise & gen̄ll regimen doe leade us all to another course. But of those
words if I could procure yor pardon I expect no more because of ye distance
many others I am also many unsatisfied concerning 3 things you say concerning Popery. 10. To passe by
yt ye Papists were ye more moderate Adversary to ye Puritans & ye Puritans faction
carried on wth greater violence (Praef: to Eccles: Vindic: 20 yt you mantayned agt Mr Burton
yt ye Religio of ye Papists is not Rebellio nor theyr faith faction. I prove both. 10 That
bylon wch defineth ye depositio of Princes & absolving theyr subjects from theyr fidelity by ye Pope
because they deny Transubstantiatio & is Rebellio (doctrinall) But such is ye Popish Religio that
in nor is evident yt wch is defined by ye Pope & a genll Councill is ye Papists religion
that is de fide yea essentiall because they will have all essentialls & deny ye distinguishing
from ye rest) but ye foresaid doctrine is defined by a Pope & an approved genll Councill
vix at Lateran under Innocent 3 20 If any Protestant writer should teach
Saint they put it not into ye Creed as they do in theyr 20 If it be an Article of ye Pa
faith yt none are members of X & ye church but ye subjects of ye Pope yt ye faith
of faith is faction: but ye Articles is true being defined by Pope Leo 10th in a genll Council
30 I am a sorry Lawyer yet would I faine understand whether it be true wch is writ
by Mr Dow & you (his p: 185 & yor 210 of hist: Sabb:) that ye Popes Decretalls ye body of
Canon Law is to be accepted (as not abrogated) wch being made for ye direction of ye body
of ye church in genll were by degrees admitted & obeyd in those pts of Christendome
by act of pliamt so farre still in force as they oppose not ye prerogative roy
ye municipall Lawes & statuts of this Realme of England) these are yor words & Mr Dow
gives some reason for it fro a statute of H: 8th. But little doe I know how ye Popes
Decretalls are Lawes to ye Church in genll or to us And I will yet hope yt they are not
But if ere I live to see another pliamt (if I be not mistaken) I shall crave a freedom
bondage I had thought yt Acts yt impose ye Oathes of Allegiance & Supremacy had disobliged
from all foreigne power & nullified ye Popes authority in England

I am very glad yt you (who are esteemed ye principles amgst ye defendrs of ye late Liturgie & persecuting sort of Prelacy) doe so freely disclaime ye Grotian Religio (wch I never charged you wth) I hope ye more confidently yt ye most of ye prelaticall Divines will disowne it. But if wn you put yor selfe to ye trouble of writing to me againe I should be glad to understand how you can take ye Popes Decretalls & ye body of ye Canon Law as a Law for ye governmt of ye Church in generall & hold received to be still so farre in force as you affirme & yet not hold yt ye Pope & his Councell have ye powr of making Lawes for ye Governmt of ye Church in generall & so yt we & all other Christians are his subjects. Sr I crave yor pardon of ye displeasing plainnesse of these lines & remaine

Octob: 20
1658

Yor unfeignedly well-willing Brother &
fellow servant Ri: Baxter

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To Doctor Peter Heylin
with yᵉ Animadversions on his booke

fol.269. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Grace & Peace in X Jesus be multiplyed &c

Deare friendes

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As my affections to you have long solicited me to this way of converse, so yor late lres to me have sufficiently encouraged me thereto. Perhaps you might have expected yt in all these times of unusuall actings, I should have written somthing to you of my Judgmt. The cause I did not, was no want of Love to you (though I be there imperfect) nor unwillingnes to declare my most secrett thoughts: If I should say it was, either because I thought yor way so good, yt you had no need of advice; or yt I was afraid to resist such a torrent lest it might overwhelme me, I should not in either speake ye Truth. But ye amazemt wch I was cast into by ye strangenes of proceedings, did silence me for ye time, & prohibit expressions: And ye unlikelynes of yor acceptance of any thing of mine, did tell me, it would be but labour in vaine. For I supposed yt you would never have entered into such uncouth waies, before you had bin so strongly perswaded of their lawfullnes, & so fully resolved to go through, yt my interposing advice would scarce have bin over looked on. Beside, I have found, yt silent retirednes is necessary to a student, yt seriously bendeth himselfe to search after Truth: Reason as well as Lawes are oft silent among Armes. It is so hard a worke, to heare & weigh ye wordes of Counsaile in ye tumultuous noise of such agitations, & to read & understand ye caracters of Truth wn ye dust of Contention is in mens eyes, yt I confesse, I had not confidence enough to raise me to expectations of successe. And moreover, I know yt there is no satisfying dispute at such a distance. I doubt not, but you have those at hand yt can say somthing agt any thing yt can be produced in opposition: & yt have shewes of Argumt for every thing you doe: I know ye advantage yt he hath who is still present, & hath ye eare of him he dealeth with, & ye liberty to speake without contradiction: as a souldier in ye field where there is none to withstand him. I doubt not but such men do carry it on with you in greatest confidence, & make you thinke ye cause is as cleare as ye light. And indeed to be still in company of one sort, & heare nothing (to purpose) but on one side, may carry away ye best man, whose owne Judgmt is none of ye quickest or strongest. Knowing you to be in this case, I have not had any bitter thoughts of you, (as verily believing you meane well in yor most heinous actions, & are none of ye leaders in these by pathes) but compassionate thoughts I have had many towardes you. I know there is not ye worst cause but much may be said for it, as was even for killing ye Son of God. I can say this in sincerity, as in his presence yt knoweth my heart, yt I have bin unfeignedly willing to discerne ye right: & to this end I have searched [illegible]

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as I was able into ye mystery of yor proceedings; I have conferred with ye most able assertors of yor wayes yt I could meet with; I have done all this with wt seriousnes & humility I was able; I have earnestly prayed God to reveale ye Truth to me; I have sett my friendes & neighbors a praying to ye same end; We keepe at least one day every weeke in humbling or soules before God (extraordinary) & begging his light & blessing concerning these affairs: (for we are not yet above ordinances or obedience to Xt) And in all this, if prejudice did any way possesse me, it was not agt you, but for you. My strong Love to so many of you my cordiall friendes (for so I yet believe you) was no small inducemt to me to approve yor way: And you must thinke yt a man will not be very prone to oppose yt party, with whom he hath so zealously joyned in their greatest adversity, & endured so many cold stormes, & unseasonable marches, & layne out of doors so many rainy nights together, & bin in so many bloody fights, as I have bin in ye space of 4 years & a halfe; & contracted so many sicknesses to my body, & at last even death it selfe, wch is to me even at ye doore in all probability, occasioned by those distemperings of my body, & especially by ye losse of a Gallon of blood wch did force me from you. Besides you may easily conceive, yt if I had followed ye counsell of fleshly wisdome, I should rather have joyned with you in this height of yor successe, & stricken in to ye strongest side; especially considering ye roome I have had still in yor esteeme & affections, & might still more expect if I continued with you. And, truly, I have no cause to follow you in an implicite faith, unlesse I had found yor Reason more cleare, & yor Argumts more unresistable while I was among you. You know I was allwayes free in dispute, & never refused a Congresse with any. And you know yor silly wt feeble disputants ~~I found~~ with you, having never in all my abode in ye Army mett with one man yt would stand it, though some were forward to preach to ye people, & to challenge disputes with strange ministers. I am yet confident yt were I among you (as I had bin long ere now, if I were able to ride) I should find as much more weaknes in yor disputers, as there is error & evill in ye Cause they maintaine. It were a vaine thing (for ye reasons forementioned) for me in this paper to enter a dispute with you, or lay downe argumts, unlesse I were at hand to make ym good. Those allready written, in my Judgmt, have nothing of momt said agt ym: I meane, Mr Ashursts Reasons agt yor Agreemt & many like it: the perusall whereof I commend to you, in requitall of yor kindnes for ye booke you sent me for my satisfaction. Alas, did I ever thinke yt ye Oath of God had bin no stronger a bond to a Saint! yt any trifling words can serve to elude it, or any forced interpretation to enervate it, wn it is apparent men must first use ye same violence with their owne Consciences, before they can so new-coine ye sense of their former Oathes. But if you had never taken any such yor selves, yet to engage in a Cause against ye Powers of a Nation, is either to engage yor selves agt yt Nation, or els to engage it in ye Sin of highest Perjury. To say, An ill Oath is better broake yn kept is a plea for a Conscience yt hath long bin under ye hott=iron. To sweare to defend Parliamt though fallible, is no ill oath: ~~And~~ Some ill Oathes, though not all are better kept yn broaken. Would this plea have saved Zedechiah, or ye Sons of Saul? A small measure of tendernes of Conscience will preserve a man from venturing on such a Sin as Nationall Perjury agt God, & maintaining it, wn he hath done, with a few simple Reasonings. Only ye Anti=Scripturists among you can reconcile ye Actions of these 2 yeares with their principles. I have ever hitherto had very hard thoughts of a Drunkard or Adulterer, though a professor of Religion; & never accused my selfe of Censoriousnes for it: But these are diminitive Sins to ye forementioned Perjury, & such as may hide ymselves under its wings. // I will expostulate now particularly wth you but about one of yor Sins, & yt is, yor promoting the Paper called, An agreemt of ye people: & I will mention but one Clause or branch of yt Agreemt: viz, ye 3d branch of ye 9th Article: Where you must have ye magistrate ——— cetera desunt

A piece of a Letter to his friends in the Army

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Reverend Sir

Somewhat desiring the Key workman like you seem'd for C

discovering Jus divinum, et fides divina, page 333 to be

pamphlets: wch thing I expected to have found proved in your own

wch fayling of, occasion is afforded me, especially, to importune you,

as you tender the establishment of divers in this Island to fully answ

& by invincible arguments to overthrow, wt seemes to triumph in the

two fatherlesse treatises: & pray forget not L. Ds of the ministry of

affected; wherein (as he saith) your two sheets for the ministers

=vered, & your ministry presented naked to publicke view: and also

Clement writers vindication, wth his appendix against your foure

charge laid on him. Not a few have taken for granted the doctr

maintain'd in those books, is a certaine truth; because you have

hitherto set your selfe to perfectly enucleate the errors. where

I beseech you do it speedily. least many more leave the minist

the Christian wourld: such as have, are hardly if ever returned

say they? Can mr Baxter powerfully according to the wisdome of

with such demonstration as is convincingly alone fro on High, man

wt is to be believed, embraced, & perfectly obeyed: as the whole

will of God, & undoubted Gospell of Christ: & what is not. Is he

able to exactly distinguish truth from error (& to discover the

remaines in our translations contrary to their true originals, confe

by Dr Ames (but not corrected) in lesser matters not a few; & wt a

=we have need but grosse mistakes are in the greatest) having hims

corrected some of his owne papers lately: & for ought we know

many more, if death prevent him not. & when he has done the best

all he can, to make his elaborate treatises sound, possibly some

like=learning will flame with zeale, till the reputation of such

theyre labours be quite lost: & as likely themselves may be as inge

=ously dealt with, by others. Thus the stumbling wourld turnes aside

Againe say they: If the place authorize not the religion it a

to men, that will not blind themselves with their forefathers

rapsings, or their owne education, nor their [illegible]

customs: that it is absolutely needfull, & requisite whatsoever

taught, enjoyned, & commanded, in reference to a better

[illegible] & are knowing, loving & delighting in the C

[illegible] obeyed according to his promis

[illegible]

on very God; & the Holy-ghost very God: & yet all
ake but one very God: seeming so unresolvable a Riddle,
nto the Diana of Reason: the Oracle of the ever living, loving,
life-giving God: they say 'tis unquestionably, yea unavoydab-
y necessary: that these, & such like (not in this place to trouble you
th) should be ingressed no otherwise, then an omnipotent creden-
n the Eternall = from eternity = Deity indefeasably commandeth to
elieved: till then, then, they seeme beleeveable & accordingly reason
ight not, as well, as a Turke, an English Man have made a
nfident, & very zealous Mahometan; if in his greene yeares he
ad bin brought up wth them: who are unanimous in unquestionably
elieving their Alcoran was given them from heaven: & is the
ertaine, & most true, faithfull, & whole mind of God, revealed
o them; unto which, they wth all awfulnes, feare, solemnity, devo-
ute reverence, & great (as they thinke) holy ioyfulnesse conforme,
n wonderfull obedience & that royally, & wholy, though differing
bout the authenticke exposition: an incurable plauge arising
aturally from dead Copies. And againe they urge from the
foremencioned Reverend Author. page 151: 9th Canon:— seing
t sufficeth not, that any booke be writen by an extraordinary
servant of God; & from the certaine direction of the spirit to
make it scripturall, unlesse it be given, & sanctified by the Authority
divine of the Church: how shall an English man be infallibly assured
hat the bookes, wch generally passe for currant amongst us, being = gathered by an as
f neere affinity unto Popery: nere the true, & reall Church of
Christ: & wt absolute wch the bookes, we hitherto have not had come to
our hands; wth the scriptures we have, make mention of, may possibly
e greater, then can enter into our imagination, concerning our
ord, & right understanding those we have & also, how know wee
ut those bookes, wch were in equall Credit, before that, amongst
Beleivers, were of as divine a Size, as those universally received
n the Christian world, to this day. Further they argue, from the
foremencioned worthy Author, who affirmes. That the Scriptures can
ave but one true playne meaning, & signification: wch is cert=
aine, & proper, one, & but one; for to cause it to speake any-
hing, is to make it import nothing. but no living Mortall is
ertainely to give the genuine interpretation: & undoub
demonstrate the Hebrew, & Greeke Copies that are
[illegible] perfectly, or exactly corresponde wth

The very originalls, wch were lost, with the true Church of Christ. Also wt shall be said? concerning the Christian-worlds being at a variance against one another, like Cocks impatient after they have pickt out each others eyes, fighting about the chiefest points of divinity: the Blades of such discords being unsheathed for more then thousands of yeares; whilst sometimes cruelly in the Bowels of their Brothers: monstrous, Strange & wonderfull, to this day not agreed; severally maintaining wt likes them best, as suiting wth their humor & interest most: wch brings to my remembrance a saying of a Scholar not long since return'd frō Rome: discoursing how respectfull, a preacher in England to the French=papist=congregation, & a preacher to ye Protest Reformist=French=people in England were one to another: the hearer added, methinks one should be convinced by the other: unto wch, he replied: they must not be agreed. Papists exclude all out of heaven, that wholy conforme not to their traditionary=superstitious fancys, and practises, & principles, of no higher Authority, then of ye now cald=ffathers, in their age bearer sway to have it so: uncontradictedly, being Authoriz'd by Power: their wills, different, & groundless Tenents be a sufficient overthrow of their owne (too long admir'd) Volumes. Lutherans & Calvinists, fiercely fall out together, & will not be agreed. Anabaptists zealously will venture hard for their iudgment. Quakers in the name, & (as they say) by ye spirit of ye lord, iudge all, yt will not ioyne wth them, in their confusion. To be wth them all, they reckon is impossible, to be wth any one, renders under the censure of all but yt one, & how more right then ye rest, that one may be certainly prov'd to be, or any of the other, or all together, or wt else might be written of, may be ~~[illegible]~~ surer then yt, who can certainly resolve? Sir, is it not high time, for the ministers of England, to awake & quit themselves more=like then men, seing these Reasoners tickle themselves with the conceit, refusing not to vaunt: That ye Clergy=Enchantment shall soone fall unto ye Ground? Surely, 'tis a time of trouble, a fit season for secret fasting, fervent seeking unto God. Surely The mercifull God has not for Ages of Ages shut ~~f~~ up all the Earth in darkness: permitted all their Eyes to be entertaind. Has Vision utterly fayled: doe Prophesy wholy cease? Is ye Spirit, ye infallible Spirit totally restrain'd? Have the Antients deservedly Comforted themselves, wth delusions, building on a sandy=faileable foundation? May you appeare an Angell of God, in unanswerably answering the Books before exprest, & wt else, may in this [illegible] season needfull, is ardently desired

Yours,
Bolt

Vid. Baxter's Answer 1. No. 77.

London at the

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n ashe

ffor mr Richard Baxter
minister at Kederminster in
the County of Worcester

With Speede & trust.

Ches

Sir

I cannot so well by letter communicate the whole occasion of the motion which I now offer to you, the briefe account of it is this, I was told by sundry persons of divers qualityes (upon my returne from the country) that the comprehension thought of by some and endeavoured by our friends in court, was ~~wholly~~ frustrated by Dr Owens proposall of a toleration which was intertained and carryed on by other persons, and those opposite to them who had of their owne inclination interessed them=selves in the businesse of comprehension for our sakes, and I thereupon expressing my regret that Dr Owen should oppose the comprehension with the tenour of which hee was acquainted by you at the time when it was debated, and there being due ~~liberty~~ provision ~~made~~ for the liberty of his party in the indulgence annexed, which was wholly left to their modelling, and having also spoken some words concerning the danger of toleration and the unseasonable setting afoote of this debate concerning comprehension and toleration, when the one would bee played against the other, to the defeating of both, and their going clancularly a distinct way by themselves, when wee in the simplicity of our hearts communicated counsells with them, I say I having expressed my dislike of this proceeding by these and many other considerations, the notice of my discourse by some meanes or other came to the Bishops eares, hee therefore with Dr Annesly gave mee a visit, disavowed as to forme at least what was reported of him, though hee still professed that the comprehension would neither doe the Kings businesse nor ours,

but in the processe of the discourse I had with
him, hee dropped a motion about a meeting
where 8 persons only should bee present and
the matter debated to bee whither the Comprehension
should bee propounded by us; ~~[illegible]~~ but expressly
asserting that they should not bee handled as a
difference betweene us and the Independents but
betweene us and ~~[illegible]~~ many of our owne Brethren,
I waved this question, and agreed (I thinke
unwarily) to a meeting upon these conditions that
you should bee present, and that the question
should bee generall, what course wee should
take for the obtaining our common liberty
without clashing with one another, the persons
who were nominated for the conference were the
Dr and your selfe. Dr Seaman and Mr Nye Mr
Caryll and Dr Annesly Dr Bates Dr Jacombe
Mr Jenkyns and my selfe, But meet I will not
unlesse you make one and bring Mr Corbet with
you whome I nominated in the roome of Mr
Jenkyns who is out of towne, and against whome
I made some exception, hee having spoken scoffically
(as I was informed it may bee untruly) against
all endeavours of Comprehension, Sr give your
resolution and Answer as God shall direct
you but I desire it may bee sent as speedily
as may bee, that I may disappoint the

meeting in time, if your Answer bee negative, the day is on Thursday next
at Dr Jacombs Chamber, I had forgotten to tell you that wee on our
part have stirred nothing about the Comprehension since the treaty which
was put upon by L: K Our Lord Jesus have you in his holy keeping I am
Saturday Sept 20th

your Brother and servant
Thô: Manton

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Reverend & much esteemed in the Lord.

I have received your christian & very loving letter, wherein your deep sense of my infirmity & eminent acceptance of my poor labours among the Indians, doth minister to my spirit matter of great humbling that such a worm as I should be, by my gracious Father set about such a work, as should find so great acceptance among the Saints. The Lord chose an unmeet vessel, in the eye of reason, when he chose me, that all the glory might ascend to him, finding nothing in the instrument to reflect upon. And further, such acceptance of my poor labors doth minister to me great increase both of love & thankfulness to yourself & others of the Saints, & especially faithfulness in the work, that I may indeed be found at last, real & effectual, & answer in some measure after the joys & expectations, & acclamations of the holy Saints. Next, you desire to know why so few of the Indians are brought in, in so long a time. In the Lord's time, what is done is accomplished. For many years together when the Indians resorted to houses of Godly people, they saw their manner of life & worship in families, & in public also; where sometime they would see & observe what they did, but liked not of it. Yea so disliked, that if any began to speak of God, & heaven & hell, & religion unto them they would presently be gone. So that it was a received & known thing to all Englishmen, that if they were burdensome & you would have them gone, speak of religion: & you were presently rid of them. & hence they oft frequented the houses of loose & carnal persons, who did not speak of religion to them. But when the Lord put me upon the work, himself had fitted a few poor ones, against I came, as you may further [illegible] out of their confessions. & when the Lord had bowed the hearts of some, he pleased to send his spirit so among them, as that most about us did quickly bow & come in. & such as bowed not fled further off. And then this change was eminently observed by the godly, that they most frequented & loved the most godly families, & would set religious discourse on foot by their own, & forsake the frequenting of loose families. And this was the generality of all the natives in 20 mile space ~~[illegible]~~ to this day, save that of late (by the Apostasy (in part) of a Sachem) some are grown worse. Your loving acceptance of my motion about the point of Meditation: I thank you for it. I am very sensible of your Apologie for a neglect duty: yet let me be bold to urge a little further; I know assuredly that the heaps of your labours doe not take off but quicken your personal communion with God. Now what if you should task your self, & charge your own spirit in meditation work, in such order as either your judgment, or emergent occasion should put you on; & either you have [illegible] the Lord, before your book be either wrote or indited, before me [illegible] a quarter of an hour in a day to write what passed that evening between the Lord & your spirit, [illegible] in a short time you would find that this work would (further) be accomplished, afore you are aware. Pardon I pray my boldness & foolishness thus to talk.

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For exceptions against forms of Meditation (as of prayer), though this giddy age is liable to produce monsters, yet such conceits are not likely; those set & stinted forms of publ: prayer was the exception of the godly, not all forms, [illegible]. besides meditation is personal, not social, which I have not heard that I know of exceptions against set forms in secret. But this is obiter. Your second motion about propositions of mediation betwixt Presbyt. & Independ. is a weighty & good matter, but hard to be done by us at this distance. they that are nearer [illegible] much may better tell how to aim at & hit the spirit of the times for I doe think that the distance lyeth not in the cause so much as in the spirits of people. as we frequently find it in our church work, when there is difference & strife, the burden of the work lyeth in calming & composing of spirits, the matter & cause, to be brought to a prudent composure is the easiest part of the work.

such a gathering of a church, as culleth out the choycest persons of sundry parishes about them, & ingageth them so to a select communion, as to desert the work of christ where ere it be, in the neighbourhood & parochial society to which (in civility) they doe belong, I say such a gathering of a church, hath allwayes been doubtfull to my spirit, I cannot approve of it, I would not be so dealt by, that if I have one or two or a few jewels in my interest another should come & rob me of them. when God hath dispersed his saints, like brands of fire (as [illegible] cals them) & as grains of salt, to season all the parishes about; & these shall all withdraw from the work in the places where God hath set them; & shuffle together to enjoy their owne personal comfort & edification; it may prove in the issue not so right an observing of the will of Christ. but this is a way to sharpen strife, for they yt lose their best neighbours communion, are provoked, & count them separatists, novilists, schismatists, ~~&~~ independants &c: they yt forsake such communion count them episcopal, popish, antichristian &c: & thus spirits are fired, & strife is continued; & ~~their arguments are but~~ censures like stones to throw at each others head, & upholds strife.

let me take occasion to propound a little to consideration in this poynt, if it may help.

There be two works of moment unto which the Saints in Engl: are now called to attend.

1 the first is the purgation of parochial churches, from antichristian dross, & the freeing & setting up the pure valew of it ordinances from the pollution of the common sort of the wild beasts, & the raising up people to higher degrees of knowledg of God, & profession of relig: or else to keep them from the Socinians &c: this is the first & ~~[illegible]~~ great work, & chiefly to be attended. Now this is more like to be done by the withdrawing of the best sort, but by their close adhering to their ministers (if they be godly & cordial) & joyning together to carry Christ his work afore them. it is in this case as with our Indians: some say, why doe not our Godly & best Indians joyne to english churches: but I answer, what shall the rest doe then, if left by them? no, rather let them keep Gods wayes together & the strong help the weak.

2ly The 2d great work is to enjoy Christ in his pure ordinances, which is a very precious & weighty work. but to doe this work so, as to clash & overthrow the other, is not the best way I feare. But rather thus. let the godly Saints attend to both these works together. what if a Godly minister & many select Christians be in church covenant, & sometimes hold communion together & enjoy the seals & comforts (as need is) together, & yet for the most part, or in a convenient measure attend the work of Christ in reforming parochial assemblys. ~~[illegible]~~

for the maine, I think the power lyeth in the presbytery only or also in the concurrence; or at least not without the concurrence of the fraternity, some way manifested. what with mutual condescendency, & what with mutual forbearance where they cannot condescend, I see not but (for matter) they might walk together in peace & love if spirits were calmed. I have known, before I came to N.E. in the Bps times, a company of Christians, who held frequent communion together, used the censure of [illegible] admonition, yea & of excommunication, the much presse of christ, only they had not officers, nor the sacraments. and notwithstanding this their liberty togethr, they held publik parochial communion, so far as avoyded offence, & interested themselves in all good means for the publik good of the parish. Dr Godwin & mr Nye have put a prior epistle before mr Hookers works touching conversion, where they shew how a common profession accepted for christianity, with some loose conversion, that necessary saving ~~work the~~ Now in this way of christians injoying a twofold communion, & yt without offence, may not parochial communion be upheld so as to keepe the whole heape of chaff & corne togethr, only excluding the ignorant & prophane, & scandalous, from the sacr: & other priviledges by the improving the discipline of christ. And beside this, may not the holy saints, who are called higher by the grace of christ, injoy togethr a more strickt & select communion, untill they may gathr togethr from many parts of the county or city? but I am called off, I shall no furthr trouble you at present, but commending you, & all your holy labours unto the Lord I rest

your unworthy brothr
in the Lords vinyard
John. Eliot.

Roxbury this 7th of the 8th. 57.

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To the reverend his much respect
freind and brother Mr
Baxter minister of
Gods word at
Kederminster
these present

Revrd Brother & dearely beloved in christ

By a freind I did thankfully receive your animadversions upon that poor little script of mine, the communion of churches, [illegible] not to despise men to my opinion, I have no faculty that way, but to propose such mild and easy ways of mutuall condescention [illegible] might come to such a compliance, as to walk together in unity, love & peace [illegible] in the communion of churches, which [illegible] desirable in the eyes of christ, as that he hath prayed for it 4 times in a few lines in the 17 of John 17. 21. 22. 23 [illegible] may be one, [illegible] may be one [illegible] that they may be one, & might it be one [illegible] all the churches [illegible] in such an unity, [illegible] a pleasing sight would this be to the heart of Jesus christ, to see that prayer of his so [illegible] fulfilled.

page [illegible] should not be in the definition of a visible church. And my reason of that word was act. 2. 14. [illegible] I have corrected it to the word [illegible] [accorded] [illegible] power to call officers. you say [illegible] officers have power to call [illegible] to be a church. [illegible]

[illegible]

the Apostles ordain officers in every church [illegible] power to call officers. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the Magistrate [illegible] the civil state [illegible]

[illegible] the council [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Councils [illegible]

[illegible]

one reason y^t doth perswade my heart, y^t we ought to have councils stated & constant.

pag. 32. §8. you say the law of Moses was the civile law of the Jewes Republik, & the Preist him selfe had y^e of the civile power, but Christ his ecclesiastical lawes are not y^e civile lawes. nor have councils as such, any civile power. I p̄fess freely both. 1^o y^t no Magistrate is to cut off or punish any man, simply because he disobeyeth a council yet q. whether excommunicated; but he must first heare & try the cause, & judg accordingly. in some case a council is to be disobeyed. 2^o y^t magistrate may take cognisance of offences com̄itted against the church, or the interest of Christ before y^e come to a national council. &c. A: Deare brother all this your arguing is very rightly [illegible] to all you say. the case w^{ch} I make capital stands thus. I shal expresse it in these 6 propositions.

1 the case, or p̄son, or both must be weighty & considerable, ~~[illegible]~~ else it could not ascend through all orders of councils

2 the determination of the councils imposeth nothing upon him to act against his light, only determine him to peace quietnesse, & submission to order.

3 the ecclesiastical offices have done wth him, or he is out of y^r reach, so y^t he is either transmitted unto, or falleth under the civile cognisance

4 the civile authority medle not wth his opinion, (qua judges) only heare, judg, & determine the man to peace & order

5 he resisteth both. the supream civile authority heare, judg, & determine him to peace & order.

6 if he obey not, but be still turbulent y^e his turbulent non submission to the final sentence of the supream civile authority is capital. Deut. 17. 11. 12. according to the sentence of the law w^{ch} y^y shall teach thee, & according to the judgment w^{ch} y^y shall tell thee, thou shalt doe: thou shalt not decline fro the sentence w^{ch} y^y shall shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. 12. & the man y^t will doe p̄sumptuously, & will not hearken unto the preist (that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God) or unto the judg, even y^t man shall dy, & thou shalt put away the evil fro Israel.

upon this poynt the Quakers were put to death here in N E. w^{ch} I shall expresse in these 8 propositions.

1 y^y w^r not within the reach of any ecclesiastical offices, though we used [illegible], conferences, & ecclesiastical helps we could. but w^t have we to doe to judg y^m y^t are without.

2 y^y first fell under the civile offices, who determined nothing about y^r opinions, but determined the p̄sons to peace

3 y^y refused, & were irreclaimable, even to the shaking of our all, through the infirmity of the multitude, & [illegible]

4 of the times. 4. y^y p̄sisted so to doe, til it came to the supream civile authority

5 the supream power tooke much paines wth y^m, wth long patience, & proceeded by sundry steps & degrees against y^m.

6 the final sentence of the supream civile authority was, y^t y^y should returne to y^r owne place, out of o^r Jurisdiction, in peace. and if y^y returned hither againe, & made disturbance, y^y should be put to death.

7 after a season, y^y did returne againe, & make disturbance as formerly y^y had done, for w^{ch}, y^y w^r apprehended & condemned to dy, upon the former sentence according to y^e law of God. Deut. 17. 12. the man that will doe p̄sumptuously, & will not hearken unto the Judg, even that man shall dy.

8 after condemnation a pardon was offered y^m upon y^r submission, but y^e 2 or 3 p̄sumptuously obstinate, & dyed.

Cap. 7. p. 35. §1. In this place are sundry & weighty poynts to be considered.

1 you think y^t a council thus guided, in the [illegible] concernments of religion, by the holy advise of the foresaid orders of councils, would exclude most of the congregational churches, who are in y^r judgm^t agst stated councils,

A. I did before expresse a way of complyance for such as are against stated councils, who owne occasional councils, why may y^t not be a concurrence. y^e having liberty not to be [illegible], at such sessions as in y^r [illegible] is not just reason for a council, in y^r apprehension. And for the cases to be ordered in the common concernments of religion, by the council, why may y^t not be a mutual ingagement to forbeare each other in the poynts of difference, wherein the presbyterians are unwilling to be ordered by us or we by the presbyterians. & why may we not in y^e great poynt of communion of churches, walk by y^t rule of the apostle phil. 3. 15. 16. so many as be perfect let us be thus minded, & if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveale even this unto you. nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing. where we are agreed, let us zealously walk together, where we are not agreed, let us patiently beare wth, & forbeare each other. a council thus agreed, may walk in peace & love, though it consist both of presbyterians, & congregationals. or why may it not?

againe this combination would sink this distinguishing of God's servants into several sects. all are the [illegible] & servants of Jesus Christ. [illegible] church walke [illegible] [illegible], in poynts of communion, & others are more strict, in this y^y ought to beare wth & help each other.

againe if the parishional churches w^r brought into such a state of reformation, the congregational churches would waste quickly, & any christian would hold communion in his owne parish, or remove to such a parish wherein he could hold communion. & y^e this great strife would cease & vanish. though God hath made much good use of the way of congregational churches. yet I know not but it may be a way of peace, to let y^m weare out, & sink into a state of parishional reformation.

againe. besides this publik parishional reformed communion, it ought to be allowed to christians, to hold private communion, & often to speake to each other. & if it should amount to an ecclesiastical communion, & be carryed without contempt or sinfull neglect of y^r parishional communion, it ought not to be prohibited. but if any under such pretence should reject the ministry, & prophane Gods ordinances, such are to be [illegible] by the application of due meanes.

2 Another great poynt here to be spoken unto is, y^t baptism doth [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] particular church, or y^t we baptized into the catholik, or universal visible church, & not into a particular church. or as you speake [illegible], we are [illegible] unto the [illegible] of the [illegible] word, we must first [illegible] y^m to Christ & y^e baptize y^m & y^e [illegible] y^m. [illegible] much concerned in this poynt. [illegible] a taking [illegible] of a church among us, did put upon y^e way, to baptize the praying Indians, especially after y^y had publikly [illegible] [illegible] to Christ, & [illegible] in y^r confessions, since y^r conversion. ~~But I would [illegible]~~ [illegible] [illegible] federal [illegible]. now is a due subjection of Baptism, [illegible] [illegible] ecclesiastically confederated. [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] to such as are confederated, yet it is called the covenant, though it was, in the nature of it [illegible] a seale of the covenant. Rom. 4. 11. a seale of the righteousnesse of faith, w^{ch} he had being uncircumcised. & seale is the ratification of a foregoing covenant, at least in order of nature foregoing. so was circumcision, & so is Baptism. & it is come in the roome of it. the cath: visib: church is not united by a covenant, & y^rfore a member thereof is not a fitt subject of the seale of the covenant. but a particular visible church is united by covenant, & y^rfore the members y^rof are only the subjects of the seale of Baptism, w^{ch} is a visible seale of a visible covenant. I doe consider y^t it may be objected, y^t John did baptize before gospel churches were instituted, & so did Christ his disciples baptize, & were not y^y baptized into the catholik visible church? & [illegible] are our patterns [illegible] before y^e be members of particular churches. A. y^e this being the first beginning of the way of the gospel, it may justly claime exception, in such cases as could not be under [illegible] of it, because as yet not in being, gospel congregational churches not being as yet instituted, & confederated, the baptism of John could not be administred as a consequent unto it. But further consider y^t John [illegible] but such as were in Gods visible covenant, [illegible] [illegible] the covenant of Abraham, & so y^e covenant & circumcised. & now y^e ordained a new seale, annexed to the same covenant, as a pledg of the approaching change of politie, & an [illegible] of the covenant. It was a great wisdom of Christ to link these two polities together, [illegible] his baptism upon the same covenant of Abraham. And still this principle standeth, y^t the visible seale of Baptism [illegible] unto a visible covenant [illegible] [illegible] to a member of the catholik [illegible], who are not joyned by a visible covenant, of a visible [illegible] church who are combined by a visible covenant. such considerations [illegible] [illegible] baptized, as [illegible] this to be the will of Christ, whom to serve [illegible] all our might [illegible]

dedicated my poor unworthy selfe. And before our praying Indians first combined into a church covenant, [illegible] by virtue of my mission unto ye service of christ, wch I have for the church wherof I am an officer, baptized ym. & in like manner all yt yelded to christ & make a lively confession of him, we first admit ym into the fellowship of the church & ym baptize ym. [illegible] but leave, & kind & dearly beloved brother, to interpose a parenthesis, now I am upon one of the chiefe, & as you say the almost only difference yt remaineth, to request of God & you yt both my heart & yours may act in ys case, not like litigants standing on each side of glasse mingled wth fire, but like astronomers, yt handle the glasses, but leave out & lay by all the fire.

you say Thes: 3. the pastors who baptize, not the people, are by office the publ: judges of ye profession, whether it be credible or not, [illegible] trusted wth the keyes of the kingdo: of wch yt is the power of admitting & excluding &c. A. you say true, I consent to all this, but since [illegible] yt in the church of christ, there be, besids the judges by office, fraternal judges, the manner of whose judgment must be exercised in an obediential way, wth all submission, yet a judgment yy have. beleivers shall be co-assessors wth christ, & shall judg & condemne &c. yt is, obedientially, wth approbation & admiration at christ, & yr consent will have a judicial confirmation (I desire to speake humbly & modestly, & quoad homines). how much more are yy co-assessors wth us in or ecclesiastical judgmts: wch we adde ye eyes, ye help, ye concurrence to confirme & strengthen it wn we doe. the Corinthian offender was both judged & absolved by many judges, some official, some fraternal. neither doth yt make the church governmt a democratie, much lesse an oligarchie, for all the church are not admitted to ye power of judging & voting. hitherto we admit to the Lords supp: & voting, aequo passu. but I have had many thoughts in my heart, yt in acts forincical, ye latter is the greater. and for democratie, we must remember, yt beleivers are not like ordinary people, yy are kings & preists, & princes in all lands. no man on earth is so fit, ecclesiastically to judg, according to his measure & manner, in a spiritual cause, as a beleiver. and if the officer be not a beleiver, (as too many are not) though there is a special assistance of the spirit, to the office, as appears that yt person be. Jo: 11. 51. yt spake he, not of himselfe, but being high preist yt yeare he prophesyed, & in yt respect he is superior, yet in special respects; God & man will have more respect to the judgmt of a sound beleiver, yn of an ungodly officer.

Furthermore the participation in both the sacraments are acts of ecclesiastical communion, wch such acts, all the communicants have, as a comon interest in the subject or object of ye acts, so a mutual interest in each other, being many, are one bread, & hence yy a mutual interest in admission & exclusion. for one, or a few to have the sole rule over that wch the society have a comon interest, yy take more yn of right belongs unto ym, & if the society suffer it, it is because they are ignorant or asleepe. But as I remember it is long since granted by our brethren, yt publick acts of yt nature are to be done, consentiente ecclesia, & if the church have reason to refuse yr concurrence, yy have no rule to proceed in such a case, in wch poynt we agree.

Lastly as for the qualification of the communicants, I doe in the general consent unto all you say, & we doe practise in or church upon as low termes as you doe expresse. & wn I have lived to bury the most of the good old generation of professors, doe [illegible] expect, yt our youth canot fill the roomes of yr fathers, & yet are such as are to be incouraged, & cherished in the Lord, we ourselves were once young & greene, & was a wise saying of him yt [illegible] esse sentiunt, nos jamjam a puero ille [illegible]. we find use of yt notion, in or ecclesiastical societys & communion. the care & wise mannagement of the lambs of the flock, is one great pt of the charge of the ministry, & in some respects the difficultest, sure enough it is the busyest pt of our work, to doe it well & faithfully. afterwards more I shall make bold to oppose touching the 4t proposition you say, he is not bound coram ecclesia, to bring any other bible condition, of his profession, nor to bring any [illegible] for the former life, or a distinct account of the manner or method of his conversion. A. seing you limit the end hereof to be, to [illegible] his bible condition, I doe not except against it, but approve. but if the consequence of this should be his reception to communion at the Lords table, I object against it, unlesse it may appear yt he is sufficient to satisfie moderate & prudent charity, yt he is able to examine himselfe, & to discerne the body & blood of christ in the sac: wthout making such a confession, or some confession equivalent to it, if his profession of repentance & faith be such as cary so much evidence to the charitable judgmt of the church I allow it. But I would receive him to visible confederation & baptism of his seed upon lower termes yn unto the Lords supp. as christ received his disciples, & trained ym up severall yeares under the state & [illegible] of baptism (though yy were beleivers, yet weake) before he instituted & called ym unto the Lords supp. & he called ym not unto the Lords supp. untill Peter in the name of ym all had made a lively confession of christ, of wch christ testified, flesh & blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my father. In our last synod we agreed to allow degrees of communion in the church. we receive to baptism of yr seed on lower termes. but to supp communion we doe not receive but upon yr confession of christ, and, (so far as yy are able) how yy came to be beleivers in christ. he yt discerneth christ in a promise, may through grace discerne christ in the sac: & he yt can confesse christ afore men, can examine himselfe (in some measure) before God. To confesse christ before a church, as it is a great dignity to be called to it, so it is a great duty to submit to doe it. Rom: 10. 10. wth the heart man beleiveth, & wth the mouth confession is made unto salvation. and to be ashamed to confesse christ, wn so called, afore men, is a dangerous poynt, least christ be ashamed to owne us before his father. I will add but one thing more, touching your conclusion. we all, especially some, are very subject to spiritual pride & censoriousnesse. it is a chief poynt of a christians mortification to subdue it. yet because charity thinketh no evil, & hopeth all things, therefore the lesse censoriousnes is kept, upon such as are streict in the qualifications of communicants: because it is much to the glory of christ yt the churches, wch are the place of his feet, should be golden candlesticks, of beaten work, saints by calling, noble vines, not drosse, nor degenerate plants. the scripture is much in this poynt. & I find it my chief difficulty to approve my heart to be true to christ, & faithfull to the soules of the flock, in my condescending to such a latitude, & I find great reason to beare wth, & excuse yy yt are most streict in yt poynt, & rather incourage yn discourage such, because the streame & multitude are prone to run into such latitudes, & yy be but few yt have zeale & courage to stand up for the streictnesse of the religion. it is a great wisdom & mercy of christ, that there be some to balance ye end of the scale, & stand up to beare witnesse unto yse poynts. it is an unspeakable grace yt christ hath dispensed in these times to raise up so many congregational churches, to beare witnesse in yt poynt.

I have [illegible], & together wth ye proposition [illegible] bold to present you wth another of my little scripts, corrected, & wth some small addition, & one great poynt added. wch I only propose. viz. yt magistrates should be chosen by the churches, to be members of the councils. these great lights who wrote the synopsin purioris theologi. in the Cap: of councils [illegible] by yt theresay, did put me upon the consideration of the poynt, & by one passage in your animadversions I perceive, it may be suitable to your apprehensions, for you say (I see no reason but it would doe well, yt in or churches magistrates were church magistrates &c.) beloved Sr. as I doe acknowledg my selfe much obliged to you for your animadversions, I request you to oblige me further, to object still, & let me know how it is resented among Gods people. I have bene over bold wth you, I shall cease to give you further trouble at present, I beg prayers, & commit you & yours, & all your holy labors to the Lord & rest,

your unworthy fellow labourer
in our Lords vinyard
John Eliot

Roxbury this 10t of the 10t 67.

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LETTERS

fol.278. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Sir

It being the duty of all Christians, & ministers especially to contend for truth & peace, & to endeavour to heale, the misapprehensions & divisions under wch our poore Church groaneth at this day; we considered with our selves how we might be most helpfull to so good a worke. And amongst many other things wch have exercised our thoughts this is one, wch we hope may be of singular use (if God blesse it) to rectify ye errors about Church government, wch have occasioned so many distractions & sad thoughts of heart: to witt that there be a breviate of the controversyes betwixt Presbyterian and Independents, or of fower or five of the principall, upon wch all ye rest depend. That this be done with all possible speed, strength moderation, clearnes & brevity, so as it may be an Authenticall piece to stablish unsettled persons. 2 that the question be faithfully & candidly stated, out of their owne words & our words, & that what differences are amongst them be briefly observed. 2ly that three convincing arguments or no more be used, & throughly urged. 3ly That three or fower of their objections (wch are most specious, ~~& that~~ principall notice being taken of what is sayd by Mr Hooker, Mr Norton & Mr Cotton) be answered as satisfactorily as may be. this to be done in every question. 4ly That in ye end of all some reasons be layd downe, to shew both ye sinfulnes of separation, & gathering of Churches out of Churches and mischeifs & the easines & necessity of an accommodation, or some proposalls made to that end. Now as some of us shall ingage our selves in this work so we hope that you will not be backward. And our desire is that you would exercise your thoughts, & that 1 you would send us your judgment ~~the~~ touching the whole designe, or any thing touching the alteration of it for ye better. 2ly that you would send us 2 strong arguments (as briefe as may be) upon every head: as ye power of Classes Synods, matter of churches, [redacted] church covenant, or any other you shall think fit. If you do this in fower or five, the rest will fall of themselves or may be dispatched in few words. 3ly that any strong objection of theirs to any of the points you can remember be solidly answered. 4ly That you send some strong reasons or arguments against separation & some proposalls for union: & this we intreat you to do as suddenly as may be. Then we shall be ready also add our symbols, & having ye concurrent helps of divers brethren, shall endeavour according to our poore ability, to cull out the quintessence of all, wch we hope may be of good use for ye guiding & healing of our poore church, wch is our only desire & endeavour. You are intreated to manage this busines with all secrecy, that the worke may be done before it be knowen.

We rest

Your affectionate brethren in the Lord

We desire you to send your Answer to
Mr Poole to be left for him at Mr
Rothwels a bookseller at ye signe of
the Fountaine & Beare neere Fryday street
in Cheapside

Edm. Calamy
Thos Whitfeld
Will: Jenkyn
Simeon Ashe
Wm: Cooper
W: Wickins
Matthew Poole

BAXTER
LETTERS

Reverend and dearely Beloved Brethren in Christ.

Wee received a good while since a letter from you, and wee cannot but looke upon it as our unhappinesse, that wee have not bin able to returne you an answer untill now, nor now such an one, as wee would, for diverse reasons (weighty to us) hereafter expressed; for in the thing wee cannot but concurre, the altering of our Psalmes for the better, but how to be instrumentall for the speedy effecting of this at present wee know not: Onely wee hope, by the wise-ordering of Divine Providence, it wilbe the seasonable product of time, and the rather, because wee are just now informed, that the Parliament have resolved to call together from all parts of the Nation diverse able and Godly Divines to consult with in matters of Religion, to whose care this businesse doth most properly belong, it being of generall concernement; And wee doubt not, but to be found willing, when a fitt opportunity is put into our hands. Wee must therefore now content our selves with blessing God on your behalfe, for that piety, zeale and wisdome, wch wee discerne in you, Our humble desire is, that you would not faint, or be discouraged, though att present wee can yeild you noe better assistance, than to approve of yor Desires, promising our prayers for good successe upon your pious endeavors, and a helping hand, wn a meete season shalbe given: for wee conceive these things must be don by way of preparation; some considerable consent manifested for a change throughout the Nation, then a serious perusall of diverse translations, next an agreement upon One, & this being effected, possibly upon a motion to the great Assembly now sitting, there may be an allowance as there was for the former meeter, & then very readily may wee serve God wth heart and lipps. wch is the desire of us.

Your truely affectioned Brethren &
ffellow-labourers in the Gospell.

Septemb: 11o 1654

Signed in the name & by the
appointment of the Provinciall
Assembly of London.

Sa: Clarke: Moderator.

John Fuller Assessor

Will: Jenkyn Assessor

Wm Blackmore Scribe.

To o^{r} Reverend & Dearely
Beloved Brethren M^{r} Richard
Baxter, M^{r} Jarvis Brian,
M^{r} Tho: Wright, M^{r} Hen:
Osland, to be communica-
ted to the rest of the Asso-
ciated ministers in
Worcestershire.
These present.

BAXTER
LETTERS

fol.281. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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Worthie Sr,

One main reason why yor last have so long without return of answer here by me, you in part collect, by those two sorie pieces at length got out neer togither, wch with these you shal receiv. How it fares with yor self & others that print at distance I know not. But with me, who desire to see everie sheet ere it go of, & employ my servant constantlie to fetch over & recarie for that purpose, it is a verie troublesome & toiling employment; especiallie being by reason of the shortnes of the dayes, to dispatch it oft by candle-light; to attend 2. presses at once: and yet all my care & toil herein, wil not keep free from divers palpable & material Escapes. The Autor in some respects is deemed the unfittest person to correct his own works, because he hath the matter alreadie in his hed; and as his felow Tragedian said sometime of Sophocles, ~~as~~ that he represented, so he reades, not what is, but what should be: and yet had the workmen ~~had~~ regarded what I had espied & amended, the faults would have ben fewer then now they are. Hence you may likewise gather, what of necessitie hath hitherto taken me of, not onelie frō setting upon that wch at Spring I purposed, if God should see good to afford life, health, & anie competent measure of strength, to addres my self unto; but even frō looking after ought, that might further me in that busienes. Which some worldlie affairs also emergent, wch can not wel be either avoided or delaied, wil restrain me frō attempting so soon as I either purposed or desired. And the truth is, Sr, I begin to repent me, that I have made my purpose known to yor self, & some others ~~by~~ whome I had made use of for enqirie after such as had taken notes at ~~my~~ Sermons upon that subject now so much controversed. and it doth not a litle dishearten me & damp my spirits, when I consider that such expectation, as yor letter intimates, should thereupon be raised of ought to come frō me, that should either answer such preconceived expectances, or give satisfaction unto others therein, wherein I remain, in regard of manie intricacies not so easilie disentangled, not wel able to satisfie my self. The Sermons I preached of this Argument were delivered about 23. yeers ago, whereof I have onelie confused notes, as also my notions then not verie distinct. but I had then to deal onelie with such as then had begun to broach some things, that seemed to warp frō the straight line of truth. Whereas since that time divers new conceits & niceties have ben started: And countenance given them by some of eminent parts deemed otherwise orthodox; as also much advantage taken frō some passages found in the writings of some great ones, by them not so cautiouslie conceived. And it seems therefore to reqire a man of a qick apprehension, nimble wit, cleer understanding, setled judgement, & strong memorie, to undertake ~~this~~ such a task; all wch, if anie of them were ever in anie measure vigorous in me, ar now in regard of that litle that sometime I was possest of, much diminished & impaired. Besides of the Autors you mention, having not ben for a long time ~~ben~~ able to look into the Citie, I have not seen most of them; yet intend (God permitting) to see what they say, ere I do publish (if ever I shal at least) ought of this subject. Mean while, if God shal please to call me hence ere I do ought further in this kind; there wil be enow (I doubt not) left behind of fewer yeers, & far better parts, everie way & in all respects much more able, whome he may & wil call out to cleer his truth & defend it sufficientlie against all opposites whatsoever. Expect not therefore, good Sr, I beseech you, anie thing extraordinarie in this kind from me; much les anie thing speedilie; for I am one of verie slow dispatch, especiallie in this my great weaknes, dulnes of disposition, & shortnes of memorie, scarce able to retain in mind what I began wth til I come to a period, or to write a line or two without a necessitie of interlining. And trulie, Sr, as I stand amazed, when I consider, how amids such continued infirmities & pains as you complain of, you should be able to read so manie (Autors that I never heard of but by reading of them in yor works) & write so much as you have done, & do stil; so my heartie prayer unto God in yor behalf is, that he wil in much mercie & goodnes stil support & strengthen you to go on ~~in~~ as in this yor wonted employment, so in that religious work of Association lately set on foot wth you, wch others in divers parts have set before them as a patern to imitate & endevoured, wth hope of much good thence ensuing, to expresse. Sr, remember, I beseech you, in yor addresses to the Throne of Grace

Yor sincere-hearted but feeble-
handed felow-servant
Tho. Gataker

Rederith. Mart. 1.

23 may 6

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BAXTER
LETTERS

fol.282. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

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To the Reverend his highlie Estee=
med Frend & Christian Brother
Mr Richard Baxter Minister
of the Word at Kederminster
in Worcestershire.

BAXTER
LETTERS

Eaton Coll. Dec. 13. 1679.

Sr

I must professe sincerely that I cannott recollect I ever sayd such words of you to Mr Humfreys, as it seems he doth affirme I did: But yet I cannott but acknowledge it is very possible that I related (it may be to him) that I had heard you killd a man in cold bloud. Since I very well remember, that above 30 years since at the end of ye warre I heard that publiquely spoken before company & wth this farther circumstance yt it was a souldier who had been a prisoner some hours ~~before~~. Now this report relating to the warrs in wch I fear such things were no great rarities, & from my very tender youth I having not had ~~no~~ the least converse wth you nor likelyhood of any for the future, ~~apprehended~~ did not therefore apprehend at present any concern or occasion of enquiring whether it were true, of wch upon yt confident asseveration I did make no doubt: and I tooke so little thought of laying up the relation yt I protest to you as in the presence of Almighty God it is impossible for me to recover, who made up that company in which I heard it, or from whom I heard it. & I wonder how it came into my mind to say yt I had heard it, so long after. But however, though it be some ease to me to beleive ye late discourses of it doe not come from my relating so long since that I had heard it, neither are likely to receive any confirmation from it unlesse it be made more publique than I have made it, yet I doe professe it is a great affliction to me to have spoken that though but as a report, wch it seems was a slander, (for so I beleive it upon yor asseveration) and ~~for~~ not ~~without~~ having endeavourd to know whether it were true. & as I have begd Gods forgivenes of it so I heartily desire you will forgive me: and if I could direct my selfe to any other way of satisfaction I would give it. This is the whole account I can give of this matter, to wch I shall onely adde that I am

Sr yor very affectionate Servt

Rich: Allestree.

printed in Sylvesters Life of B.

[illegible]

any consideration [illegible] make it [illegible] I propose it [illegible]
publique [illegible] to me [illegible] spoken [illegible]
[illegible] but as a report [illegible]
[illegible] leave it [illegible]
being endeavour'd to know whether it were [illegible]
but I have [illegible] forgive me [illegible]
[illegible] you will forgive me and [illegible]
rest my self [illegible]
would give [illegible]
of the matter, to which I shall ready [illegible]
am

Yr very obed Servant
Rich. Hutch[illegible]

For the Reverend Mr Baxter
at his house in Bloomsbury
Square in London

2

Sr

The busynes of this Letter requireth me to put your
patience to the reading of an historicall occasion. In 1662
Dr Boreman of Trinity Col. Camb. printed an invective agt me
accusing me of three things. 1o That I had written to Dr Hill
agt Predetermination; 2o yt it was said I had a Cancer in my
necke; 3o yt it was said I had kild a man with my owne hande
in cold blood & if it was false I was not ye first yt was wronged.)
I had so little reverence for such Drs of the Church, as not to
thinke this worth ye answering, especially when I was expecting
greater evills (silencing, ejection & much more) I never heard more
of it before or since till about a yeare agoe when at a Coffee house
where Papists & Protestants mett uppon a challenge made to the
Papists by a Protestant present for a dispute with me, or answering
some bookes they returned personall reproach instead of an acceptance
And a gentleman present a son of the Church of England and of a
quondam Judge of my acquaintance, sett in with them, & said yt I
had killd a man in cold blood with my owne hand, A friend present
urged him to lay a great wager on it: He refusing my friend told him
he should then answer it. When I heard of it, I told him yt such things
were so small a part of our usage, as are not worthy a regard.
But he would not so rest: but giving ye Gentleman time of enquiry,
made him come (with a great Papist) & without my desire askt me
forgivenes & promised on all meet occasions to recant: wch he freely
did at the next meeting at ye Coffee house. At wch a great & grand
Counsellour a Papist reproached him for it as basenes & said [He would
prove it true himselfe by many witnesses, & I was tryed for it at the
assize at Worcester]. The foresaid friend, offered him also a wager,
wch being refused he told him yt if I would not my friends should
make him answer it in Westminster Hall. His fellow Papists foreseeing
the issue agreed to expell him their company unlesse he also would
Confesse the wrong and aske forgivenes wch he did at an appointed meeting
before two friends of mine, I thought ye matter scarce worth the notice
But since then I heard yt it is reported by others abroad: And after
all a credible Minister (Mr John Humfrey) tells me yt many yeares
agoe (he thinkes twelve or more) Dr Allestree said the like to him,
of me, viz That he could not thinke well of one yt had killd a man
in cold blood with his owne hand. I then perceived yt your Chaire and
reputation may give it credit. And no doubt Mr Humfrey was not the
first or ye last man yt you have spoke it to: The matter is small of
it selfe: But I have written much agt ye Papists & as it was their way
of Confuting Luther Oecolampadius, Bucer Calvin &c, to tell the
world yt ye first consulted with ye Devill & the two next were killed
by the Devill & the 4th was a stigmatized sodomite &c so I doubt
such lies when I am dead will be ye Confutation of my bookes, wherefore
living yet (as Beza after their report yt he dyed a papist) to know
what is said & being not like to live long I shall judge it my duty
to obviate ye lie by some vindication In wch I am heartily loth
to name with dishonour a person whom I so much regard and
love, for his worth & publike usefullnes & whom in his childhood
I tooke to be of the most harmlesse & docible ingenie of

X

any boy that I was long in schoole with. Therfore I must now
crave of you yt justice as 1° to tell me whether it be true wch Mr
Humfrey reporteth of you. 2° If it be who is your Author, and wha
were your inducements to believe it. 3° Why you would not tell me
of it yt I might repent, rather than to tell others so behind my
backe, one Letter might have prevented your farther sin.
As to the thing it selfe I assure you yt I never strucke any man
in anger in all my life to my remembrance save boyes at schoole
when we boxt each other, (& debility made me & you to be little
guilty of yt.) nor did I ever hurt man save once when I was a La
I hurt a mans leg with playfull wrastling, wch was cured: much
lesse did I ever kill man: nor in all the warre was I ever in an
action where I saw a man killd, save one man, whom I neve
hurt: But I have (as others yt dwelt neere) gone some days afte
to see the field where many lay unburyed
But it is not the publike warres yt we now speake of, but my person
act. And I canot but expect your answer to this, as you are a Lo
of truth, honesty, Justice & Charity, & your selfe, if not of

your old friend Ri: Baxter

London
December 8. 1679

Direct your Letter to me at my house in Bloomsbury
Square

110.

For the Reverend
Doctor Richard Allestree
at Christ Church
in Oxford

Worthy Sr
108:

When I thought it my Duty to
present you those Trifles of wch you are
pleasd to take such obliging notice,
I did not think That they should put
you to ye Trouble of a long Letter, or
procure mee soe many good Instructi
=ons, as yt is replenishd wth. But I was mu
more Surpriz'd to find, That you look
upon yt, as a Temptation to an over grea
Esteeme of yourselfe, wch is soe Defectiv
an Expression of ye Esteeme, your Devou
& happy Composures have iustly given
Considerabler Readers then I pretend to
be, of you. It is more my Satisfaction
then my wonder, That you have found
an Innocent Divertisement in ye perusall
of wt I have ventured to write about
Experimll Philosophy, you are too much
a Freind to Contemplation, & too well
versd in It, to be an Enemy to yt sort
of Learning yt furnishes it wth a very
Copious & Diffusd as well as noble Objec
And there are divers things yt speake you
to be none of those narrow=Sould Divines,
yt by too much suspecting Naturall Philosophy
tempt many of Its Votaries to suspect Theology. I am
very glad to find That your Kindnesse to
ye Designe of my Occasionall Reflections
gives you such favourable Thoughts of

X

[illegible] that your approbation [illegible]
more seasonably, because though at London
they have been more generally fortunate th
could be well expected, & have not receivd
an ill Character ev'n fro' divers of ye Poet
& Wits Themselves; (some of Them indispo
enough to give a Good one to any thing y
aimes at ~~Piety~~ the promoting of Piety;) yet in
another place I find That those harmeles
Papers have not escaped ye Censure of three
or foure Learned Men, who yet seeme not to
dislike Them for their owne sakes, but for
mine, pretending That Composures of yt Nature
might well have been spar'd by a Gentleman
whom they are pleas'd also on this Occasion to
looke upon as a Philosopher, & not unfit to
write Bookes in yt Capacity. But though I h
written wth noe higher aime then Applause, I
should not be overmuch Discourag'd, by soe
small a Number of those, who themselves w
not have dislik'd ye Booke, if another had been
ye Author. And as for what you are pleas'd to
hint about ye Usefulnes of makeing Meditations
upon ye most usuall Occurrencys, I am soe much
of your mind, yt before I last waited on you, I
was telling some Freinds of yours & Mine, th
I should be glad to see such a Worke under=
taken by a Pen likely to goe through wth it; wh
mine is not; partly because 'tis preingag'd to
Subiects of a very differing Nature; & partly
because ye Expectation yt many have of Philo=
=sophicall Discourses from mee, would make
a worke yt dos soe much more properly belong
to Divines, unacceptable to many Readers. And
therefore since wee agree in or wishes, yt the
thing were done, & you are both far more
able, & otherwise better Qualifyed to undertake
it; I should think ye Designe were excellently
well lodg'd, if you would think fit to take

It into your Hands, wherein as in all your Studys & Attempts yt tend to the
good of Souls; you will I hope easily beleive That a most happy Successe is
heartily wisht you by

your most Affect: &
humble Servant

Worthy Sr

Ro: Boyle

These

To my Reverend &
highly esteemed friend
Mr Richard Baxter
Present

At his house in Acton

Excellent Sr,

I bless God for yr Life, Labors, & Kindness. Particularly, that wch Mr Sylvester delivered to me but yesterday: & in wch I have spent a good part of last night. I have Want, & Will also, to Consult yu often; but Leisure I have not. & so am fain to turn to ye Book, when I cannot go to ye Author. Mondays, I water my Neophytes in an exercise. Tuesdays, I visit & enquire into ye states of ye familys of my Congregatn. Wensdays, Thursdays & Frydays I preach. Saturdays, I lock my self up. Visits of pleasure, I make none: or if any, it's but of one, viz. Heavenly Dr Bates, my humble, condescending, helpful Friend; & a near Neighbor of my nearest Kinred. Tho, its rarely too, yt I see even Hackney. Indeed I sometimes send a Troubled Soul unto yu. One, in tears, told me last night of Balm received from you, since I saw you. — But I exceed: This is said, that my Veneration of yu may not be measured by the Recourses I make unto yu.

Now please, Sr, to Know. The Lady St John, yr true Honorer prays me to furnish her wth an answer to ye Countess of Linsey. Who tels her, that yu refuse to relieve, or so much as see a Neece of yrs, who hath bin at yr door, begging. Viz. a Daughter of Moses Baxter, that had two Brothers, Aaron & Martin. The said Moses Lived formerly near Welshpool in Montgomery shire: is now in Ireland in distress. He is, she saith, your Nephew. And much shee craveth to be admitted to speak unto you. The Lady St John doth as much crave to know from you, Whether yu have refused to see this Person. And if so, whether yu have not very good reason for so doing. And, What it is she should say to stop ye Countesses exclamation. In ye Afternoon I preach at Chelsey, where I shal see ye Lady & ye Countesses Kinswoman. I wod be glad of two Lines from you for answer to them. From the Latter, I recd this morning, the ill-written Paper herewth sent. Sr, I am ye neediest of yr holy Prayers, on all accounts; and

Yr most affectionate
Honourer, & Orator,

D. Burgess.

For
Mr Baxter, humbly thes
21.

Reverend Sir

The deſign of my writing in this ſeparate Paper is to take the opportunity of acquainting you with ſome things which I conceived neceſſary to be communicated to you before your leaſure might ſerve for the peruſall of the encloſed. [illegible] The bearer hereof is an ingenious youth, a Batchelour of Arts in our Univerſity, and deſigns Orders. And intending to make ſome conſiderable ſtay in thoſe parts, I conceived it very much for his advantage if he might have the happineſs of the Advice and converſation of a perſon of ſo great zeal and experience in the affairs of ſouls as your ſelf, that he might have ſome inſight into the practical part of his office before he undertakes it, to prevent thoſe inconveniences you do ſo juſtly complain of in generall of our unexperienced Novices. My own intereſt in you is not ſo great as that I durſt have ventured to recommend him upon that account, if I had not been emboldened by the fame of your publick-ſpiritedneſs and forwardneſs to help young Novices, in your former ſettlement, and I know I need not uſe thoſe Arguments to perſwade you to intereſt your ſelf in [illegible] reward of all that good which he, by your good Inſtructions may be able to do to others, which your ſelf, as I remember, have excellently urged in your Saints Everlaſting Reſt. I verily believe you will be ready to undertake that trouble for Gods ſake, though not for mine, at leaſt that you will excuſe that boldneſs to which I have been animated by theſe your former good-deeds. Concerning the encloſed Papers, I ſhall deſire you to read them all over, that you may underſtand the whole connexion of my Principles, before you make any obſervations on them; that you would be pleaſed not to take any advantage of my words any further than you may conceive them truly expreſſive of my meaning, which you may underſtand by coherence with my other Principles; that you would [illegible] not uſe any Arguments whoſe conſequences you would be unwilling to ſtand to, as either overthrowing your own conceſſions, or proving more than you dare warrant to be true, but only ſuch as directly ſatiſfy your own Conſcience; that you be pleaſed to excuſe and pardon my freedome, which is ſo far from any diſpleaſure againſt your perſon as that I heartily ſubmit whatever your ſelf may conceive ſufficient to your own conviction, which I believe you will not make uſe of to the prejudice of any Argument. It is my love to my mother the Church, and my exceſſive deſire of Catholick peace, and my great concern for the good of very many well-meaning ſouls which I conceive extremely prejudiced by theſe dividing Principles, and my impatience of ſeeing ſo great miſchiefs patronized by any, however good and ſincerely meaning perſon, that has even tranſported me to that liberty, which yet I believe you will no where find uncivil or diſreſpective to your perſon. For my part I take your freedome as a favour, and if my perſon were only concerned, ſhould rather proſtrate my ſelf to your cenſures than ſtand out in oppoſition to you. But ſuch contentions as theſe for peace and quietneſs are indeed ſo far from miſbecoming a Chriſtian Spirit as that they are his glory and ambition, and are therefore more likely to move your emulation than your diſpleaſure, eſpecially when managed in a way proportionable, that is, mild and peaceable; and therefore in confidence of my own ſincerity herein I hope you will not diſcontinue your favours to me, but give me ſtill leave to ſubſcribe my ſelf

Trin. Coll. near Dublin
Jun. 26. 1673.

Your cordial Friend and wellwiſher
Henry Dodwell

ffor the reverend Mr Richard
Baxter in London
these

Reuerend Sir

No wordly thing could haue bin more welcome to me then a meſſage from you, whom I doe reuerence aboue all the Diuines of this age; and that I liue in the ſame age as you I account it not my ſmalleſt happines, as Tully did congratulate himſelfe quod Catonis aeuo natus eſſet. Beſides your great worth, which hath purchaſed to you the vniuerſal loue & reſpect of all good ſoules, I am yours in a priuate duty of thankfulnes, for defending one of my brothers, partly for my fathers ſake; & for ſhewing to another brother of mine his errour. In which contestation betwixt my two brothers I endeauoured as their elder brother, to vmpire the buzines, but priuately, & it was much against my mind that ſuch a controuerſie betweene my brothers was brought to publique light. That you be mistaken no more in our perſons, Cyrus is a Miniſter in France, & myſelfe whoſe obſcure name neuer (I think) came to your eares, was once beneficed in Yorkſhire, which was the deſcription you gaue to Cyrus. Howſoeuer I rejoyce that you had knowledge enough of me to ſend to me about my Fathers booke of the Nouelty of Popery to exhort me to tranſlate it or ſee it tranſlated. That meſſage from you called to my mind that being at Oxford 28 yeares agoe The vnder-Library-keeper Verneuil by name, my countreyman ſhewed me a Verſion of his of that booke in Engliſh, & it was then but halfe done; And (if I remember well) he told me that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury hearing of his tranſlation had forbidden him to goe further in that labour. Which I doe not wonder at, for my Father in that booke deriueth most ceremonies of the Roman Church from the Pagan Rome, which could not be done without ſome reflexion to the ceremonies of the Church of England; which aduice of Verneuil made me leſſe carefull hitherto to enquire about that tranſlation taking it for granted that it was left unperfect. But your late exhortation hath rowzed my inquiry, & I find that the man (who died about ten yeares agoe) had finisht that worke, & dedicated it to Mr Francis Rous, and that it is now in the hands of his Executour Mr Shepheard a senior fellow of Oriall Colledge, who being at this present at London I could not yet have the sight of that Manuscript. One thing I feare, that his Translation followes the first Edition for the second Edition was not come out when I saw that translation ~~in his~~ which he had then in hand. I wish it perfected & printed for your sake, & truly I must approve your desire to see it, very much; for it is the creame of all my fathers workes, a piece consisting of much ~~various~~ reading & pregnant reasons. Such as it is now in Mr Shepheards keeping I make no doubt but you may be trusted with it & have the perusing of it when you please. Wherein I shall endeavour to serve you when I know more of your mind.

Speaking now to a man of publique spirit an heire of the Apostle Paul in the care of all the Churches, I cannot limit my discourse to a private buzines, but I must give God & you thanks for all the good that you have done & doe every day to the Church among other things for setting your brethren of the Ministery upon the neglected duty of private conference with their people. A duty which (though with incredible labour) you may more conveniently performe then others, for having a congregation of sedentary tradesman you are sure to find them at home upon any of the weeke dayes. The like cannot be done in a Parish that liveth by tillage, for their buzines is abroad & all our exhortations will not make them stay for us at home. My way with my Countrey neighbours is to take them at home immediately after the second Sermon, & that day they take my paines & visits kindly. Another point of reformation much furthered by your pious care is about the admission of worthy

you call for, my deare Father, in the 90 yeare of his age.

My brother the History Reader being at London hath not received your message. He is one that honours you very much.

Oxf

Jun

persons onely to the Communion. Truly if wee had every where persons of that Christian mildnes & happy dexterity as Mr Baxter I should hope a great good by it; But many Ministers being young & not well trained in that great skill of discerning the spirits, others of more age being peremptory & not knowing their bounds, I feare much that an indiscreete severity will bring that evill which you seeke so much to heale, which is *Separation*. And since in the Communion wee seeke *primario* to have communion with Christ, & with his members but *secundario*; I would desire every communicant to labour that he may meete with Christ that holy action, not fearing to communicate with the wicked, for he will be sure to meete all the godly in Christ where wee are all concentred, & to meete there none ~~in~~ of the ungodly, whosoever outwardly participate with them. The separation of Congregations & the slighting both of the Sacrament & the Ministery arising from too much rigidity in the admission, will I hope call you to your second thoughts about that important point. No mans directions are like to be more prevalent with me then yours The Lord continue to blesse your godly & learned labours, & long preserve your precious health & life to his glory. I rest

Sir

Oxford Xt Church Colledge
June 9 (58

Your true honorer & affectionate
brother & servant in the Lord
Peter Du Moulin

In March last God called to himselfe the Authour of the booke you call for, my deare Father, in the 90 yeare of his age. My brother the History Reader being at London hath not receivd your message. He is one that honours you very much.

To my Reverend brother
Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of Gods word
at Kiddermister.
At his house there

These with my ſervice

P. M. D.

onoured, & Reverend Sr

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Cf Treatise at 17 = 210 VIII

That God hath Excited the United-Protestant Nonconforming Ministers, not only in London, but through out most Counties in Englan to a Practicall Desire of Speedy Healing our Pernitious, shamefull Strifes, and Enabled them so skilfully to make the Present Plaister for the Wound, occasions much Joy to yor Soull as well as unto mine; And, that an Union between us and the Church of England may, on sound Gosple Principles, be Obtained, cannot I am sure be more fervently Desired by me than by yor selfe. For, we are Agreed in this, That our Divisions have been the Cause of all those Mischiefs we have falne under these thirty years and more; and that an Endeavor to Heale them Effectually is the Duty of us all. For wch Reason, altho yor Accusation of me did put me on a Fresh Enquiry into this Controversie, yet on a serious Weighing it, I Resolvd to do my Part, that the true State of the Controversie between us, and the Church of England might be fairly Laid downe, as the First Step towards an Accommodation. For, unlesse the Disease be known it wil be Impossible to find out the Proper Remedie; unlesse the Nature of the Wound be Understood, We can never be Confident, that our Attempt will be Healing.

Now the Chiefe Controversie, in my Opinion, is about Church Governmt; for seing the Church of England Esteemes the Ceremonies to be but Indifferent things, it's not to be Doubted, but that they will for the sake of Peace, Parte wth them. They must they oft Declare, so that it is, as I say, the Church-Governmt we are mostly concerned about, Knowing, that the Laying by the Ceremonies will not be a Condescention Great Enough to Unite us, & that, unlesse Wee Timously Discover What it is that Grieves our Consciences, the Churches offring to Parte wth their Ceremonies and our Refusall to Unite on those Termes, will greatly Expose us to the Contempt, & Scorne of our Governors: We must then be so Plaine in showing what it is, that doth mostly trouble us as you, and other Reverend Bretheren were on the Restauration of Charles the Second. Wee must tell the World, what it is in the Governmt of the Church, we can neither Approve, nor submit unto.

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if we cannot tell, what the Episcopacy by Law Establish

Mere Governing or the Destr

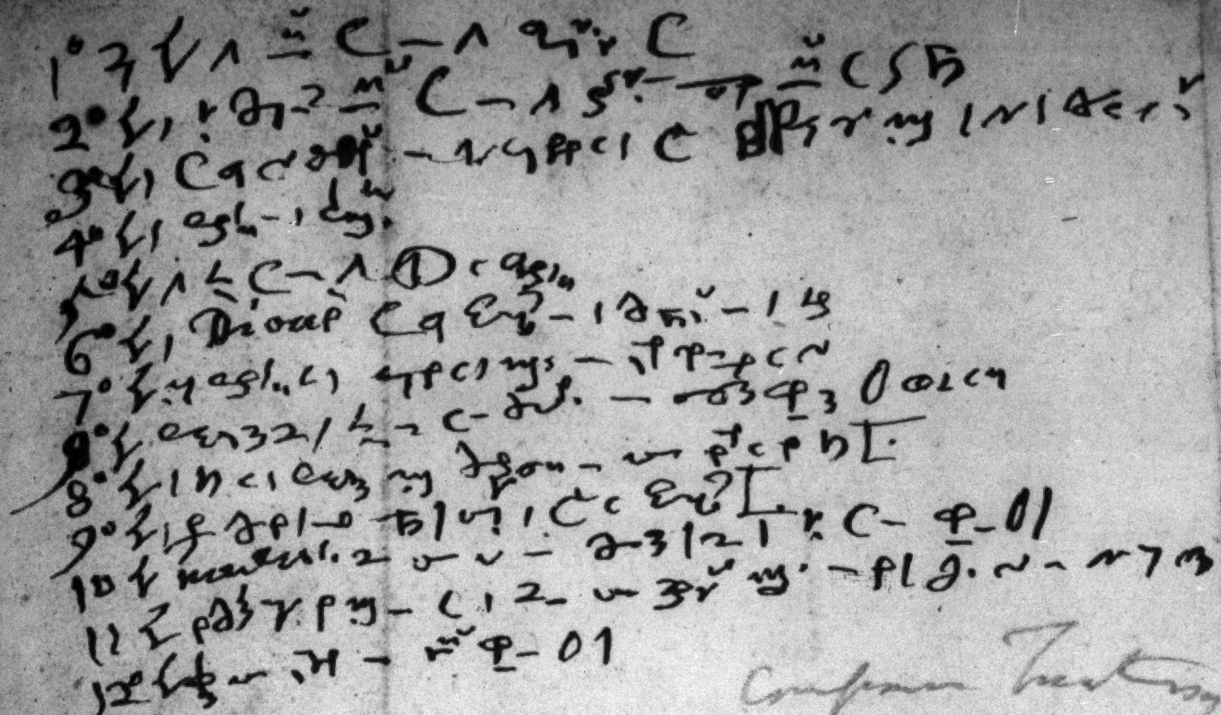
copacy: Whether that of Archbp Usher, or Charles the Seconds Modell, or One more Rigid than either? Whether our Bishops be Parochiall or Diocesane? and whether the Diocesan Bp be Episcopus Praeses, or Episcopus Princeps? How can we Lay Open our Maladie, or How can our Superiors know wt to Apply as a Proper Remedie? I do therefore most humbly and Importunately Beg you to consider these Papers with a Designe of giving what ~~Light~~ further Light you can touching the Present Episcopacy, to wch our Conformity is by Law Required.

Sr. That by an Amicable Debate some Advances may be made to a more Comprehensive Union, I have, as much as I was able, shunned all exasperating Expressions, And if you find any one hard word, that Displeaseth you, supply me with a softer, that will fully enough ~~to~~ express the thing I use it for, and I will thankfully accept of it. For I thank God, I can sincerely Love & highly Honour any Holy Learned Divine, notwithstanding we Differ and Write against each other. And seeing the Present Debate may be managed to so great an Advantage, as the Helping Forward an Union between us, and the Church of England is by Judicious & Good men Acknowledged to be, I cannot but be Perswaded, you will candidly Interpret this Essay of

Sr

Your very humble & much
obliged Servt Stephen Lobb

Hampsted.
Sep. 4th 91



Compare Treatises vol. 6 f. 317

For the Reverend m^r Baxter
att his House
In Charterhouseyard
These

Reverend & worthily honored Sr,

I should have been at some uncertaintie whether it were not more proper for mee to make an apologie for my forbearing the civilitie of such a paper-salutation to you all this ~~still~~ while, or giving you the trouble of it now, had not I suffered my selfe to bee determined by the direction of my honored friend the bearer. I have been often prompted ~~[illegible]~~ to what I am now doing, by a deep sense of obligation & (an almost) passionate desire of some communication wth you: but my resolutions (even after I have put pen to paper & drawne out my mind into many lines) have been checked by a feare lest I should bee troublesome whilst I would appeare thankfull; & lest my desire of advantage to my selfe might seduce mee into an attempt either in itselfe uncomely (as the affectatio of so unequall an acquaintance might well bee thought) or ingratefull to you, whose constant imployments I can easily thinke to bee such as will not allow you to hold a correspondence wth every one whose interest it may bee to desire & seeke it. ~~Truly~~ That wch still mee made the ballance more facile to turne yt way it now cast, was the experience I had (& my obligation thereby as well as incouragemt) of yor great friendlinesse some yeares since when upon a journey the providence of God gave mee ye opportunitie of seeing you at Kiddermr: (wch, though I might well suppose you not to remember it, I ought not to forget.) And truly Sr if that had not beene, yet such advantage have yor publiq labors (as I must ever acknowledge) afforded mee both in directing my thoughts in some important doctrines of the Gospell (when I was much fluctuating & not able wth any satisfaction to acquiesce in the common dictates of moderne writers) as also (through the mercy of God) in further awakening & quickening my heart to the minding the concernmts of another world, & such have yor indearmts been to mee thereby, that I could not without offering a violence to my selfe (as in measure I have for some yeares) have forborne to tell you how much I owe you upon that account.

And Sr, my hearty desire & prayer is yt ye Lord would long continue & succeed yor labors to the good of his Church. & that the great acceptance they have found. & the visible blessing that hath attended them may so farre outweigh the discouragemts you may have received from the opposition of prejudiced minds that they may not prevaile wth you to desist any cause of Gd you have undertaken to plead for. And indeed Sr. it is my stro persuasion that if yor long-expected new edition of yor Aphorismes may at length see the Light, wth what you have promised about Universall redemption, the entertainmt they will find wth the next generation, when they shall meet wth no fore- alled judgmts at liberty to receive things according to their evidence. & the influence those principles will have into

into preaching of the Gospell (wch according to the Divinitie that hath of
generally obtained I know not how any could preach consistently & wthout hesi-
tancie & regrets ~~[illegible]~~ which cannot also, as wee know by experience, but bee derived
into the minds of ~~[illegible]~~ hearers & so make at best but hovering & unsettled
Christians & divert many from ever being such in truth) will bee such as will great-
ly overballance the evill that may bee occasion'd by some mens present impa-
tient neglect of them. And however about Redemption Davent. & Amyrald. may
have spoken many of yor thoughts. yet their bookes do not so comonly fall into
the hands of young schollrs (whose minds, while such are least prepossest & al-
most rasae tabulae) as yours are like to do. I rejoyce to heare what you are
doing about Confirmation. I doubt not but it will bee a welcome indeavor to
many that easily see the conveniencie but understand not the warrant of
such a course. & ~~[illegible]~~ am much confident that if that practice
shall appeare to have as clearly a necessitas praecepti as medii to inforce it
(the latter is so cleare, that) wee may ~~[illegible]~~ hope it to obtaine generally in a short
time. Sr. I presume upon yor pardon for this trouble. I shall only adde
to it thus much. I perceive you have understood by my uncle where my present
station is. if you can thinke it worth yor while I should bee exceeding desirous to
heare from you what you apprehend to bee the maine evills of ~~that~~ the nation
that you judge capable of redresse ~~that~~ by the present Governors? what you
conceive one in my station obliged to urge upon them as matter of duty in reference
to the present state of the nation? & how farre you conceive such a one obliged
to beare a publiq testimony against their neglects, in preaching after use of private indeavours
supposing that either they bee not convinc'd that the things perswaded to are
duties to them, or else if they bee, that it bee from time to time pretended that other affaires of grea-
ter necessitie are before them for present. wch being secret to themselves, as I cannot cer-
tainly know that they are so, so nor can I deny but they may bee? Sr. the Lord
knowes I desire to understand my dutie in matters of this nature; I hope hee will then
give mee an heart not to decline it. & if you will please to contribute yor help hereto
it may possibly bee of publiq use. & will certainly (though that signify little) bee
exceeding acceptable & obliging to him who must professe & subscribe himselfe

An affectionate honourer of you & yor Labours

Revd Sr
Whitehall. March 12th. 57.

John Howe

For ye reverend mr
Richard Baxter Minr
of the Gospell

at

Kederminster

Ansd 3 Richard Baxter

Though thou hast reprobated the Quakers and their Religion with what Envye, and Artifice thou art capable of, accompan with the indecent Carriage of thy Landlord (a manifest breach of those Lawes of Conference thou wert soe precise in making) and that this entertainment is doubtlesse argument enough of an infirme cause and of as virulent, and imperious a behaviour, yet the Spirit of Christianitye in us, inclines us to offer thee Another Meeting, both to show that wee are not affraid of our Cause, or thy abilityes, and to prevent those tedious Harangues, and almost unpardonable Evasions and perversions thou wert guilty of, and which wee were obstructed from discovering in any quicke returnes, least wee should be clamor'd against, as interrupters and violaters of those rules mutually agreed upon; Wee desire therefore another meeting and that it may be on the 7th instant about Eight in the morning The matters wee offer to debate are

1. Concerning the True and false Ministry
2. Concerning the true and false Church
3 Concerning the sufficiencye of the Light within all men to eternall Salvation and what else it shall please thee to add.

And to render this desired Conference more distinct, and intelligible with respect to a particuler discussion of things, wee offer this Method

1st That some one of the aforementioned particulars be throughly debate before any other be insisted on

2. That two or three on each side shall have Liberty to speake bu so as butt one only att a tyme

3. That there shalbe as strict & close keeping to the ma hand as may well be, to prevent, impertinent preachin trifling excursions to shun the matter and evade the argument, and this to be inviolably observ'd on both hands

4. That soe doeing, there shalbe noe interruption of either side

5. name what place thou pleasest but that which I am fo

Th

To all which wee desire thy returne by this bearer to thy ffreind.

The 6th day
of augst 8th Month

Wm Penn

P.S.

I hope at the end of this Conference we may have a little tyme to debate the Meritts of John ffaldoes cause and thy subscription at least in a few particulars.

Baxter's Letters. Vol III

This
For Richard Baxter

R. Baxter,

The Paper it pleased thee to put into my hands at our parting, I have at last got time to peruse; and I will assure thee, it is not two whole dayes since, my many occasions would give leave to consider it. The Civility and Kindness I received from thee at our Conference, have prevaild with me to overlook the Asperity of it; though, if I speak for myself, I am not apt to exact the uttermost Farthing, or make the worst use of mens Infirmities. The Truth is, there appear'd Matter of great Advantage against a Man y had ever been Author of any Defence of the Principles of Love: Yet it so happens that the Objections, over and above the mode of making & managing them, are very slight; and if I mistake not (I am sure I would not) more then $\frac{4}{3}$ is granted: So that I could not see any Ground for that Severity from the Person most of all concern'd; much less from an unprovok Stranger. But that which hightned my Wonder, was, to see thy Name to a late Epistle recommendatory of T. Faldo's Book, that seems so much to rate at us for Sharpness. I hope thou wilt not be displeased with this Freedom.

~~H~~ Herewith I return thy Paper, and this in Answer to what is material in thy Objections. That by the Spirits being the Rule, I understood what the Apostle did, when he said, That As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God; And if I am to be censur'd that I writ not more Philosophically, the Apostle must keep me Company. I did not mean that all Instruments, or Means, were alwaies excluded; only, that under the Gospel especially, the Spirit, by the holy Inspirings of it, in a more immediate manner then formerly was eminently the Rule of the Saints. As under the Law, the Law writ on Stone; under the Gospel, the Law writ in the Heart; And that this was the general Evangelical Rule. When I am better inform'd, I shall believe and write better, till then I must do as I can; and I see nothing in that Paper to induce me to any Alteration of my Creed.

For what I understand by Light, I need only say, that not one of my Arguments is so much as attempted, at least as laid down by me; and in a manner all is granted me, beside what thou mistakest me in. I am chid for not Distinguishing upon the Term Light; Truly I deserv'd it, had not my Adversary taken the Term for granted, as I understood it; and what need there was I should turn Critick upon the Term agreed upon, thy Reprehension hath not afforded me Light enough to see. I all along shew I meant not the Sun in the outward Firmament, the mere Knowledge of Man, or Capacity to receive Knowledge, as constitutive of a rational but the internal Sun of Righteousness, by which the Soul receives Divine Understanding; And my Man I had to do with, gives his Suffrage to this thing; for he was a Socinian, one that believes in the outward Sun, & but too largely of Man's meer natural Faculties, and but too meanly of a Divine and Supernatural Light, as necessary to Man's Eternal Felicity, which I conceive to transcend the Light of Birds, Fishes, &c. by thee, in my Apprehension, frivolously objected.

Thy Fling at my Attempt, to prove Man enlightned from Joh. 1. 4. 9. hits me not in the least; for I affirm from those Words, that it is not any ~~[illegible]~~ Light, as thou wouldst make me, only to intend, & ~~[illegible]~~ extend my Argument to, that is constitutive of Beasts or Men, as such, in an abstractive Sense; but something transcending and Supernatural, as some speak; for Man is a Man before that Illumination, as Drusius well observes.

Again, thou art by much too severe in straining these Words, the Light must give true Sight; as if I meant, that every man to whom God offerd this Light, had true Knowledge, whether he would or no; for to that stretch thou bringest it. The like about its Sufficiency, as if it were sufficient to that End, without man's Regard of it: No such matter, 'Tis so in its self, but not in Men without their Assent, and so thou confessest.

I see nothing offer'd in this Paper, that I could not with as much Reason produce against the holy Scripture it self; It lyes most upon the Question if you mean so, I deny it; If so, I grant it: When, alas! I mostly intend what thou grantest; and can see no Cause given by that Discourse for any such Objection, unless that a noted Presbyterian, as men call him, had got my Book and I was to be lessen'd by any Artifice, where I had any Interest, especially, if it was thought to prevail.

I shall conclude with this Assurance, that if the Civility and Kindness of our late Meeting, had not been with some more then ordinary Satisfaction, remembred by me, I had made more use of thy Name then I have done both in my late Answer to the Epistle before mentioned, and in this Paper; but methinks, it is so desirable for Men to confer with Reason and Modesty, that I rather chuse to beseech People into that commendable Disposition, then to raise their Passions by an early Aggravation of their Miscarriages. I am in very much Love,

Thy assured Friend

Wm Penn

The Answer was writ about 3 weeks since
but other occasions prevented its being sent.

For
Richard Baxter, at
his House in South-
hampton Buildings.

London 6.

Rich: Baxter

I have receiv'd a letter from thee, of ye 10th Inst
Just now; being ye 11th & about six at night. In
ye first place it looks like a designe, I mean, not
to meet me (though it be to offer a meeting) -
such an one as it is) for by the date, it was, for
ought I know, a night and almost halfe a day
a comeing less then two miles: A man yt had
not read thy principles of love, and heard
thee dispute, would thinke yt this letter lay
here at Rickmansworth by order, till I
should be gone to London, but I am more
charitable. The begining of this unhappy Epistle
tells me, if I have not yet enough; of what?
raylery, slanders, interruptions, dirty reflections?
yes, too much, had R: B: pleas'd. but of reason,
good language, order, and personal civility, little
or none fell from R: B: I affirm: Well
but my vaine ostentation of my forwardness
to an other meeting shall be no cover to my
shame. I thought I had been shameless;
there's hopes of me I see: But R: B: why
shamed for thy senseless, headless, tasteless
talke, I profess I was more then asham'd, for
I was griev'd; has my last kinde letter had no
better success? I perceive ye scurvy of the minde
is thy distemper, I feare its incurable. I
would say, I had rather be Socrates at yt day
of Judgment then R: Baxter, but that
he would tell me, that I am ne'er a kin to

to Heathens then Christians; and ye truth is, then
such meerly nominall ones, I desire to be.
In the next place be pleased to know that I came
late ~~to~~ from London the last seventh night, and am
upon apointments at London this weeke, so yt
~~[illegible]~~ so yt time, ones mind, is irrecoverably gon
till ye next 6th: day at soonest, vulgarly fryday;
I am also to attend upon ye Parliament, as I wa
all ye last Sessions, on ye behalfe of many poor-
and Lamentable Sufferers for pure Conscience;-
insomuch as not receiving any Reply to my-
last, had I not gone so early my wife & part of
my familie had come up wth mee for this Sessio
& time.

However, I shall never refuse a day (in my pow
to Richard Baxter, but to use his terms, not at
his tyme & rates. I shall discourse on either of
points mentioned the other night, or if he wi
I shall undertake to proove R: B: a Perverter, Tradu
and forger, a Charge Black, but it shall stan
me if I dont make it good; so little is he man
of true love; next I shall chuse short argum
-lation. 3ly that at the Conclusion each of y
may have tyme to sum up his sense in a -
Conscientious manner by way of repetition
Recommendation to ye People. 4ly Lastly I pro
the limitation of tyme, let ye Conference on
wch ye matter, or by Consent upon ~~[illegible]~~ ye place
I am not so flush of my tyme, nor so ill disp
of, yt I should leave London, my Conscienti
Employmt: for the releif of poor Sufferers, —
severall apointments not in ~~[illegible]~~ my power to
undoe (to say nothing of my owne worldly Concern

that are great to ride down to Charlewood but
for two hours talke wth R. B. besides I cant.
Confine my selfe precisely to an hour, as those
yt are accustomed to clocks & hourglasses. I refuse
not my neighbours house, I mean invited to it,
thus much at present from

thy ffriend

London ye 11th: of ye 8 Augst mo 1675

Wm Penn

For Richard Bay
rer at
Charlewood

7

Honoured Sr

I cannot but take an occasion to give you an account of the state of our University designe: Wee have about 650 li p annum: wee have already chosen 45 schollars out of ye 2 Universities, whom wee & I have thoroughly enquired into, by our owne eye & other mens, by examination & Testimony & of their parts, piety & poverty, & all with distinctnesse & exactnesse. I can truly say ~~of ye generality of them~~ that they are all either of excellent parts & hopefull as to godlinesse or of good parts & truly godly, & divers both eminent for parts & piety, the great examples & encouragements of learning and piety in their Colledges, & such as if wee had not relieved, must as soone as they were Batchelers have come away to schooles or livings, before halfe-ripe ~~& so being~~ ever behind hand, never recover themselves, whereas now ere long they are likely to be eminently fit. I hope through gods assistance a course shall be taken yt they shall know as much at their entrance into ye Ministry, as wee do (the more our shame) when wee have beene 7 or 8 yeares in ye Ministry. But of this & a Modell of studies (which I am about) more hereafter. The businesse of providence I am about, but there must be some preliminary care I must not mine myselfe. The truth is I shall need a Scribe for it & one to send abroad ~~[illegible]~~ and ye charge of letters must be borne &c I would not so undertake it as to faile in it. You know not how troublesome it is to me to looke to all ye concernments of our university businesse. There is another designe (of which ye inclosed will give you an account) I know you will not be wanting. I send you a booke of mine, I hope you have received it: For newes I hope there will be a good accord, things seeme to looke towards settlement: ~~I shall~~ I have a troublesome head, & I cannot looke upon my selfe, as free fro ye care of publick affaires, I thinke there are many things which fall within our sphere to act, and wherein ye Church suffers for our not-acting: I shall desire to [illegible] proceedings here with diligence & then to stirre you & some other brethren yt wee may act in our place as is fit. To yt end (besides these brethren I am acquainted with) it may not be amisse, I thinke, if you as from your selfe by a line or two to them bring mee into acquaintance with one or two of them of your acquaintance who are sober & wise & leading men in ye house: ~~[illegible]~~ For my part I am heartily grieved to see ye strange neglect of publick things among good men. Every one minding his owne Cabin and fore the ship: wee are generally Independents in practise, & do not looke on our selves as being related to ye whole Church, but onely to our owne Congregations. The truth is, it were worthy ye while, if there were some men whose worke were onely to mind ye concernments of ye Church in genere: But I have done at present & desire your hearty prayers yt I may bee a vessell of honour fit for the masters use I rest

London Feb. 3 1658

Yours to bee commanded in the lord

Ma. Poole

There are divers other lads wee want for yt come under one of ye 2 forementioned [illegible] & it pitties mee to omit any of them. I confesse I am vast in my desires: My aime is this to indeavour (& who knowes what god may do) yt an able pious Minister may be setled in all places. If ye nation would heartily & cordially concurre it might be done ere long in a little time. Wee are altering ye Modell as to some circumstances. ~~And~~ Obj. livings are not competent. Ans. were there a plentifull nursery of young men sutable for ye Ministry it would necessarily quicken & oblige [illegible] a Parl. to make livings competent for them, many things more I may be answered

For your large & kinde letter I thanke you, but am not satisfied, onely thus far yt it workes not ye [illegible] elsewhere a true affection. It will bee more welcome to you [illegible] reciprocare [illegible]; wee all (I feare) know but in part — I thanke god I see my owne darknesse &c Elias cum venerit solvet omnia

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For his much honoured freind
Mr Richard Baxter
Minister of the —
Gospell at
Kedderminster
in
Worcestershire

3

Lincolne Diocess 1250 parishes

118.

Worthy S^r. , yo^u are one for whom I ever had a very great hono^r and Esteem. every line from you is welcome to me. Especially when it puts me into a 8 capacity of doing any thing that may looke like a Serving of yo^u: the Strang Providence at Brightling was I beleeve a certain truth, the whole country was possessed with the beleif of it, a solemne fast was kept by foure worthy Ministers because of it, a very great multitude were present at the fast. and I among the rest; I have inclosed sent yo^u. the substance of the providence, attested under some hands. many more might have been formerly had; the name of y^e person is omitted, as also his conviction of sin at the amazing providence, but his name was Isaac Cruttenden. & his sin, which then remained in conscience. was hypocrisy and stealing; M^r Bennet, a Minister of very noted piety and integrity among us, wrote a larg narrative of it, which is printed in the 2^d. parte of M^r Clarks Mirror of examples, thither I referr yo^u.; I can say no more in it. the Lord preserve yo^u. for the good of the church, I take leave to subscribe my self

July y^e 2^d.
1683.

Yo^{rs} freind & Serv^t.
Edw: Polhil

To the reverend Mr Richard
Baxter in Great Russel
street in Bloomsbury over
agt. Mountague house
these

dd

Honoured Sr. 119

I had much Sooner Returnd my
Answer to Your Exercitations upon my Sermon on Transubstan
tiation, had not First Some Report of Your Great Illnesse
Discouragd mee, and then Some very Earnest Thoughts after di
verted mee: The Remembrance of my Obligation ~~by~~ to doe it
now, was Retrieved by a very Honourable Freind of Yours
and mine; So that I Could no Longer delay it, all though
I am yet in the midst of Some other Serious Considerations.
In the First place I Assure You, Sr; Your So Free Remarques
n my discourse I Receivd as a Kindnesse, and Excellent Style
and Returne You Hearty Thanks with all the Best Apprecations.
And I doe most Sincerely professe my Selfe Fully of the
Sense of all those Grand principles of Truth, You have So Great
a Caution for, and doe Solemnly Retract whatever Cannot
bee Fayrly Understood without Falling Fowle with Any of Them.
By All Those Expressions, You are Jealous of, I Avow,
I meane nothing, but (as to mee It Seemes) the most vigorous and Ad=
Explanation of those High Expressions of Scripture, derived from
apting Such Conceptions, and Considerations to them, Ubiquity of the ~~Divinity~~, ~~that~~
the Spirituality, ~~and~~ Eternity, and presence, Efficacy, and Applica
by which It may Appeare; The ~~of the Subordination~~ of the Huma-
tion of the whole Oeconomy the Saviourship of the Son of God
nity of ~~Christ~~ in Subordination to Substantialls in whole Nature, and
is Such, that All Realitys, and with, Communication ~~[illegible]~~ to one Another
~~Expressed~~ ~~doe Expresse~~ Things Union, and
are Too poore to Expresse the Union, and Communication

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of that Oeconomy to the Sowles of Beleivers:

And This I yet so understand, as to Avoid All those Rocks, yow Feare, I should dash upon; For I utterly disavow All that is Grosse, Carnall, or materiall; I Abhorr whatever seems Either to Annihilate, or Confound the personality of Xt with the Sts. or in the Least derogates from the distinction betwixt the Mediator, and his Redeemed. Yea or Any Thing that should Confound the Divinity & Humanity, or theyr distinct propertyes, notwithstanding theyr Communion. I only desire to make the most Improvement of of the Grandiloquence of Scripture in these Things; and to shew How they may most Fully, and Safely bee understood. And I am Fully persuaded that in these Things, wee know but in part, and so can ~~prophesy~~ prophecy but in part of them; Especially when I Reade

John. 17. 21. 22. 23. 24.

I Cannot thinke, but Apprehend, The union is Closer betwixt the Redeemer, and the Redeemed then betweene the Creator, and the Creature; For undoubtedly the unfallen Adam Lived, mooved, and Had his Beeing in Him (as upright) who Created Him in Knowledge Righteousnesse and True Holynesse, and yet he Fell from Him; But the Redeemed of the Son of God can never bee disjoyned from Him.

For Sum I am most Confident, I have no Sentiment in Any of these Things, either in Spirituall Transubstantiation, ~~or~~ in Xty not Living out of his Elect ~~Hie dictio~~ but what yow Acknowledge, ~~[illegible]~~ and shall Acknow

ledge to the End. His most Distinct, Divine, Onely
Blessed, personall, Supreme, Infinite, Incommunicable Life
I ~~yet~~ most Humbly Adore. together with You

I Acknowledge Xt Dying in the Fullnesse of Time
notwithstanding I am ~~[illegible]~~ Convinced, That Hee as ~~[illegible]~~
the Lamb Slayn from the Foundation of the world may Claime
that character to Himselfe Apoc: 13. 8. Seeing by purpose an
Grace was Given us in Him befor the world Began. And the
Before Abram was Hee Could say I Am. Yesterday to Day the
Same for Ever. And yet All His Salvation is Executed in Time, a
in Succession of Time ~~to~~ Every Age as his Steps
Fully Beleive, the Heavens doe yet Containe the
Humane Nature of Xt. And yet I am as Fully Assured, that
whole Efficacy of the Humane nature is so with his, that y
the Son of man was in Heaven, while Heer on Earth, and
is Ascended, when Hee was Before; so Hee is with his Servants
to the End of the world. and now Fills All Things.

This with the most Professed Detestation of
of any Justly Branded so
popish Transubstantiation,
Fanaticall Confounding, or Spiritualizing the Humane Na
ture of Xt into Nothing; without any Lutherane Con-
substantiation, or Imagination of Any presence of Xt
Adorable in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper rather then
in any other ordinance, I doe yet Aspire to the under
standing of those words; This is my Body in that Commu-
nion; Even as I doe to the Eating of the Flesh, and drin
king the Blood of Xt in the whole Administration of
the Gospell. But who is Sufficient for these Things?

Honored Sr Your most Faythfull Affectionate
Freind and Servant T Beverley

This
To Mr Baxter
present.

Sr With my thanks for your gift I humbly crave your better information of me concerning your true meaning of ye words which I here recite and note: But desire you not to take it for a confutation or reprehension at least except of two words Transubstantiation and pag. 34. yt Christ is not pleased to live out of ye church & Saints as our Mediatour and Head. Of the Title. Transubstantiation in ye known sense is ye turning of one substance into another. By Spirituall Transubstantiation you must meane either properly or tropically (by metaphor or metonymie or Synecdoche. The tropicall sense must be of an Equivocall word. In controversies of weight with Learned men, equivocation should be avoided, or by explication made equall to univocall. If you take Transubstantiation univocally: it is either 1o The turning of ye substance of ye Bread & wine into ye Substance of our soul, wch you confute. 2 Or turning ye Bread and Wine into ye substance of Christs body or soul, which also you confute. 3. Or turning Christs flesh & blood as sacrificed into ye substance of our bodyes and soules. 4. Or turning Christs glorifyed body or soul (humane) into ye substance of our bodyes or soules. 5. Or turning ~~ye~~ our substance of ~~our~~ soul ~~or soul~~ or body into ye substance of Christs humane a soul or body. 6. Or turning ye substance of ye Holy ghoast into our substance. 7o Or turning ye Substance of Christs Godhead into our Substance. Now if you meane any of these, you should distinctly tell which of them it is. The 1st and 2d you are against justly. The 3d is impossible because yt flesh & blood is not existent. And a negatione substantiae ad negationem accidentium valet ~~[illegible]~~ argumentum: that which is not cannot be changed, or united to another. And as to ye 4th Christs glorifyed Body is not now flesh (as Paul 1 Cor. 15. and two Generall Councills (contra adversa) have determined. And therefore this would be no eating of his flesh. And if ye Substance of Christs glorifyed Humane Body or Soule be united to ours, Transubstantiation is not a fit word to expresse it by: for neither Christs body or soul is turned into ours, nor ours into his, but both united as ye Graft & stock. If it were likened to ye Infant in ye womb united to ye mother, it would not reach your purpose. For 1o to generate a new substance is not to be transubstantiated or turned into it; 2o and if it were, yet Christs human nature could beget no substance before it had it selfe a being. Non entis non est actio. 3. And to beget our substance were but to make us men, & not Saints. for holynesse is not our substance, but its mode or quality. And to make us men is no more then is done to all men: & God yt createth all things is not transubstantiate into them. And ye union of ye Infant & mother is not a transubstantiation, tho it is liker to it, than we dare say of Christ and us, it being not humane substance yt is any where said to be turned into our substance, & so to be a part of us (and of ym yt lived before he was man) 5o And ye fifth way cannot be it: our union with Christs humanity is not a transubstantiation: we are not made substantiall na-

In all parts of Christs human Substance, as if he were defective in his per son till made up of us as parts: or as if our substance were made Christ: It is his politicall body & not his naturall yt is so imperfect till all ye members are added. And if it were otherwise it were we & not Christ yt would be so transubstantiate: its one thing for our substance to be turned into Christs, and another for Christs to be turned into ours. He is unchangeable. And if we were made his naturall reall parts ye union could not be politicall but despoticall, as yt of ye Head and hand, and so there would be no new Jerusalem or city of God Because all would be but one person. 6. And it cannot be ye turning of ye substance of ye Holy Ghost into our substance. 7° Nor yet ye God head of Christ Because ye Deity is unchangeable, and is ever as neer in presentiality to every creature as is possible. Nor is it ye turning of our substance into ye Substance of ye Deity of Father, Son or Holy Ghost. To make man become God and a Creature to become ye Creatour is not to be thought. What then can we say more than this! 1° That ye fall lost no part of our substance, but our Qualityes or Disposition, habits & acts, which are as health to naturall Animals. 2. As sin is not a substance (as Mat. Fl. Illyricus thought) no more is Grace. 3. If it were it must be a created substance; for Grace is Dei not Deus. 4. If it be said to be Christs human nature (soul or body) in substance, it must be on one of these hypothesys: 1. That Christ is eternall universall life & body (flesh & blood) & this as God, as Dr More saith; or yt ye 2d person is an eternall human soul created & imateriall and ye 3d person an universall created matter (as John Turner saith) 2° or that (tho God be not such ~~& yet~~) Christ is ye first Creature, by wch ye rest were made, or as ye ~~Arrians~~ Anima Mundi as Pet. Sterry and others hold). And if with Apollinarius men will say that this either eternall Godhead or prime create nature is instead of a humane soul to Christ, then he was not properly a man; And if this substance animate all ye world, it is but Averroes Doctrine of an universall soul: if it animate only Saints then, 1° It either altereth their very Species and maketh them more than men, or 2ly it giveth them also two soules, Humane & Superangelicall And in ye first hypothesis it maketh them to be substantially God. 5. It is hardly possible to conceive of any neerer union of meere substantiall presentiality than is between God & ye Creature as such and yet this is not Identity or Transubstantiation but Consubstantiation. And why should you hold yt either ye Deity or Humanity of Christ as ye Head of Grace is neerer or more one with ye faithfull than God is with ye Naturall as ye God of Nature. Nature is as ne from ye cause of nature as Grace from ye cause of grace. 6. I d with you fully hold that the very human nature of Chris glorifyed is by union with ye Divine and as filled with ye spirit, and by undertaken office, made ye Mediatoriall cause of ye communication of all Grace to us: both Relative and Reall or Physicall changes. The manner of this conveyance in reall changes & ye union necessary thereto is beyond our present comprehension; But it is no further naturall or personall than consisteth with its being Politicall in diversity of persons, notwithstanding ye similitudes of Head & members and of a Vine and Branches: And yet it is but so far politicall, as yet to be also suo modo physicall, there being a true physicall influence of Life, Light & Love from God by ye Mediators humanity to ye soul, as there is of Light from ye Sun to ye eyes. (They that say it is not physicall but hyperphysicall mistake our sence. As if we so named it from inferior naturall causes; or forget yt spirits have their proper natures & motive force) In all this I have spoken most of your Title; for you seeme to deny all ye foredenyed sences as well as I. I think man is not a compositum (vel quoad partes essentiales vel integrales) of God and Humanity. And yet if he were it would not amount to Transubstantiation spirituall: such as meate turned into flesh and blood hath which is no longer bread, cheese, mutton wine &c, when it is made flesh and blood. The transubstantiated part is ye basest & but a meanes to ye other & loseth its own formall substance, tho not ye matter. But Christs Godhead, Spirit, humane glorifyed soul and body is not baser than ours, nor loseth its forme by transmutation to ours. What need we then perplexe our selves or ye hearers, by pretending to some higher mystery, when all yt we can make out is but what all Christians own (in plain words): viz. 1° That Christs sacrificed flesh and blood was & is ye meritorious cause of our pardon, sanctification & glory. 2. That ye fiduciall beliefe of this and taking it as a seale of ye covenant of grace and an investing signe and instrument of our union with Christ & pardon is metaphoricall eating & drinking it, as sacrifices were partaked of old. 3. That God blesseth ye right use of this Institution with ye effect of a sealed pardon & right to Life & with ye concourse of this spirit of sanctification. 4. That this spirit of Life & Holynesse is not only sent by the son as God & one with the

Father, but also designed by God in his glorifyed Humanity to be as ye Cisterne of Grace, ye Head of ye Church, the Generall Administratour by whom it is transmitted to his members. This much all own: and have you more? How do your words x. Pag. 11. All grant yt ye Human Nature is exprest by flesh & blood: But properly only as it was crucifyed, a Sacrifice or on Earth. But flesh and blood canot enter into ye Kingdome of God in heaven. Pag. 17. The termes of Point 3. are Equivocall by Rills and Repositoryes of Divine Power, Spirit & Efficacy if you meane but yt objectively God owned ye Sacrifice of Christs flesh & blood and his whole Humiliation, yea his holynesse and obedience for a sufficient satisfactory & meritorious cause of our pardon, sanctification & glory, all hold the same. But if you meane yt Constitutive God before Christs Ascension made this flesh & blood (not only a morall objective cause to ye Believer, but also) a Physicall efficient cause of mans spirituall Life, you speake that which I canot prove (when Christ hath said It is ye Spirit yt quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing (this way of Physicall efficiency) And were it proved, it is nothing to our case. For yt which is now no flesh and blood doth not effect as flesh & blood. We are not Anthropomorphites, nor so little know ye definition of flesh & blood as to hold yt univocally so called there is any in heaven. If we shall be changed (even those yt dye not) to spirituall bodyes at ye Resurrection, much more was Christ so at his entrance in Glory, if any will play with equivocations, we give him leave to call a spirituall body flesh & blood (against Paul & two Generall Councills). But I grant such a Physicall constitutive Power to Christs Glorifyed Humanity that we live because he liveth: But that is not his flesh and blood, nor so called by him that I can find. Point. 4. You say yt ye Divine power, Spirit & Efficacy extendeth the body, flesh & blood of Christ in their saving Vertue and effect, without limitation to time or place, to all Dimensions and degrees of effect. Here the reader is left to utter confusion, whether you speake of Christs reall flesh on earth, or his glorifyed body, yt is no flesh. 2. And whether you speake of morall objective, or of Physicall causation. 1. Christs formall flesh was never extended to all time & place. It was not before ye Creation (or Incarnation yt we know of) nor is it in heaven. 2. Nothing is physically or properly any efficient (or other cause) yt is not it selfe in being: nothing can do nothing. It is oft said indeed by superficiall Logicians that causa Moralis operatur ante et post existentiam. But even yt is ignorantly said (tho nothing to my assertion). For it is a grosse contradiction for a Non Ens to be a true agent or cause. But the prescience or postscience of it may operate. But yt doth but prove yt ye mind doth by such science operate, & yt ye Idea or Esse cognitum is ye objective materiall cause of such mentall operations. Ockams Logick would teach men truer notions de causa finali objectiva et esse cognito. So yt it is only God by his spirit & by Christs glorifyed humanity yt maketh his reall sacrificed body a cause of Divine donation by qualifying ye recipients & removing impediments. And it is Gods help and mens thoughts yt maketh ye remembrance of a Non-existent flesh & blood (by prescience or afterthoughts) to operate morally on our selves: when it is not ye existent flesh (whose Idea only is ye object) but ye thought on yt Idea yt is efficient. You say no more but ye Divine power, Spirit &c. extends ye body, flesh & blood of Christ in their saving power & efficacy without limitation to time or place. No man can understand these words whether you meane (as you say) yt ye flesh & its efficacy are both so extended, or only ye efficacy & not ye flesh. And 1. It is certain yt of ye flesh & blood it selfe it is not true: for it is not really omnipresent, tho by comunication of propertyes, de nomine ye flesh may be called so present, because ye Godhead is; it was not present when it was not existent. 2. But if you meane only yt ye effect is so present yt overthroweth all Spirituall Transubstantiation. For ye effect (e.g. pardon, holynesse &c) is not substance, much lesse ye substance of flesh, nor proveth its presence. For indeed ye flesh is properly no efficient cause of yt effect, but only part of an objective cause (if any thing could be a cause of any thing in God as it is with men) of yt divine act wch is ye proper efficient, (tho some will call it a procatarchick cause): but indeed there is no cause (especially extrinsick or created) of any thing in God, but only of ye Creatures reception from him & of ~~his~~ extrinsick denomination of his acts. God may extend ye fruits of Christs sacrificed flesh, yea & of his glorifyed body, to times & places where ye flesh or the body is not: But yt is no extension of ye flesh or body. Nor is ye effect it selfe so unlimited as you speake. No man was pardoned or sancti-from Eternity or before he was a man. And when e.g. Abel, Noah, Abraham &c were pardoned & sanctifyed & saved, it was not Christs flesh and blood yt was ye cause, but his sponsion to become sacrificed flesh hereafter. The undertaking or decree is not ye thing undertaken & decreed. Divinity is not against Logicall truth: Causa et effectus quâ tales formaliter ex vi relationis sunt simul tempore quamvis non simul naturâ. Ther's no cause yt hath no effect; nor is it an effect yt hath no cause. The father was a man before generation, but not a father. The person or matter of a morall (or naturall) cause may be before ye effect, but so cannot (in time) ye formall reason of ye cause be: so that here is no Transubstantiation, much lesse unlimited. You say pag. 12. That ye Spirits of just men are not perfect without bodys. The men are not, but ye Text Heb. 12. seemeth to say yt ye Spirits are perfect in heaven; & Scripture saith nothing of their having bodys there before ye resurrection. Tho I confesse yt reason may conjecture (with ye Rosicrucians) that ye departing soul takes with it such aeriall & igneous seminall body as we call the spirits in man. || The Act of undertaking was before he had a body (known to us) & his Intercession is now in a glorifyed body which is not flesh & blood. He extendeth christs body & blood That is ye fruits of his death. yt is ~~he~~ extendeth ye fruits of them to all receivers & not them selves. These are physicall communications of substances: but so is not a meere morall causation. He yt ransometh a slave for a 1000li giveth him his liberty, but not physically nor properly one penny of ye money. That is given for him and only metonymically to him. But yet (not ye money but) the Idea of it in esse cognito is adapted to be an objective cause of his gratitude. These are neither existent nor operative when past: it is only ye esse cognitum or Idea of them which operateth. I hope by eternall you meane only a parte futurâ everlasting. For a parte praeterita Christ was no eternall cause not in his manhood, for yt was not, & therefore was no cause: till it caused an effect, which could be none when there was no recipient object. The eternall spirit maketh not temporary effects to be from eternity.

/ The effects are every where where they are received which is not every where. Mony yt ransometh all ye Turks slaves is no where but with ye Turk; but ye deliverance purchased by it is every where, only where the slaves are. And was no where before ye purchase. / That is, The Relative pardon and ye reall gifts of sanctification may be where ever they are received, wrought by ye Divinity which is every where & purchased by ye sacrificed flesh and blood which is not every where. 2. The Causality of an Exemplary cause is in ye mind of ye agent as an object and Idea. This then would only prove it to be a cause of something in God who causeth ye counterpart in us. But as it is unsafe to say that there are effects in God & these caused by creatures, so that proveth no Presentiality or Transubstantiation. So if you say yt Causa causa est causa causati & so yt ye objective cause of an Idea in mente Divina may be called a cause of his effects on us, to say no more of it, this is no spirituall Transubstantiation. But indeed as Christs Actions & Sufferings are an Exemplary cause in us (by which we forme our own resolutions) so the Idea of them is present in us, when they are now nothing. And no doubt but Christs Spirit is ye cause of ye good yt is in us. And so Christ dwelleth in us 1° Objective (as a deare friend doth in ye Lover) 2° and as his grace & spirit dwelleth in us; As ye sun dwelleth in its light in our eyes: and ye Spirit thus worketh on us when we duly meditate on ye sacrificed flesh: but every object is not transubstantiated! / This is clearly and accurately expressed and needs no explication save only to note that we are called members of his flesh & bone only metaphorically & by allusion to Adams words; Christs glorifyed body being metaphorically called flesh & bone & politicall & spirituall union likened to naturall union and Consubstantiation. / I suppose you here speake but de nomine, that is they may be called one Christ. But so improperly yt I hope few will use that phrase. We like it not in ye Quakers. To be a Christ is to be a God and a Redeemer of man, but we are not so by our union with Christ. 1 Cor. 12.12. is an Ellipsis or Synecdoche plainly meaning so is Christ & his mysticall body. And we must not take occasion from one unusuall figurative speech to feign conceptions & use expressions as if it had been spoken properly. In Gal. 3.16. [which is Christ] is not in ye old Alexandrian copy: and if it be in, it can prove no more than yt ye promise meant Christ as ye Capitall seed, but not that all his members also were Christs, or the Capitall seed [illegible] not Heads, nor all ye Subjects Soveraign

kings, nor Christs spouse hir own husband. I pray you teach not all men to say
We are Christ, lest they trust to themselves and pray to themselves. The Church
is Christs fullnesse, that is, his Glory fying Kingdome, but not himselfe. I make
no doubt but God ye Father, Son & Spirit communicate Grace & Glory, as by the
merit of Christs flesh on earth, so by ye mediation of his glory fyed humanity
in heaven, to whom all power in heaven & earth is given. But when you
say This explaineth This is my body, the reader is too strongly tempted to
think yt you meane that This is my body meaneth either ye Church or Christs
Glorifyed Humanity, which is not true. Christ hath 1o A mysticall Politicall
Body, his Church, 2. A glorifyed humane body in heaven. 3. He had once
a Body of flesh & blood on earth. It is this, & not either of ye former that
is meant by This is my Body (whatever Dr More saith to ye contrary). Meta-
phoricall notions of union must not be feigned to be proper. Such as that
union is, it is by ye merit of Christs quondam flesh & sacrifice, but by ye
influence & efficacy of ye Holy Ghost & Christs Glory fyed Humanity. — Separated Souls are not united by spirituall transubstantiation
to Christs flesh & blood which now is not: but to his glory fyed humanity.
We shall be one & yet many, & therefore not transubstantiate but
consubstantiate. Augustine thought that to say Souls separated are many and
not one, or one and not many, were both lesse probable than both
one and many. — 1o To be present in ye Gospell is not to be present.
Alexander & Caesar are present every where in history. That is, they
are not present, but ye history of them is so present. The Gospell is present,
but yt is not Christ. And alas! even yt Gospell is absent from about 4
or 5 parts of ye world: & scarce present with most of ye rest (Abyssines,
Armenians, Greekes, Papists.) — Equivocations confound & obscure.
It cannot be denyed that ye Gospell is present where it is present, but
ye Gospell is not Christs flesh: Nor is Adam, Noah, David present, be-
cause ye History of them is present: much lesse transubstantiate.
It is neither his word nor his glory fyed body yt in Joh. 6. is called
his flesh & blood, but his true sacrificed flesh & blood: Trusting
in yt & Covenanting by sacramentall celebration so to do is ye eating
& drinking it there meant (relating to ye eating & drinking of sa-
crifices): The spirits & Glory fyed humanityes influence, is not ye flesh
& blood there said to be eate & drunk, but ye life yt is promised by
ye eating of ye sacrificed flesh, to them yt trust in it: otherwise the
of ye benefit is the flesh eaten & the life [illegible] the flesh

It and ye spirit would be all one. And ye proper sence is not to be forsaken
for a figurative equivocall one, without necessity & proofe. When
ye Samaritans refused to receive Christ, & others did receive him, it was in a
fleshly figure yt he was refused and received: but not as a meer man
And he yt loveth a virtuous Lawyer, loveth him in a fleshly figure tho
is as a man that is virtuous. He may receive Christ as a man that re-
ceiveth him not as a meere man. Christ as sacrificed in flesh is an
object to our faith: Else how could Paul know Christ crucifyed: This figure
figure must be in ye Idea in ye mind, and ye bread eaten as representing it
to imprint on us this figure: But not to stop there & looke no further.
as ye bread is relatively called flesh, as representing it, so fiduciall recep- And
tion by covenant may be called eating metaphorically: But as a man
is oft called flesh as from a part, but ye soul alone is not so called. So
eating ye Sacrament and fiduciall consent together may be called
eating a parte alterâ; but not faith alone without eating
very improperly. This is a mistake the word (Before ye foundation) referre same
to writing ye names in ye booke of life, e.g. [Whose names were written before
the foundation of ye world in ye booke of Life of the slaine Lamb] The
morall causation in esse cognito improperly called efficacy proveth
ye existence of ye subject in it selfe. The Divine person is eternall
but so was not ye flesh, nor humanity, nor ye union.
presence extended not ye manhood before it existed to be any true efficient The Divine
on man: but communicated ye effects of Gods Decree. And now to receive
the fruits of Christs sacrificed flesh is not for yt flesh, or ye glo-
rifyed humanity to be transubstantiate.
That is ye presence of ye fruits
of ye absent and nonexistent flesh. How can that touch and unite yt is
not in being: q.d. Christs scourging and Crucifixion toucheth ye soul & uni-
teth with it, though they be non-entia, because his spirit toucheth it pur-
chased by his fleshly suffering; This is a darkening phrase: The effects
are not ye body and blood. Metaphors and Hyperboles may be used but not
abused as ye fittest notions; doth Christs flesh 1600 years after its effusion
turn into our substance because it purchased pardon and sanctification
or is his glorifyed humanity or deity nourished as food by its corruption
turneth into our flesh? It's truely yt corruptio unius est generatio alteri-
us and ye flesh of a swine so becometh ye flesh of a man. But Christs
flesh doth not so; nor is his Deity or Glorifyed body so debased. If it be
forma denominat then he is no longer Christ, as the Swines or Sheeps
flesh is such no longer when its transubstantiate into mans.

Christ [illegible] not to be Christ nor men to be men really distinct from Christ tho yet derived from him. I startle at your words (Christ lives in his Church and Saints out of which he is pleased not to live as our Mediatour and Head). Certainly he liveth out of them and that as our Mediatour and head. When ye first man believed in him he lived out of yt man, and so he doth now out of us all, and yt as our Mediatour and Head. Its one thing to be such by office, undertaking and right, and another to be such in actuall execution: And his Mediatoriall executions without us are not ye same as those within us. He intercedeth for us as Mediator in Heaven with ye Infinite Deity; Is yt all within us? He lived on earth and preacht and prayed and suffered for us. Was yt all within us? He instituted his ordinances, made his covenant and Lawes, and commissioned his Apostles. Was that all within men? He now as Mediator & Head over all things to ye Church sendeth Angels to minister to ye elect, subdueth enemyes and Devills, giveth outward meanes & multitudes of mercyes: Is yt all within us? If ye effect were only in us, doth it follow yt ye cause is no where else? The sun is really out of our eyes (though its light be in them) and yt as ye cause of our sight. By his full [illegible] the completion of his Kingdome and full effects of his Mediation. Beza is too sharp that saith ye Ubiquitarians yt abuse this Text are execratione non refutatione digni.

I believe not yt ye Doctrines are meant by This is my body and blood But I believe that they are supposed by connotation in ye precept of eating and promise of Life. But I will go no further least I seeme to be a Confuter, rather than a Learning Enquirer after your sence.

To mr Th: Beverley of his doctrine
of Transubstantiation or
Corporall presence

note yt ye transcriber hath left out the words & pages wch the Authours refer to
therefore you must read his booke

BAXTER
LETTERS

Reverend & Much Honored

You shall now receave the contents of that booke, I have been as diligent as I could in hastning it to you, for I shall doe no more untill I heare from you, ~~for~~ now you will easily know what is in the booke, & you can better choose what is fitt for you. Be pleased therfor to send me word what section you pitch on, doe but designe the chapter the section and the heads of it (according as it is heir) And I shall with all the speed I can send it to you. Blondel in his preface gives his reasons why in dealing with Card: Perron hee beginns with the 2d part of his booke. 1°. Because that was the most elaborat, most cryed up & fullest of collections beyond all the rest of the Reply. 2dly for vindication of the Honor of Jesus Christ the head of the Church whose office in the doctrine of the last ages hath been so much invaded, 3dly Because most of the Papists who have dealt in Controversies of late set themselves chiefly to maintaine the Interest and the grandour of the Pope wch they set ~~with the~~ within the body of Religion, as Phidias did his owne picture in the centre of that Buckler wch sustained the statue of Minerva. From hence he concludes, That the jealousie of that great & formidable interest being the principall hinderance of the restoring the antient faith of the Catholick Church, & spirituall peace among her children ~~that~~ Whosoever desires to procure effectually that restitution must first discusse the pretensions of the Court of Rome, inquire into their beginnings & make all Christendome remarke the long & dangerous consequences. For those reasons (he sayes) he beginnes with that part of the Cardinalls booke wch doe concern the Primacie. And in the Preface he hints at some of the heads of his worke, And gives an account of his translation of some citations. (Of wch I gave you a touch in my last letter on monday last late) Now let me say a word or two as to my translation, I shall not repeat what I said Nor say more for my retaining the words Sacerdot & Pontif (wherin I follow my originall) I doe the same in the word Episcopat, & for this reason, because Bishoprick in our language regards rather the Benefice nor the Office. I doe retaine the french word Deference, because I can not in one English word expresse the full meaning of it, For it is not so much as submission, & it is more then acknowledgment. You will finde one harsh expression in the 2d page, cited out of Prosper. Dungeon of Religion. but I know not how to help it, for it is the same word in the French, Only Dongeon in French signifies also the strongest part of any fortresse wch may serve for a retraite in any extremity, wch may be the signification heir intended. In the title of the 26. Chapter, I translate as I found it Letters formed, wch it seems was one of the designations of the communicatorie Epistles wch anciently went betwixt Bishop & Bishop. (Of wch Blondel in the examination of that chapter discourses at large)

You

Yow will finde in one or two places that french word wch is in Latin
Vestigium, translated by me Vestige, wch I rather chosed then
footstep because it is the marke of the footstep there meant.
But I shall rather expect yor pardon then trouble yow more
about such faults as I have in this & may in the remnant committ
in my translation. For I doe not minde the polishing of it, all
I intend is faithfullnes wch by Gods grace I shall answer for.
The rest yow have goodnes enough to pass by, And I doe only
intend it for yow

In my last I told yow I had scaped a troublesome remove, And
it was thus, The day before the late Governor dyed, It did
please his Councell to order me forthwith to be removed to
Warwick Castle. Which wold have been very grevious to me
to be againe hurried into a strange place, And nothing is more
inconvenient for a long journey then want of Money (a
disease I have been long under) But I bless God my wife
prevailed to get the order recalled, So here I am, & shall be
ready to goe on in obeying yow, liberty I doe not expect.

Together with my scribling, Receave a copie of a sermon
wch was given me by the Author, Who is a prettie man,
my neighbour & I thinke my good friend. He gave me more
copies, & allowed me to send one to yow, And I have many
times heard him express a great respect to yow.

In my last I desired yow to send me word by whose hand
I might convey the papers to yow. That they may not miscar
And I desired yow to send any Letter for me To London
And there appoint it to be delivered to Peter Cunningha
at his hous in Dukestreet neir Lincolns Inn fields. Th
I doe because yor last was ten dayes by the way, an
I doubt was opened, for the seale was spoiled.
I am most heartily Sir

Windsor Castle
23 of September 1658

Yor reall friend & servan
Lauderdaill

fol.316. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

121.

For the reverend & much
Honored

Mr Richard Baxter
minister of the Gospell

At Kidderminster

Reverend Sr

I haue had much a doe to forbeare writing thus long. The affecti
& Reverence I haue for you haue oft urged me to it, & secretly chid m
for my forbearance. I know you delight not in needless letters: but someti
the hearty remembrances of a friend (tho but poor & unworthy) will som
cheer & encourage even the strongest & best to goe on more heartily in their
good way. Might these few lines, from one yt truly honours you, haue but ye
least such effect, I shud rejoyce. However I take a pleasure to tell you I loue
you in ye Lord & for his sake (whose work you doe in teaching ye great things
of his good Law); And haue this design also, to be yet better beloved of you
(tho you are pleased to Value me far aboue my worth & expectation) and I
hope you will excuse this in me. I find myselfe after my most impartiall
thoughts, very much resolved as to ye late oath: I haue heard the reasons
& importunitys of divers knowing persons & loving friends, and tho' I
haue not been without impressions from ym, am ye more established.
I reverence many that doe otherwise, but look on't as yr failing: that God
for holy ends, suffers ym to cloud the good witness they haue given to ye truth,
whilst in his undeserved & most free Grace & favour he holds others.
That wch prevails much with me is, that when I assert a thing by an Oath
I shud be wondrous sure of it; And yt whether I assert or promise I
shud doe it in great plainess & simplicity. But ye words of ye Oath are
very large, variously interpreted, & contain many things wch divers Minrs
as well as I doe not well understand, & haue been disputed by many. As
I dare not sweare this, so neither ye contrary to it, nor sweare to ye Doctri
of Bilson & Hooker. Its strange these Positions shud be dedicated to ye King
& Published by great Bps, the contrary to wch we must be put to sweare. Again,
I would giue a fair witness to yt, that Jesus Christ our Lord dislikes divers
things in or Church Govermt & expects a Reformation (tho by no tumultuous &
seditious ways). Distinguishing too much clouds yt, & withall seems not so well
becoming ye Primitiue simplicity & single heartednes of Chs followers, wch all
commend, but too many look upon as no Vertue fit for or times. Might I sweare
never to endeavour to exalt Chs Kingdome, or to make any alteration in Popery
if I shud liue where it might be required? yet by tumultuous ways I may doe
neither. Methinks many things written about oaths, by Chill: Thorndik &
others, & generally practised by most amg us, savour too much of worldly
wisdome & juggling. Leaue those distinctions to our Dull Divines -- as ye late Poet
(wch by chance I met wth) unhappily writes. How easily, methinks, might
oaths be made, Able abundantly to secure our Kings safety, & ye Churches &
Nations peace, & yet be taken wth great plainess & singleness by all honest men
generally. But why so much of this to you? That you may correct m
you think I misse: I am sure I shall take it well from you, & for
Its the desire of divers good men, to lay yr hearts open to his

(the bottom of w^{ch} is so honest that they need not hide it) that he ma
know y^{m} for his good, & not be tempted to think them his enemys in y^{e}
or unfaithfull to him: But what concerns all is minded by none; & to
purpose it may prove, having been in effect often done already, may be a g
question. I intend shortly (for some time at least) for Derbyshire, to se
W. & M^{r} Gell at Hopton. I will not despair but some good occasion or ot
may draw me near you, tho I know nothing business at present y^{t} is like to
draw me from my intended retirement. With my service & thanks to y^{r} self
and good M^{rs} Baxter for all your respects & kindness, I rest

Reverend S^{r}

Salop Mar. 6
1665.

Your very affectionate Friend
and Servant

Fra: Tallents

~~123~~ 122

Worthy Mr Baxter

Ludlow.
Sept. 2. 1656.

I know your redy disposition to public Office for the Church, How earnestly you hau endevored, How afectionatly you desir that the people of God may be of one mind in the Lord, that the wal of Jerusalem may be repayred. Therefor with confidence I thrust this paper into your study to beseech you to ~~[illegible]~~ assist me with your direction how to mou in this ensuing Parlement for the seruice of the distressed Church, For I am sure that only Fata Eclesiæ can auspiciat Fata Imperij. I pray God tak away the Scandal of Schism, no les dangerous then the Scandal of the Cros.
If you wil fauor me with your thoughts concerning this subject, Convey them eyther hither, or to the 3 black Lyons in ye old bayley London. I comend you to the grace of yr Lord I remayn yr very assured friend

Edw Harley

~~124.~~ 123.

ffor his very worthy
friend Mr Richard
Baxter at

Kidderminster.

Covent garden Jan 27th 1658.

Lon Mr Tho: Manton

Reverend Sir

I have many thinges whereof to treate with you, many thanckes to render you for the proffit that I have received by your excellent labours, and many excuses to make for that indiscretion of prefixing part of your epistle without your consent upon Mr Rothwells importunity before the Assemblyes Catechisme printed with the proofes of scripture at large, but waving all those, I shall bluntly and abruptly (which considering the present occasion I hope will bee excused) breake in upon the request which I have to make to you and that is, whither considering the present posture of affaires you judge it advisable to move for an assembly of Divines, and if you thincke so what are the arguments, which you thincke would bee most taking with the present convention of state to engage them to such a resolution, I doe earnestly desire your Answer to this request, and that not only from my selfe (though my owne exceeding high value of your judgement would sufficiently prompt mee to it) but also from many of your Friends in parliament, who upon my motion were very importunate that I should write to you, I had thought to have given my reasons for the affirmative, but my leisure will not permitte mee to inlarge, and though

I have discovered my selfe thus farre, yet if you incline to the negative, I shall bee gladde to heare from you. your sense and the reasons of it, in very great hast I am forced to breake off and doe [illegible] much desire your speedy Answer. I am Sir Yours unfeignedly in our Lord Xst Tho: Manton

Covent garden Jan 27th 1658.

LET

fol. 321 of Baxter Letters in volume sho

A

To my reverendly respected
Brother Mr Richard
Baxter preacher of
Gods word these present
at
Kederminster

3

Sr

Your booke of ye Grotian Religion being lately put
in to my hands, I caused it presently to be read unto
me; & cannot but commend the Modesty of your Expressions
and the great ingenuity wch you have shewed your selfe
master of in ye whole course of yt designe; only I could have
wished you had spared my name, unlesse you could have
proved me to have beene one of yt religion, as I thinke you cannot,
or found some more particular charge to have layd against me
then appeares in your preface; for whereas you say (that in
the late prelates a puritan was either a nonconformist,
or a conformist yt in doctrine was not Arminian (of wch Doct
Peter Heylyn gave us a description by theire opinions)) I desire
you would please to lett me know in wt booke or bookes of
mine, you have observed ye name of puritan to be so [illegible]
or any such description given of them by theire opinions as
your preface speakes of, which favour if you please to doe
me, as I shall have good reason to thank you for your directi-
on in yt wherein I am not able to helpe my selfe; soe shall
I be the better able to render you an account of any thing wch
you shall require of me touching those particulars. Your letter
(if you thinke fitt to returne any answere to this) being either
left with Mr Royston of Ivy Lane, or with Mr Seyle a booke
seller over against St Dunstons church in fleet streete,
will by theire meanes come very safely to ye hands of

Sr
Your very humble servant
In Christ Jesus
Peter Heylyn

Lacies Court
Septr 13th
1659

To his much Respd ffriend
Mr Baxter thes
present
at
Kiderminster
B
Worc:

ep. Dow p 185. — pref. 2 Ed. V.

Hist. Fr. pl. p. 254. Eliz.
210. ep.

Ed. Rud. pref.

BAXTER
LETTERS

fol. 324. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

126

Sr

Had I not understood of yor beeing out of towne
when I was last in London & yor intending to continu
sometime in the countrey, I had not beene soe backward
in presenting to you a booke wch you were pleased to
expresse yor selfe favorably of, before it came abroad.
The designe of it I know is of that nature, wch any
who are tender of the honor of religion canot but approve,
but I am sensible of my owne insufficiency for & defects
in the managemt of it, but as it is I hope it may not bee
unserviceable to or present age; in wch I am afraid the
weake & insufficient grounds on wch men take up the
beleefe of the principles of religion hath made more Atheists then
any other pretence whatsoever. May but the effect of
my undertakings bee the convincing any Atheisticall
persons of their folly & weaknes in rejecting the scripture,
or the establishing any doubting xtian in the foundations
of faith, or the awakening the world to a further enquiry
into the grounds why they are xtians, I shall think
my pains sufficiently recompenced, & account ~~it~~ amonge
the best spent houres of my life if any honor accrues
to religion, or any good to the soules of men by what I have
done. Wch I intreate yor impartiall judgemt in, ~~that~~ if yu
discerne any apparent weaknes in any of the limbs
of the whole discourse, I may endeavor to strengthen
them more if they should ever appeare againe. Sr
I canot but acknowledge the benefitt I have recd for set
my owne thoughts from many of yor discourses concern
the miracles of Xt & the authority of ye scriptures
therefore am obliged in gratitude to returne the
of those thoughts to you; wch I hope yu will fa
wth yor acceptance, since I am Sr Yor affectionat
[illegible]

July 22. 1662.

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LETTERS

fol.325. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

325

ffor the Reverend his much esteemed
ffriend Mr. Richard Baxter
at his lodgings at
Dr. Micklethwaites house
in Little Brittaine
these

Mr Jennings of Lees

LETTERS

fol.326. of Baxter Letters in volume shown.

Revd Sr

I know not how my letters becom so slow, being sent to Mr Pearsal about the date, he supposed to be then very suddenly or shortly to go, & also likely to see yo. By how much the less, the sub (yo say) requires not many words, by so much the more contented should I be to spare ym. But, the multitude & matter of yo notes (I must confesse) might employ a volum to reply to. But yet I shal run them over, as briefly as I can.

Ad 1um. Where yo say It seems to questio whether the Holy Ghost did constitute churches wch, til ther were Christia magistrates. As ther was no such Qn intended, so neither do I conceive my words to imply it For 1. There is not the word Magistrate ther at al. wch I therfore mentio here in yr n.10. yo suppose I meant better — but yo speak to my words. 2o. If it had, it in my understanding only supposes, as I do indeed suppose, that ther is a difference betw. the Christian being governed, under a christian & an heathen, as to the exercise both of the Regiment, & obedience; though the difference arise not fro the diff of power & Autority in one & the other, nor fro any different obligatio to obedience toward the one & the other considered as only virtually efficient causes in the Govnt, & Subjects of yt power & Autority to be employed & put forth in governing, yet a difference ther is apt to be (& I think, I may say, is & wil be; whether different Aptitude in ye efficient, diversity of matter, or whatsoever other circumstance occasio yt difference I here labor not. — Ad 2um. That for 300 yeres, the people chose or consented to the choice of yr pastors

Ad. 2m I need not debate it, in wch it is not yr assenting I dislike, but non-consenting & disowning when lawful Autority lawfully sets a lawful ministry over ym. And yt Christia Autority, may set such a ministry over a people wthout asking yr leave, I take leave to believe fro the example of Moses, David, Solomo, Ezechias, Jehoshaphat, Josias, &c And this, (I think) I do wth many my betters as wel of other reformed chs as our own; whom I dare not seem to be wiser than, if yo be; & yet, I humbly conceive, wthout seeming to be wiser than yo the 3 first Centuries yo Alledge, who, had they had a Constantine, a Theodosius, & the like, (for whose spirits, I mean, not medling wth yr moral qualities) wch see no apparant ground to conclude otherwise of yr practise than the 4th. yet, mistake not, I do not in al this speak agt the peoples lawful either choosing or consenting in subordinatio to, & not in oppositio agt Autority, wch he whosoever in Judgment allowes ym, if he draw not a latitude to Anarchy, I understand not what he does, tho perhaps he may least of al intend it. — Ad. 3um. The necessitas rei, yo speak of is nothing to the matter

Ad. 3. when yr Qn is made whether yr pretended or alleged non-consent avoids either the pastors Autority or the peoples duty; or whether after som sort of assent whether express or implicit, they have yet stil a power to dissent, or disown when they please (either by ymselves, or together wth som younger seniors, yt though bred up amongst ym, may yet deny ever giving any such assent) & make new choises, set up Antipastors, Antichurches, Antipositions, whilst by public Autority a lawful ministry is stil among ym; If this may be don, what hinders but the Independents, & som other sectaries, (whom the word may be in the right! But nearer to the thing itselfe. yo necessitas rei of the peoples assent reaches to no more than the exercise of the Autority, not to the creating or founding it. I canot conceive the pastors autority founded on yr assent of yr people in the case we speak of. — Ad 4um. The

Ad 4m people, yo say, have a negative voice. May they then refuse to be governed? May they (as I asked in my former, of wch yo take no notice) say, we wil have such a one, & we wil not have such a one, whether Autority wil or noe? If Jehoshaphat send teachers among the people (as 2. chron. 17.) may yr people say yr card, & say, we wil have none of ym? or may they. wth yr Manassites, & Ephraimites 2 chron 30. laugh to scorn Gods minds sent by the k.? or on yr other side; If yr k. require yr priest or pastor to do his duty, may he refuse to obey such a comand? yo suppositio of al yr pastors in a place being dead may then take place, when they have no ecclial autority over ym, or where a people are as when ther was no k in Israel. And for proving one ch. having power over another either as yo say Jure divino, or otherwise ecclesio, what need I go about it in yr case? Is it not enough yt one Autority over both, has power over both, & as many more as are subject to it? What yo mean by Apostolical unified minds & their power, I know not, tho I know ther are yt hold a standing Apostolate wch wth I meddle not now. However, undoubtedly yr Apostles have, or should have sucessors mutatis mutandis. — Ad 5um yo say, I talk of electio, (I mentio it, tis true)

Ad 5m when yo plead but for a necessity of assent. And if yo please to look agn, yo'l find, I mentioned only assent, in the suppositio of yo opinio. However I perceive yo hold Electio too by whomsoever don or to be don or something equivalent necessary. And then yo hold yr necessity of assent; to what? If yo mean to yr peoples doing yr duty, I hold so too. And wee seem agreed. If yo mean necessary to yr pastors Autority, to ground it upo yr assent; I doubt it. That is

Ad 6m yr thing, I told yo, I was unsatisfyed in, & am so still. — Ad 6um When yo bid, let yr pretenders bring a better title, for yr choyce of yr pastor or physicia, than meer liberty given yo to choose for yo selfe whose soul & life depend upo yr choyce. — The pretenders title, (if yo can vouchsafe ym no better a name) I conceive to be grounded on yr law of yr land (if yo think it so necessary, confirmed wth yr peoples assent by yr representatives in parliament) & public Autority, whose power to comand & wth to expect obedience to al just laws, orders & comands, I am not willing to doubt, but yt also to be grounded on yr word of God; than wch what better can yo make to pretend to yr vicaradge of Kidderminster (since yr pretenders title is said to be devolved to yo selfe by yr promise of one of yr patrons?) or yo worthy predecessor yr pastor himself, if yo neglect or refuse to do it? But to let yr pas- agt yr pretenders title yo oppose self-interest (every man being most near & dear to himself & I may adde, not always yr fittest Judge, what is fittest for himselfe? And this (yo may remember) was one of yr prevailing Arms of yr Argument in something like yt of Corah & his company. But how this may be thought

good argt, Consider whether yt argument mt not as wel be made use of agt ye whole succession of pries[ts]
from Aaron to ye last of yt race & order, & agt bot prts & prophets of Gods own sending whether better or worse.
Nor dos it really tend to any more than this, to make like people, like prt, & whether either ye better, for
aught I know depends more upon Gods gratious providence, than any comendable discretion in man. For Gnally
I find by experience, men like & love yt that pleases, smooths, daubs, & flatters & sooths ym in yr own ways,
seldom yt yt profits ye inner man. Even good men, I seem to my selfe to find, are apt to be taken
& carried away wth this obsequiousness & ye love & liking of it. / Besides, As to ye souls depending &c]
know nothing to ye [illegible], but yt any man may upon occa, aske or receive spiral Advice, or
Ghostly counsel & Instruction fro any other lawful & able Minr, if he think it needful, wthout
avoiding or disowning ye pastor (or pastoral autority of a lawful minr) by public autority set over
them: This latter, I humbly conceive, mainly concerning public administrations, that former private
Ad 7um & personal cases. wch latter I yet think, should not wantonly & needlesly be don. — Ad 7um. Yo say, I talk of
[any one avoiding] when ye qn is of ye major vote of ye ch. & not whether one may go agt al ye rest:]
1. If this be ye only qn & I mistook it, I must crave pardon to ye dulness of my wit yt could not reach
those depths. It may be ye Theory of electing or choosing may be better than ye practic. Men may hold
yt wel in Thesi wch they practise not so wel in Hypothesi: As I have heard of practical Atheism among christian
professors; So it may be, ther may be practical separatists, or semiseparatists agst their own or yr leaders Doctrin &
discourse may run loud agt sepãon. — 2. where such avoiders or disowners are, as have occasiond ye mis-
take, I believe, they would be hard put to it, to prove either ye majority, or quorũ nonconsent, In ye 1st
case, whether or no must we conceive yo to allow ym to revoke yr consent, when they please: or 2ly
So yr consent less sufficient, if, or bec It has not been personally exprt, or in writing under yr hand?
3. As to ye major vote, tho I say nothing agt it, when ordered & regulated by a lawful Autority; yet thus
much I must needs say; yt a major number considered in ymsl. have no more rt of Autority over a mi-
nor, than a Minor over a Major; there being (I humbly conceive) no Jus Divinum either naturale or
positivũ for either: & tho I dislike not the sober use of yt way of determining, in many things or ca-
ses, as being not much unlike in use to ordinary lots (for I except extraordinary & divine) wherein
things should first be brought to ye neerest Indifferency possible: yet somewhat to ye present Qu. It may
be, to consider its grounds: And yt is of 2 sorts, Either 1st when a superior Autority orders & approves it, or
2ly when any whole Society being lawfully free so to dispose of ymsl. do by comon consent agree to submit
ymsl. to such determining, as ye gter number shal resolve upon. Other ground I understand not for its
obligingness. And what place either of ym has here, I am not wel aware: yet am wel assured, what
~~[illegible]~~ may be said agt som other, may be said agt such standers, if they com wthout one of these
grounds, viz (as yo say in yr 6t note;) Let ye standers [of Majority] bring a better title, for ye
choyce of my pastor or physician, than nature has given me to chuse for my self. whose soul & life depend
upõ ye choyce. — 4. There was no mention of majority in yt passage of yr former, (nor I conceive
any supposition for reference thereto in those yt say, they own no other pastor, but Mr B[illegible]) wch
occasiond this doubt & qn. Now do I see what matter, such others of the same way made of Ma-
jority formerly, when a dozen, 16. or a score could comonly bring in a pastor over hundreds
All set together, my doubt stil remains, how Any one may Avoid &c. For yt in ye Applic[ation]
Ad 8um. will yet prove to be ye case & qn or matter of my doubt — Ad. 8um. Yo tel me, My [how
weak soever] seems to Intimate yt he may be a christian pastor, who is no Christian: & a Teach[er]
of ye ch. in ye faith of Christ, yt knoweth not, whether there be a church or faith or Christ:
Tho I am not over confident & secure of my own exactness in expressing, & so not un-
willing to reform any such mistake, yet am I not sensible of ye ground of any such in-
ference, or how it seems to be intimated, or so much as implyed. For 1. Am I mistaken
or were not ye words as a parenthesis, wch may conseqtly be as wel left out as read, & yet
ye sense entire? 2. My words were not — (how weak soever) — but (how weak soever pre-
tended to be); And as I take it, pretenses are used to be opposed to realities, & of such pre-
tenses unwilling minds are wont to want no store: Tis easy to pretend, if yt wil serve ye turn
to cast of ye bonds of obedience, subjection or Duty. — 3 I had thought, the weakness of a thing had
rather supposed, & not overthrown the being of yt thing. I had thought, A weak man might had been a
a weak faith, yet a true faith; a weak christian, yet a true; & a weak pastor, yet a true pastor: & yt weak-
ness & Infidelity had been in opposition, & neither as Genus or species in subordination, one to ye other.
I have often heard, how truly, I know not; yt Mr Br was a weak man: however what weakness is incident
to one, is incident to another, (I forbear examples) I wish not to be ominous, or bode it; yet I am apt
to believe, he has no such feas to secure him fro what infirmity or weakness may befal another
man, under som of wch if we should suppose him, & one or other of his supposed flock (a) thereupon
to disvalue him, & leave him, alledging yt he is now but very weak & unable at ye best, & yt
thereupon he owns him not, he has don with him now; suppose we som friend of Mr Brs answer(a)
why, what of yt? he is yor pastor, how weak soever pretended to be?: Do yo think, That first an-
swer wel reply, & say, yo seem to Intimate, yt he may be a christian pastor, who is no christian: &c — &
by yt rule, an Infidel may be a christian pastor? yet such an Inference do yo make fro my
words. — 4ly whether wth rule, or wthout rule, or howsoever, such a thing may fal out (tho it
ought not to be) I canot deny; yet so, yt I see not what yo most admired Rules or methods
choice, or election can mend or prevent it. For as, Good people may be under bad superiors, so
have there not wanted examples, when the vein of prophaness has run most among
them

them, & y^e piety y^t was, has been to be sought for in y^e very worst of y^e ch. or state; &
how much either might be deceived, y^e sentiments & frame of Julian may shew, whose
life & carreer was not so far off y^e times yo^u commend. — 5^ly Why must a Pastor
set over a people by lawful & chriā Autority be more supposed to be infidel, no chri-
than a pastor chosen or consented to, by the major p^t of y^e people, which yo^u seem to allow?
what assurāce have yo^u y^t y^e major p^t of a people are not infidels, or have an Infalli-
bility not to chose or consent to such an one? When I speake of a pastor set over by a
christiā, & lawful Autority, I thought as wel that Pastor, as that presenting Autority,
might had been supposed to be chriā, & able for his place according to the essentials
of christianity. But it seems, if a christiā Autority do it, we must not suppose it.
what, if y^e major p^t of the people? wil y^t serve the turn? may we then suppose it? It
may be, not y^t neither: perhaps when I s^d people, I should had s^d church. (tho I know not
what church it would be y^t dos not cōsist of chriā people.) wel, if y^e major p^t of the
church set a pastor over y^m, may we suppose him to be chriā? It is to be hoped, we may.
Is there so much force in y^e word church? Is there some mystery in the word? or some
g^t christiana derived frō the term? But (to let y^t pass) Let me beseech yo^r charity, S^r, to
consider whether yo^u think every one y^t defines otherwise, or understands church, faith,
some articles of the creed, Repentāce &c otherwise, & not precisely, as yo^u do, must presently be
unchristianed, & pronounced Infidels or Insufficient, unable, & Ignorant. The learnedest
men speak not alwaies alike in many such matters, nor do they alwaies agree in Judgm^t.
What Turner yo^u mentiō, I know not, nor ever I ever heard of the man before yo^u mention.
As for what yo^u say of m^r Dane; I wish m^r B^r had not s^d it. I have heard that his ser-
mons being taken in short hand, & either revised or now passing by other, have been
applauded by such, as have not been his favourites. That little I heard of him seemed
to me exceeding methodical, & spoken should seem to argue Judgment. Infirmities he had
his share, which made him y^e less usefull in his place; But y^t he should not understand one
Article of y^e creed &c in a sense I cannot easily entertain, whether I consider the time he see-
med to spend in his study, or the books there. But if he were not, are others lawful a-
ministers? They y^t have learnt, I own him not, to pro; can as readily apply it to an-
other. M^r Hierons abilities can't secure him if I heard it. M^r Dane to his dying day,
never to my knowledge; had any cognisāce of my writing to yo^u &c whom whether mo-
desty & charity w^d not wel suffer to rest in his grave, I leave to Judge. It was my own
sad observing what I did, made me put pen to paper, to how much purpose I
know not, certainly with better meaning & more hopes, ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~. That yo^u are ag^t separatiō I wil-
lingly heare & should as gladly see, as I do believe; That this principle here in
Qu. is one main hinge, upō w^ch the door of separatiō turns, I humbly conceive
is not to be doubted, & therefore, how unwarily soever in gen^l at first Broacht
not without g^t cautiō to be kept on foot. He y^t may disown what Pastor he
please, & when he please, or thinks, he may lawfully doso, may with like pa-
rity of Reason choose to own none, & not to live in any governed society at
al, w^ch yet yo^u have told us G. has not left it free to do. But of y^t, in y^e present
Qu., yo^u are pleased to take no notice, as if, tho mentioned before, 'twere but
some insignificant go-by-ground in mine, not worth the looking on, upō which
notwithstanding in yo^r res of Religiō yo^u hang no petty cōclusiōs. Weigh w^th
yo^rself how consistent this of — disowning at pleasure, — & that — Not free — are
one w^th y^e other. // yo^u aske me — what shal the minister do each Lords day, y^t
knows not (through weakness) &c Nay what shal he do every day or any day?
For as I take it, some of yo^r Books have told us, the L^ds day should rather be spent
more otherwise, thā so much in preaching. What shal he do, say yo^u? Answer me
& I wil answer yo^u. No Body, that I know, teaches y^t they ought to be such. But y^t
such may be, whether we suppose it or no, there is no q^u. Tho, by Gods mercy
such cases, are not commonly seen, yet such may be. What, if by Gods immediat
hand he be striken dumb w^th Zachary? what if by som palsy speechless? what if
by distemper senseless? what, if by age? what if by some incurable disease disabled?
what, if through infirmity or other weakness? Must he be presently unpastored, un-
christianed, & straight Infidel? // Ag^st serving by other mens eyes in a Gen^l
or Commander, some of y^e Antients have been bitter enough. yet famous Zisca
made it appear, what m^t be don by him y^t had non of his own to use.
Ag^t Deputy-preaching however, have som of the fathers been? And

Τὸν τεθνη-
κότα μὴ κα-
κῶς.

you think
it is very
unequally
don to make
him & Tur-
ner together
as yo^u do.

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Severall

Scornfully som of our own dayes spoken, calling such Substitutes Journeym
Hackneys, & I know not what: fforgetting good men, the while, that themse
have been such, or kept such, or both. fforgetting wthal how much Benefit G
ch. has somtimes reapt by such supplyes. Me thinks, Those things which grave
& wise men have zealously inveyghed agt more [illegible], ought by no means to be a
plyd to, or directed agt such cases of necessity, as by Gods allwise providence may
com to pass. A pattern of indulgence by Gods own appointment, we find to the Levites
in regard of age 50 yrs of wch priviledged them from ye harder service, And why o
Infirmities might not be capable of som allowance, in the οικονομια & Indul
gence of the Gospel, I understand not. How much more when after more than ye climac
terical old age itself might seem to be burden enough. In which Case A Competently
able supply by like Gospel favour being allowed, & by due care provided should sub-
ordinately (Ἀντιλαμβανειν) support, & not rest out the old ones eyes. The use of
such supplyes should stand in the broad gap — I to prevent & not minister occasion to Clamors agt
unavoidable weaknesses. The High priest of old had his סגן, his כהן המשנה.
And Christian Experience has in better ages of the church, & nearer those times you
praise, found cause to appoint even what perhaps you count a courser way of supply,
the substitute reading of others sermons in stead of the presbyters preaching himself. when
by reason of infirmity he could not do it. yet this we contend not for here, but only so much
charity to weakness, as by this time I hope your Judgment may allow; at lest for their sakes
you have better opinion of. Not once, I believe, you may have seen the sword pts tur
ned agt those hands yt gave ym, & church-battering arguments agt the mouths yt taught
ym.

And this of Avoyding by disowning an Autority (whether pastoral, Ecclesi-
astical, or Civil) is as applicable agt one sort as an other, your S: if (as formerly) you
were in place, as any else. — Ad. 9m. In the 9th place you tel us, — [we
Ad. 9. most plainly Concluded yt in Spain, Austria &c the people are all bound to submit
to the mass-priests; for those Ks have Christian Autority, who Comand it.] This m
does sounds like somthing to the purpose, tho, when all coms to all, perhaps, It is alig
what else; ffor 1. I have no such words, nor meaning. 2. Suppose, It not be inferr
as a sequence fro my words, (tho not fro my meaning, wch intends to suppose not
only lawful pastors, but lawfully acting as such) Is it any other than naturally
flowes fro his opinion also, yt holds (as your S. seem to do) yt one may not go agt ye m
jor pt or al the rest, when or where ye Majority, or all ye rest are papists? or fro his yt
holds, we must obey even an Infidel, & sayes, as you — [By yt rule] (viz yt makes or
supposes a difference betw. Infidel & Christian Autority, (as you perceive, I do)) [Another
will deny the Autority of a popish K. & another of a protestant; & so there will be no cer
tainty whom to obey?] Does not the same sequence follow upo the one as upo the o-
ther? And does not the same inconvenience of uncertainty &c follow the assuming a
bility to deny the Autority of a pst or pastor bee such in his place, as the other be
such in his place? I speak not this to level the K. wth the pst, but to propound to
your Reason the parity of sequence there wilbe in the one propositio as in the oth
as mutatis mutandis, by putting pst or pastor instead of K without other Alterati
wil plainly Appear. Now, you say, you wil not trouble me wth what you have to say to th
trary.] i.e. I perceive, agt submitting to the mass priests; yet under favor, I agst humbl
perceive, [I]t had been more material, & more to the purpose than all the rest; But bee y
want that, tho I perceive such priests under an obligation to such Christian ministerial duty, as
they perform without calling such people to any thing unlawful (In the acknowledgment
wch here I perswade myself we are both agreed) I know not what might fairly excu
them from such submission as you speak of. — I — 3ly perceive, & I hope, my good hopes
may be so happy as not to misconceive, yt you do not make it, nor esteem it all one to
submit to the mass priests, & to the Established ministry of England, nor hold these to be — not la
full ministers. 4ly The Quo to wch the consequence was to have reference, as by wch
was occasiond, & on wch it was grounded, & therfore accordingly to be understood, wa
whether in any case, som pastors Autority mt be avoided, or comands disobeyed, But
whether

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whether, It might be a wicked economie, wch is very hard to acquit, how the Ephe-
sian had not given an expss significatiō of consent, or at least is pleased at pnt, to disow-
n e.g. or more briefly, whether the very negatiō of consent doe discharge & disoblige
any persō from his duty towards, or the Autority of the Pastor of the place where he
lived, adde, if yo please, being lawfully setled by lawful Autority: may he clearly say,
I own not him but such an one, & be by such disowning freed frō the duty of owning,
& submitting? As for yor wish, [that they that are for papal princes & are under
papists governmts, would be contented to enjoy their wits & wayes, & speed as they can,
& let others alone to seek another way to heaven] – & let the enemy sow the tares of di-
visiō, separatiō, & what not? while they sleep whom yo cal papal, shal they? I would
not willingly fish for the foulest sense: The words may bear, I hope, a fairer
constructiō than to intend both us & or Governmts papal. But let me put on ye
as fair a constructiō as I wil or can, It seems to mine that most we found e-
naugh, ffor In the 10 place yo tel me; I seem to speak unworthily of Autu-
ty, No man, I believe, would have found this but Mr Br. Now should I of him,
if I had not seen it; But I perceive, It is very hard for an edge over-keen not
sometimes to cut too near the quick. what may the reason of yo so censuring be
[As if, say yo, I would not be subject to it unless it be Christian] 1. Let me not stand
to retort this upō yorself & tel yo, yo seem to speak unworthily of Christian Au-
tority & christiā Govrnmts, by making no difference between them, & Infidels,
or Heathens. 2. Let me not stand to remember yo, who it was, yt said to the
kg of the place where he was חַי־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֲשֶׁר עָמַדְתִּי לְפָנָיו כִּי לוּלֵי
פְּנֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה אֲנִי נֹשֵׂא
אִם־אַבִּיט אֵלֶיךָ וְאִם־אֶרְאֶךָּ
So much difference made he between a fidele & an Idolatrous prince
3 Let me not take advantage of the fathers Rhetorick agt Hereticks as wel as
μᾶλλον ἢ σαφέστερον applyable agt Heathen Governmts, if such there should be in-
termeddling in church affairs. But
4 Let us shake hands & say together with yo [The Infidels want an aptitude to
rule wel, prove that can, if they want Autority to rule.] Let us go along wth yo
to say, [what if we had an Infidel k, (wch G, say I, forbid) must we not obey him in al
things lawful? Give me leave to adde, (as I meant at the first) How much more then a
christian one? How much more cheerfully? How much more willingly? How much more
comfortably? How much more cordially? How much more readily? As being under a new
obligation of duty (besides yt of obedience by general comand) viz the duty of Gratitude,
1st towards God for such a blessing & favor to his church, 2dly towards his vicegerent for such
benefits as God through him may please to bestow. And tho yo are pleased to adde, [we
must go no further wth the Rest] I hope we must understand it wth a grain of salt
viz to mean no more than this, That we must not obey the Rest in things unlaw-
ful, (concerning wch I desire, The [illegible], or word & wil of G. not the mistakes or
figmts, & fācies of men must be or Rule) But not — That we may not or must
not obey a Christiā Ruler in more determinate comands, than wee may or must
an Heathen. The one being more like to comand things more fit to be obeyed than
the other, & such as a chriā may wth much more alacritie obey. Now do yor words, I hope, in-
tend, But that a Christiā Ruler may do much & many things for the wel order-
ing of the church (wch an Heathen or Infidel canot) wherein he ought to be obeyed.
5ly Agreeably hereunto, Let the worst be made of my words yt can; & let the word Christian
be taken for a limitatiō as it was never absolutely intended; It is no other limitatiō than the
nature of the thing requires; yor granting a want of aptitude in Infidels to rule
In Church affairs, I think, it wil unavoidably follow, yt we can not or may not obey

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who

then & wherein, we may & ought a Christiā Ruler: & wherein perhaps yoᵘ may adde, wee
should & must obey an Infidel too, did hee comand the same things: wch though it be true,
is little to the purpose, in as much as that is a thing not like to be expected. Tho an In-
fidel may do some things that ill become a Christiā, or some Christians in name, that
yt would ill become them, yet speaking of Christians as Christians in the main, & Infidels as
infidels, we cannot expect, I say, the same from the one as from the other. And as
bad as the Christian world may be supposed to be, I hope, yoᵘ are not yet apt to conclude it
so bad as to make no difference. Nor do, I hope, yoᵘ hold or church affairs so very badly
ordered, what ever yoᵘ dislike may be, as to reckon them no better than Equivocally
Christian. Where yoᵘ adde — By yt rule another wil deny the Autority of a popish
Ch. & an other of a protestant & so there wil be no certainty whom to obey — wee
Embrace & like the observation wel, & say By yt Rule (viz. of disowning what wee
dislike) one wil deny the Autority of Epall Government in the church, another of Classi-
cal or Presbyterian, a 3d of Independent & so there wil be no certainty what to own.

6. What if in the word Christian as there used, be no restriction, exclusion, or limi-
tation at all, either intended or implyed, & it be not limitative but argumentative
tacitly answering an objection taken from the ineptitude or impossibility of an Infidels
wel presiding in church affairs, if Autority had been mentioned in gn̄al &c.
And, I beseech yoᵘ, what such great opposition is there betw. those Termes if made, but yt
both may be true, without exclusion of the one subject or restriction to the other? Ho-
mo est rationalis, & doctus est rationalis; honestus est fide dignus, & Sanctus est
fide dignus; Autority is to be obeyed & Christiā Autority is to be obeyed: or what
disparagmt is it to an honest man, or a man, to say, a good man, or an holy man is
fide dignus: or to Autority to say Christiā Autority is to be obeyed? Those subalter-
nates, as they differ only in quantity so may, I humbly conceive, afford sufficient matter
of good argument, so as yt wee may wel say, If every man be rationalis, how
much more a learned man? If every Autority be to be obeyed, how much more
Christian Autority? or if all this cannot excuse, or make good the use of that word
as what can defend, where mr Baxter is pleased to oppugn: Let him take his
ful swinge to expunge it, provided he take the Remainder to himselfe, &
since (This I take for granted) In the Ch. som Autority must be obeyed
Let him say, Autority, & as many as please, say so wth him; yet I hope, they
cannot wth any good conscience then say, yt a Christiā Autority is not; wch is al I aim at.
Let him adde — in things lawful — & I say so, too, wth the Caution I gave before. yoᵘ adde — But
yoᵘ extend yt rule to Infidels also, then Juliā may oblige us to submit to the priests of the
Sun — Good Sr Remember, who it is, yt has given this lift at Christian as being
a term wch he yt uses to this purpose is censured by yoᵘ to speake unworthily of
Autority. To Autority we beare al due respect & reverence: we honor it as Gods
ordinance, appointed for the preservation & weal of men, & Christians, & of Gods church &
people, to wch he has committed the Custody of both Tables, & a charge to keep (if
I mistake, rectify me) both priest & people in their Duty. To mr Bs Judgem-
wee bear very great respect, & take it to be such, as does not Intend to undervalue
Autority, either considered simply, as it is Autority, or as it is accoutred wth the Accom-
plishment of Christianity. And tho wee are not devoid of so much selfe conceit, as
to believe ourselves capable of so much reason at least as may reach to the ap
siō of Comon & ordinary sense, yet I must needs confess, I cannot wel attain the m
of this Dioptical discourse. wee must not speake of submitting &c in order to Chri
Autority for fear of disparaging or speaking unworthily of Autority (in the general)
not of like obedience to Autority in general, lest Julian oblige us to submit to the
priests of the Sun. Must, wee then be subject to no Autority? Dicunt sic non [illegible]

pus

BAXTER
LETTERS

pus) I beleeve yo meant otherwise than so, too. But, I hope, yo wil not (to speak in yo own words) be offended, if I speak to yo words. About the beginning of Reformat; In Luthers time, A like Exception to this of yors agt Christian, did som of the Learned of the papists take agt som other Christians, for inserting — qui credunt — when they were speaking of the Duty of beleeving wives to their beleeving husbands, wch as it might be liable to just exceptio, if spoken to yt intent & purpose, (as ye Adversaries said the words insinuated) to exclude husbands yt were not of the same sect, as if those wives owed no such Duty to them, So might they be innocently used, for ought I see, considered in themselves, or if to this intent & purpose, onely to press the Duty the more home, & to lay the obligatio of Duty the more strongly upo them, in this regard, that their husbands were beleevers, as wel as they. But to let this alone; Be yt as it wil. What, yt is said agt either of these, may not be said agt him, yt when he speaks of peoples being guided by their ministers, interserts the epithet lawful — an expression, which though one would think, envy it self could scarce find fault with, considered in it selfe, yet, if strained so far, liable to a constructio of intimating a disrespect to all, but men of such a way, or a respect to men of such a way only, & all other pastors of churches to be held unlawful? And if so understood, as I doubt, som understand it, to what a censure wer liable, Is easy to conceive. Again wt not the word — syncere — after — professors of &c — the words — not apostatized nor excommunicate in Rvs of Rel. pa. 465. § 10 — the epithet — true — to Bps or pastors § 11. if taken, the 2d in too large, the 1t & 3d in to restrained a sense be liable to like exceptio? They say wel (as I take it) Dum verba nimis attendantur, sensus veritatis amittitur. The fairest Dealing then is to take things, as either they are, or should be meant, & leave wrangling about words to those that have nothing else to do.

Now tho I am as far as you fro diminishing the Ks Interest & Autority in Ch Affairs. yet I know nothing to the contrary, but yt this whole discourse, if yo had pleased, mt had passed without mentio of either K or Kaesar. Considering that in the Constitutio of or Government here, what is done Contrary to law, at any time, the law gives remedy for; what is don according to law, is to be construed, not the act of any one man, but of the whole church (as by som of the old non-conformists seems to bee wel observed) wch, say yo, one must not go agt, as I construe yo meaning, no. 7. // To conclude, yo wish a conformity to the first 300 yrs in Doctrin, Disciplin, & Wp &c./ ~~will yo then have the 44th Aposty Canon revived~~? wil yo the feasts of Charity renewed? ye oscula sancta restored? The sacrament administred after supp? The Lords day left at liberty? & tuesday, or wednesday, or any other day in stead? or otherwise, wensday & fryday added to it for publick solemn assemblies wil yo have kneeling at prayer forbidden betw Easter & pentecost, wch too many, as wel of noted professors as others little used at any time? wil yo the Eastward adoratio revived, & more solemnly established? whither shal I goe if I reckon up all? Not this, to disparage those good & holy souls yt lived those ages; but only to recommend to yor serious consideraio what qlity, qntity & measure yo allow this yor Rule, or whether being unlimited itself it wil prove a Rule or no; Pardo, I beseech yo, Sr, my tedious defence & yo tedious trouble; & Impute the tardity of this return to a slow & sluggish hand yt has scribled this stuffe at such fractions of time as a sickly head & a time-wearing employmt could seldom spare. Recommending my selfe to yor Candid Opinio I rest Revd Sr

yor very humble Servt
Th. B.

Kidderminst. Tho I know not whether I should thus date or no as not knowing how little while —

Dear friends in Christ

Sir I receaved yor reall answer to my letter which I hartyly accept & returne yor thanks for & take boldness once more to be troublesome to yow wh I am not ignorant that yow have busines enough yet I am perswaded of yor willingness that such busines given to direct Christians the safest way to glorify & enjoy god is yor chiefest delight above all worldly matters I shall procure that book yow direct me to as soone as I can for I have it not by me as yet: because yow say it will be uncertayne when to meete or see yow which I should be glad of an opertunity to doe for I went home by ... when I was last in London haveing yor direction there but was disapoynted both of seeing or heareing where yow dwell Sr as to yor answer concerning ye ministry I am fully satisfied: so as to forbeare prosecuteing it yet I will shew you reasons which caused such motions in my mind & leave yow to judg of them, 1 when I goe to heare ye word of god preached & that by sober men not railers I heare it delivered so dully that it troubleth me & it works no more upon ye affections of ye hearers no not upon my owne as when it is delivered with voyce & affection more powerfull: which I apprehend & I thinke not ungroundedly if god had so imployed me I should have beene more affected in so greate a worke 2 because it was my ffathers designe to make me a scholler & betwixt 2 & 3 yeares I went to ye Latten schole but was discouraged by some things will be too longe to mention yet did I pray & earnestly desire it then of god though I were but younge yt I might be fitted for it 3 because I have a Bro in Law who is a very good scholler who belonged to Christchurch in oxford a preacher I think before these changing tymes who profered to assiste me in it 4 because I see sin spreading abroad for want of private reproff & admonition & if I doe it in this imployment they are ready to bid me mind my owne famely & calling & let ye censureing of them alone & ministers whose duty & business especially it is neglect it which I hope I should not doe: yet my hart might deceive me as it hath done woft in such like resolutions; & as for my calling wherein I am I know & am satisfyed in ye lawfullness of it but yet have no mind to ffollow it if I could putt it of but rather some other first because I lye under more temptations in this than in most other callings because prayse & dispraiseing unbeseeming & necessitated for many which makes them use many words which is a burden to me being not very hasty especially because I find it hard to escape falsehood in many words of that nature: though I was never so much: amongst many customers & I doe not see whereby I can doe god any greater service in this calling there being many others here & in almost every place where neede is: except it be to keepe me from idlenesse & so make me ye more capable of better exercises towards him 3 because it takes up a greater stock than I have & much of yt I have: being trusted into poore peoples hands which it goes against my conscience to borrow els though some of them be able when I consider how much god hath forgiven me & hereby I am as I said before become so much indebted to others yt I cannot pay in any reasonable tyme yet have wherewith to doe it praised be god; yet yow mistake me if yow thinke the cause of my desireing ye ministry if my hart doe not unreasonably deceive me though I mentioned it, it being at that present in my mind as it is oft when it should not for it is my greatest worldly desire to pay every man his due

pray give me a word or 2 in answer whether upon these & ye like considerations it be not lawfull for me to Chang my calling for some other though as to ye ministry I judg my selfe in ~~many~~ things utterly uncapable, though in some I may I am very well content to learne of any that can teach me & doe not neglect such opertunityes as seldome as possible

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Yet is there one thing more I desire yor Judgment more (being
in yt is giuen by you in yt booke for ye Answer Church which is [illegible]
wherein ye say that it is no profession of Consent to be present at ye
reading of ye Comon prayer though we know yt [illegible] before hand that will be
read there in [illegible] profess we in [illegible] doe grieuously censure ye for
that book in generall without exceptions but truly I hauing read it with
consideration find nothing in it considerably doubtfull but this one thing
that I now remember & this I haue oft thought of for say some & that
good men [illegible] if that be not profession of Conse
then the Kings seruants bowing in ye house of Rimmon was no sin for he
dishonoured Rimmon as his god but professed towards ye true god & then also
say they againe if so then we may haue mass: constantly although
we be protestants & not sin so long as we outwardly in tongue [illegible]
profess our dissent to it & I confess it hath somwhat troubled my Con-
science to haue some expressions in ye Comon prayer when I haue happen-
ed so early as to haue it which I count in either superstitious or Contrary
expressions fit to be put up to god in prayer as some [illegible]
only I commit upon ye [illegible] pray doe me ye fauour as to answer
me in this for I am very willing to haue ye greatest [illegible] of it but [illegible]
assent to some things & yet think if I am present I doe pray it or else
I dissemble in gods account in being present as though I did but doe not
neither doe I or would I conforme euer the more for worldly aduantage
but accidentally it happeneth so sometymes because I constantly attend ye same
I beg yor pardon for my tediousness & remaine

Yors to obey in Christ till death

ffirly octo 24th 1671

[illegible] John Monk

Pray be not offended at any thinge I say as to yor being censured for I suppose
you are not Ignorant of it but if none better than ye Anabaptists [illegible] I would
it were not worthy ye taking note of for they [illegible] almost all that will not
conforme & [illegible] but I heard it so much [illegible] I could
not be satisfied till I had [illegible] it: but yet there are some people of good [illegible]
but I [illegible] which say though throw [illegible] all ye words for that booke & also
I wonder at it I dissemble not I see no [illegible] it so as they say: [illegible]
am sorry to heare what they say

These
ffor his trewly Louving friend
Mr Baxter minister of ye Gospell
Leave this att the Golden Key in
Aldersgate streete att Alder-
man Ashers Wollen Dray
to be sent with Speed

~~129~~. 128

My Lord

I am convict unheard by a Jury, of eight sentences in a Paraphrase on the New T
as seditious, & injurious to the Bps & Clergy of this Kingdome. The words are cleare fro
my Meaning is said to be seditious, & this on the supposition yt I am a wicked Malici
to the Church. It is as for the Bps & Clergy, that I am a designed sacrifice. My Life is so
(by the torment & misery of palpably indurated reines, colicks, inflations, subduction of
& strength, exhausted with daily expense of blood for urine &c) that I have little
to be unwilling to die, especially so advantagiously as for my faithfull, though imp
service to the cause of Love & Concord. But my Conscience commandeth me to val
welfare of the Church to which I am said to be an Enemy, before my Liberty
; & whatever befall me, to remove the scandall, that my writings become no
injurious by misunderstanding to the Church or unto any. I appeale to you whom
said to wrong: Do but heare me; And I desire nothing more than to publish a
ciation of all injurious Meanings: And no Church uses to charge men with renou
nious. The question is not whether my writings be blamelesse: I never did any
had no fault: But I have served God & his Church as well ~~as~~ as I was able: & un
failings be forgiven. But it is those eight accused passages ~~of~~ which I submit to yor
judgment. 1o Whether you think yt ~~my~~ I am such a wicked Malicious Enemy to
as I am said to be. 2o Whether you think yt my destruction or punishment, is truly d
able by the Church of England, & is for their reall interest. 3o Whether you
willing yt all your Clergy be so used: & yt their writings & sermons be all at the
= on of men that never studyed the Text or Commentators, ~~if they~~
& consequently their Libertyes & lives at their mercy, that by ignorance or preju
will but devise such thoughts & meanings on them wch their words expresse n
wt a case will such a Church & ministry be in. And if this Church bring this on
may they not expect such measure as they mete: Neq enim lex justior ulla est &c
4o Whether this be suitable to the ancients judgment & the liberty yt all Divines have ta
differ from & write agt each other: And our free use of the Rhemists Testamt & wo
5o Whether you think yt my punishment will honour the Church in the judgmt of those
reing Protestants yt have translated & overvalue my writings. 6o And whether it be to
honour of the Church yt my destruction be ascribed to them in the future Martyrol
& history of this age. 7o Whether the Bps would have none live & be endured in
Church or land yt are not wiser, better or more innocent than I; And would have
Maties promised Tenderness & Clemency of Government so represented to the Land: And whe
will not put all yt are not more blamelesse into frightfull expectations. 8o Whether
owning or disowning my sufferings will more quiet ~~you~~ at death & Judgment. I am a Sa
Sacrifice of innocent blood is of hard digestion. I am so farre from thinking yt yo
Lordship desireth it, yt I have formerly published my contrary thoughts of yourself
& many other Bps by name, & of all the rest yt are of yor moderation. 9o But wh
it is declared yt it is for the Clergy yt I suffer, will not men judge yt silence i
consent, & yt they own it if they endeavour not by Disowning to prevent it.
would not have the people tempted to think yt our Church doth live on such sa
10 But on the contrary yor open disowning & preventing it, will do more to breed
good thoughts of the Clergie as Lovers of mercy, in the minds of thousands, than sile
or few only will do. My Lord, if the true Defence I send you, & such Considerati
satisfie your Lordship, (& by you your Clergy) to disowne this severity to his Ma
as not for the Interest of the Church, & you will with it present this my humble
Petition to him, I hope you will serve yor owne & the Churches Interests, as we
as oblige

Yor humble languid servant

Honored & deare Sr yrs dated [illegible] the 24th of Decemb and [illegible]
Jan: ye 6th inclosed in a letter dated the 3d instant where [illegible]
in London I know not when I was there [illegible] but you tell me
giving yr judgmt in the question about the Sabbath as I understand
you in print as I remember I heard that yr sheets were ready
for ye presse & that it would be out in few dayes or to that effect
wch occasioned my last wth its inclosed in som hast if yr hand would
to stay ye hand. I was not willing then that in this question also
you should publish to ye world ye reasons of yr dissent from
that wch after long consideration I conceive to be ye will be-
cause it is ye word of Christ, & am still of the same opinion
& so can give no consent to the contradicting of a truth
either wth or wthout intimation by whom it is asserted nor yet
to any severall character of honour upon ye author, I look for
no honour from those papers wherein by these expressions I
have cause to expect ~~the~~ truth will openly be endeavored
to be suppressed the affectation of a name by books & writing
many of them whereof no end is one of the weaknesses of the
present age whereby ye word is somwt both neglected & obscured
that honour wch comes from Elohim only I look for & if that part of
it wch concerns this life com not about in the way of his word I
am through Cht made somwt willing to let it goe. That you should
be satisfied wth this way of ye word wch you call my way I
have as yett no great expectation in regard you say you should
be less sorry if I kept both dayes wch the 4th word or command
so directly prohibits & in regard you call yr day the Lords day
& suppose I reject it, whereas I only give that name & thinke
to the 7th daye sabbath to wch only as a weekly daye I con-
ceive the scriptures give it but whether ye dominical daye
mentioned by John be there intended for a weekly daye
has been of old & is by som still doubted & would be further
enquired wch if it be then that it is in the word only appro-
priated to the 7th & no where yt I yett know in the scrip-
tures to the first daye. As for ye historians whereof you
desyre an account upon search in such as I had or could
com att I think I had ground to conceive that in the first
centuryes the great controversy relating to this was about
translating the keeping the passover wch they now call
Easter from the 14th daye of the first moon &c under colour
of honoring Cht to the first day of ye week as the dominical
daye wch the Popes first sett themselves wth great vehemence
to introduce, wt brawls this occasioned between ye Pope & the Eastern
churches &c & how long they lasted the controversyes then written
may somwt inform you, & as ye Pope obtayned his purpose for
one day in an yeare, so by degrees in som places came in one
day in a week the first day to be observed, & the 7th day by
som of the Popes turned from a festival to a fast, whilst many
of the Eastern & som of the Western churches did still

retayn wth all the observation of the 7th day sabbath together wth the first day of the week & others of the churches in the East & West kept only to the 7th daye as the Christian Sabbath & this for several centuries after Christ & one whole Christian empire in the East is by larger authority reported to observe the 7th day sabbath together with the 1st daye all down along to this very century & as I suppose to this very daye, & for this Island I found in the history it was attempted by a legate sent from the Pope to receive the observation of Easter upon the first day between 6 & 700 years after Christ to wch the English Bishops by the then kings perswasion who had a kindness &c for the Pope yeilded but the Scotch Bishops who were also here called to the same councell refused by wt methods & degrees afterward the English followed the Pope from yt yeare & came to any kind of weekly observation of the first day & again neglected it & then again re=assumed it the histories may inform you, but for Scotland it seems by the histories that refusing about the tyme above mentioned the Popes advice for observing Easter upon the first day of the week they still retayned the observation of the 7th day in the weekly returns of it as the Christian Sabbath till above 1200 years after Christ & then held a councell there for the first institution of the first daye wherof I mentioned a little in my former paper though still remember I build my judgment & practice upon Chr & his word & not upon any humane authorityes wtsoever, these things & more would be well examined by any (& not only the titles & tables of books & the common [illegible]) who would undertake wth truth & soundness to state the matter of fact & thence argue any thing wth thereupon, but if you or others should hand over head resolve wthout due enquiry or if upon a slight or large enquiry should only collect the testimonyes of one syde as the manner of most is, & so mistake throughout & all the advocates for ye first day should concurr & publickly assert their mistake together Christ & his word will have the greater glory by refuting all, for yr part though the Lord has somtymes put honour & made som use of you in practicals yett of late for som years he has suffered yr judgmt & practice to stand in the ballance as I think agst his playn word particularly agst the 2d word in wch I parted wth you at the entrance to ye publick house about 8 yeares since & you have of late for som years excelled but in one thing yt I remember wherein as farr as I can guess many great persons doe yett condemn you & that was yr recalling of a book wherein with also you did assert the lawfulness of the warr agst the late king, I mean ye [illegible] dislike of that work wherein you did recall it you so intended it wth (in order to the deeper humbling of all concerned in that notorious breach upon the word wch for my part though never charged I remember to have a hand therein I doe bewayle as very wicked & the occation of many present & I know not wt further evils unless it be more frankly & speedily acknowledged) I should be glad had been done by you in playner fuller termes but for ye book it self it doth under specious generals plausibly attempt the drawing others to forms of worship invented by men wch ye self in discourse acknowledged to be images of [illegible] invented by men upon the whole but we suppose you printing one book to revert the world in the comon uninstituted daies & another printed to bring it to uncomanded forms images of worship (but I can never suppose you to perswade long in either) & then wt will ye long & many labours to restore it amount unto? How happy is it for ye churches that Jehovah Messiah is their Lord & Head & that he has left them a sure & fixed word & these still abide the same? & when the churches will goe back & begin ye work where Christ left it these controversyes will soon cease; yr purpose to take the first propositions as granted & nothing of controversye (wherein I think ye controversye will be much stated) & so slighting of them wch doe assert Christ Jehovah creating ye world, instituting ye first 7th day Sabbath & then resting upon it & so the 7th day Sabbath the Lord Christs day of rest, & his giveing of the decalogue & confirming it & therein the 4th word in all things in the 5th of Math: we doe manifestly shew wt worke you are like to make of this question unless the Lord hinder. The historical account I gave you upon my memory to draw it out at large well would require much labour & as I suppose more tyme then ye ordinary way of publishing yr sentiments will admitt. The playness & therein the real kindness as I thinke I have used wth you the Lord of ye Sabbath can overrule for good to them I leave it & in hope am yr freinde

Rec: vulg: Jan: 9° 1670/1.

Tho: Bampfield

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